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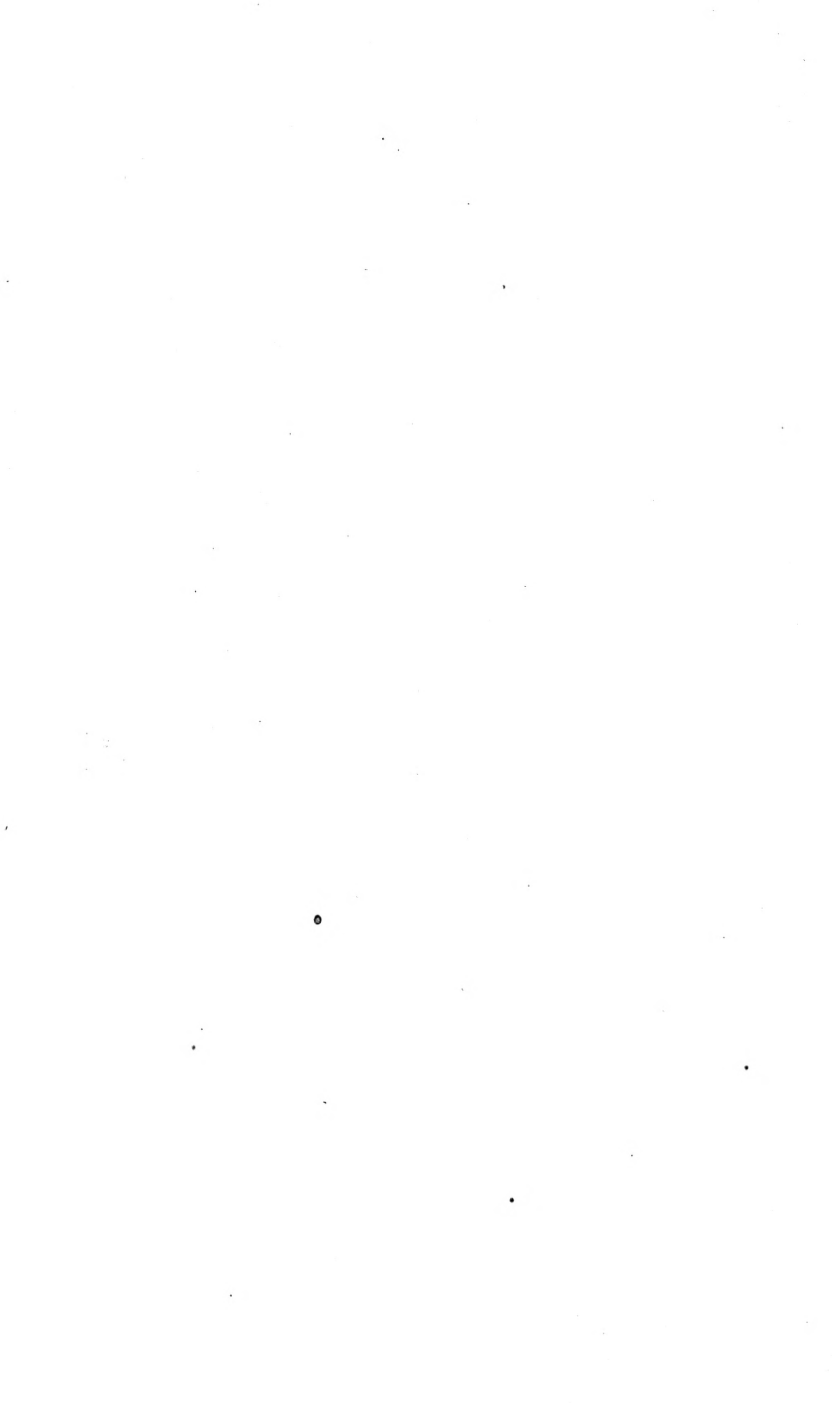
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A SECOND VINDICATION of  
**CHRIST'S DIVINITY:**

Or, A SECOND DEFENSE of some

**Q U E R I E S**

RELATING TO

Dr. *CLARKE*'s SCHEME of the  
Holy TRINITY:

In ANSWER to the

COUNTRY CLERGY-MAN'S REPLY.

WHEREIN

The learned DOCTOR'S SCHEME as it now  
stands, after the latest Correction, Alteration, and  
Explanation, is distinctly and fully consider'd.

---

By *DANIEL WATERLAND*, D. D.  
MASTER of *Magdalen-College* in CAMBRIDGE:  
RECTOR of the United Parishes of *St. Austin* and *St.  
Faith*, London: And CHAPLAIN in Ordinary to His  
*MAJESTY*.

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*Beware lest any Man spoil you through Philosophy and vain  
Deceit, after the Tradition of Men, after the Rudiments  
of the World, and not after Christ: For in him dwelleth  
all the Fulness of the Godhead bodily. Coloss. ii. 8, 9.*

Quid Tibi visum est, Homo Ariane, tam multa dicere, &  
pro Cauſa quæ inter nos agitur nihil dicere: Quasi Hoc  
sit Respondere posse, quod est Tacere non posse?  
*Augustin. contr. Maxim. p. 677. Ed. Bened.*

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# T H E P R E F A C E.



*T* is now about Three Years and a half since I offer'd to the World A Vindication of Christ's Divinity, or A Defense of some Queries, in answer to a Country-Clergyman. Within a few Months after the Publication, some Notice was taken of it in an Anonymous Pamphlet, intituled, Modest Plea, &c. continued: Or A Brief Answer (not to my Defense, but) to my Queries To which I replied, soon after, as much as I thought needful, in a Preface to my Eight Sermons. I was promised, in an Advertisement at the End of Modest Plea, &c. A large and particular Answer to my Defense: And This, I presume, is what has now lately appear'd, intituled A Reply to Dr. W's Defense, &c. under the Name of a Clergyman in the Country. To This the following Sheets are intended for a full and distinct Answer: How far They are really so, or how far they come short, is submitted to the judicious Reader.

The Book, which I here profess to examine, may be allowed to contain, in a manner, The whole Strength of the Arian Cause, real, or artificial; all that can be of any Force either to convince, or to deceive a Reader. And if there appears to be a great deal more of the Artificial than there is of the Real, there is certainly a Fault in the Men; but, at the same Time, some great Defect in the Cause too, which wanted to be thus supplied. For, whether we consider the Hands suppos'd to have been employed in drawing up The Reply, or the Time, and Pains spent in revising and polishing; we may

*be confident, that had it been possible to find out any real and firm Foundation for Arianism to rest upon, it would never have been left to stand upon Artificial Propps, or to subsist by Subtlety, and Management.*

*This is not the Place to give the Reader a full List of all the Artificial Advantages made use of by Those Gentlemen in support of Arianism: A few Hints may here suffice. Their disclaiming the Name all the while They are inculcating the Thing; to keep their Readers in Ignorance, and to steal upon Them by Surprize: Their wrapping up their Doctrine in general, and confuse Terms; to prevent its being narrowly look'd into, or pursued in its remote, or even immediate Consequences: Their elaborate and studied Prolixity in proving such Points as no body calls in question, and then slipping upon the Reader, in their stead, something very different from them, without Any Proof at all: Their avoiding as much as possible the defensive Part, where the main stress lies, and keeping Themselves chiefly to the offensive; perpetually objecting to the Catholick Scheme, instead of clearing up the Difficulties which clogg their own: Their bending their main Force against our consequential Doctrine, of Three Persons being One God, instead of directly attacking our Premises that the divine Titles and Attributes belong equally to every one; as to which the Scripture is very full and expresse: These, and other the like Artifices will be easily seen to run through their whole Performance. But their Master-piece of Subtlety lies in contriving a set of ambiguous and equivocal Terms, to put the main Question into; such as may be capable of a Catholick Sense, or at least look very like it, in order to claim some Countenance from Catholick Antiquity; but such as may also be drawn to an Arian Meaning, that so They may secure the Point which They intend. Thus, betwixt the Two Senses, or Faces of the same Words, chosen for the Purpose, They shall never want Pretence or Colour from Antiquity, even while endeavouring to prove Things the most opposite, and repugnant thereto in*  
*real*

*real Sense and Significancy. Such is the convenient Use of equivocal Words, or Phrases, when ingeniously made choice of, and managed by Rules of Art.*

*In the following Papers, I have particularly endeavour'd to clear the Sense of the Ante-nicene Church; and to vindicate the same from Misrepresentation. All that remains to be done in This Preface, is to obviate Two Objections, of very different kinds, which have been lately made by Men of very opposite Principles. One \*pretends that we are very singular, in claiming the Suffrage of the Ante-nicene Church in favour of the Athanasian Doctrines: The Other † is for entirely waving all Searches into Antiquity, in relation to This Controversy, as being either needless, or fruitless.*

*I. As to the first, we are confidently told, that few of the truly learned and impartial Athanasians Themselves, from the very Days of their Founder, till our late Writers of Controversy, Bp. Bull, Dr. Grabe, Dr. Waterland, have denied the Truth of this Fact; that the Ante-nicene Fathers were generally against the Athanasian, and for the Eusebian Doctrines ‖. To countenance This Pretence, a long and pompous Detail of Athanasian Confessions (as They are called) are pack'd together, and laid before the English Reader.*

*It will be proper here, in the Entrance, to examine what Truth or Justice there is in this strange Report; that so, Prejudices being remov'd, The Reader may come with the greater Freedom to the Examination of what is offer'd, in the following Papers, on the Head of Antiquity.*

*We must trace This Matter down from the first Beginnings of the Arian Heresy, about the Year 319. It may be known from Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, what Opinion the Catholicks in general then*

\* Mr. Whiston in his Reply to Lord Nottingham.

† The Author of Two Letters, one to Lord Nottingham, the other to Mr. Whiston.

‖ Mr. Whiston's Reply to the Earl of Nottingham, p. 3.

*had of the Novelty of the Arian, or Eusebian \* Doctrines.*

*In the Year 321. He with his Clergy, in their circular Letter †, represent the Arians, or Eusebians as fallen into a great Apostasy, and as Fore-runners of Anti-Christ. They exclaim against the Arian Doctrines in this manner, and in These Words ; Who ever heard such Things as These? or who, that now hears them, is not astonish'd at Them, or does not stop his Ears for fear of polluting his Ears with such Impurity of Doctrine? Who that hears St. John declaring that in the Beginning was the Word, does not condemn Those that say that He once was not? &c. In Conclusion of the Epistle, They compare Them with Hymenæus, and Philetus, and the Traytor Judas : And They anathematize Them as Enemies to God, and Subverters of Souls. Now, can we well suppose that Alexander, a very pious and good Man, with great numbers of his Bishops and Clergy, would ever have gone these Lengths in their Censure, had They had the least Suspicion that the Arian Doctrines were at all agreeable to the Faith of the Ante-nicene Churches?*

*Two Years after This, in the Year 323. The same Alexander, in his Letter † to Alexander of Constanti-nople, persists in the same warmth of Zeal against the Arian Doctrines. The Abettors and Favourers of them He ranks with the Ebionites, Artemonites, and Samo-fatenians \* (condemn'd Hereticks) brands them as Novellists of late appearing †, as Men that thought none of the Antients worthy to be compared with them, pre-tending to be the only wise Men Themselves, and to be Inventors of Doctrines which never before entred into*

\* Note, They were called *Eusebians* from *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, one of the chief Promoters of the *Arian* Cause.

† Extat. apud *Athanas.* p. 397, Ed. Bened. ap. *Socrat. Eccl. Histor.* l. 1. c. 3.

‡ Extat. *Theodorit. E. Hist.* l. 1. c. 4.

\* *Theodor. E. H.* p. 15. Ed. Cant.

† *Ibid.* p. 16.

Man's Head ||. *This was what Alexander thought of the Arians at That Time. Little did He suspect that the Ante-nicene Church had been at all favourable to their Notions.*

*In the Year 325, as is well known, The Arian Doctrines were proscribed, and anathematized in the famous Council of Nice, consisting of 318 Bishops very unanimous in their Resolutions, excepting a few Reclaimants. In their Synodical Epistle †, They declare that they had condemned the Arian Doctrines of the Son's being from nothing and That He once was not, as full of Blasphemy, and Madness, and such as They had not Patience to hear. So far were They from any apprehension that the Arian, or Eusebian Doctrines had been held by the Antient Church. This was the Year before Athanasius, (our Founder, as Mr. Wh. calls Him) was Bishop of the Church, and about 15 Years before He drew his Pen in Defense of the Doctrines established in That Council.*

*Much about the same Time, the good Emperor Constantine, after a fair and full hearing of the Cause in the Nicene Council, bears his Testimony against Arius, as being the first Broacher of That Doctrine, by the Instigation of the Devil\*\*. And He makes an Order to have the Arians branded with the name of Porphyrians\*, as being Followers of the Pagan Porphyrius; either in their avowed Opposition to Christ (as some think) or in their adopting the Platonick Gradations into the Christian Trinity; as others conjecture.*

*In the Year 335, Marcellus and Eusebius engaged on opposite sides: From which time Mr. Whiston begins the Date of the Athanasian Confessions. What He produces from Eusebius Himself is not to the Purpose, since He reckons not Him with the Athanasians, about whom our present Question is. However, it is*

|| Theod. *ibid.* p. 17.

† Apud. Socrat. E. Hist. l. 1. c. 9. Compare *Athanas.* Vol. i. p. 283.

\*\* Socrat. E. H. l. 1. c. 9. p. 30.

\* *Ibid.* p. 31.

of no great moment if Eusebius could ever so justly appeal to the Antient Doctors against Marcellus's particular Tenets : Many of which (as Eusebius was pleased to understand them) were undoubtedly Novelties. As to Marcellus, He charges the Eusebian, or Arian Heresy, as a Thing then newly invented †. He gives up nothing in respect of the Ante-nicene Fathers in general, but in respect of Origen only : Whom He supposes to have been, in some Points, not very consistent ‖. Neither does He confess that Origen was entirely in the Sentiments of the Eusebians ; but only that He agreed with Them in making the Son a second Hypostasis ‡ : Which Marcellus scrupled to allow, not considering that Origen's Sense of a second Hypostasis (intended only in opposition to the Noetian Heresy) was a quite different Thing from what the Eusebians, or Arians were contending for. It is to be noted, that Marcellus and the other Eustathians were, for some Time, too nice and scrupulous about admitting Three Hypostases ; differing therein from the wiser and more judicious Athanasians.

About the Year 352, Athanasius wrote his Epistle concerning the Decrees of the Nicene Council. What He thought of the Doctrine of the Ante-nicene Church, may appear sufficiently from one Passage of it, running thus.

We give you Demonstration that our Doctrine has been handed down to us from Fathers to Fathers. But You, ye Revivers of *Judaism*, and Disciples of *Caiphas*, what Writers can you bring to father your Tenets ? Not a Man can you name of any Repute for Sense or Judgment : All abhor you excepting only the *Devil*, who has alone been the Father of such an Apostasy\*, &c.

† Euseb. contr. Marcell. l. 1. c. 4. p. 20.

‖ Euseb. ibid. p. 22.

‡ Euseb. ibid. p. 22.

\* Athanas. de Decret. Syn. Nicæn. p. 233.

Many other Passages † of the like import may be produced from Athanasius : Who every where appeals to constant Tradition, along with Scripture, for the Truth of his Doctrine, against the Arian Novelties. Neither are the pretended Confessions which Mr. Whiston alleges out of Him, of any the least moment ; amounting to no more than his proposing of some Arian Objections ; which he abundantly confutes in the very Places, shewing Them to be nothing else but Misrepresentation and Calumny.

In the Year 355, Hilary, one of the greatest Bishops of the West, and who may be justly call'd the Western Athanasius, wrote his first Letter to Constantius the Emperor ; in which we have the following Testimony relating to our present purpose.

After 400 Years almost, since the only begotten Son of God vouchsafed to take pity on lost Mankind, as if there had been no Apostles before, or as if after their Martyrdoms and Deaths there had been no Christians, now at length is come abroad the Arian Pestilence, novel and direful, not a Plague of infected Air, but of execrable Blasphemies. Have They then, who believed before, entertain'd false Hopes of Immortality ? It is but late, we know, that These Imaginations have been invented by the Two Eusebius's, and Narcissus, and Theodorus, and Stephanus, and Acacius, and Menophantus ; and the two ignorant and immoral Youths, Ursacius and Valens, whose Letters are publish'd, and who are farther convicted by credible Witnesses, such as have heard Them, not so much disputing, as barking against us \*. In Another Treatise publish'd Three Years after, the same Hilary, having shown how He had received his Faith from the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles, goes on thus : By These have I been taught to believe as I do : In This Faith am I imbued beyond Recovery. Pardon me, O God Almighty, that I cannot be mov'd from This Belief ; but

† Athanas. p. 111, 262, 412, 502, 676, 723. Ed. Bened.

\* Hilar. ad Constant. Lib. 1. p. 1230.

I can die for it. This Age is Tardy, I conceive, in bringing me These most *impious* Teachers : These Masters are too late for my *Faith*, a Faith which *Thou* hast taught me. Such was my Faith in Thee, before ever I so much as heard of *These Names* : By Thee was I thus regenerated, and from that Time forwards Thus am I ever Thine †. *Such is the constant Strain of this Blessed Saint ; who every where brands the Arian Doctrine as the new, novel, upstart Heresy, Folly, Madness ; and the Broachers of it as the New Apostolate, Emissaries of Anti-christ, Blasphemers, and the like. Little did He suspect, tho' a knowing and a learned Man, that Any such Doctrine had been receiv'd, or taught by the Ante-nicene Churches.*

*About the Year 360, Basil enter'd the Lists in This Controversy. We shall often || find Him appealing to the Tradition of the Fathers for the Athanasian Doctrine. His Confession (in Mr. Whiston's Phrase) relating to Gregory of Neocæsarea, amounts only to This, that Gregory had made use of some Expressions which evil-minded Men had perverted to a false and bad Sense, directly contrary to Gregory's true Meaning. Basil Himself bears full and clear Testimony to Gregory's Orthodoxy ; as Bp. Bull has largely demonstrated \*, beyond Contradiction.*

*As to what Basil says of Dionysius of Alexandria, that He was the first who laid the Seeds of the Impiety of the Anomeans : Thus much, at least, may be gather'd from it, that, in Basil's Judgment, none of the Writers before Dionysius, (who wrote against Sabellius, about the Year 259) had any Tincture of That Impiety ; but that the Ante-nicene Church in general was very free from it. And as to Dionysius Himself (however hardly Basil might once think of Him) He has been abundantly vindicated by Athanasius among the Antients, and by several learned Moderns.*

† Hilar. de Trin. l. 6. p. 892.

|| Basil. contr. Eunom. l. 1. p. 5. De Spir. S. p. 167. Ep. 79 :

\* Bull. D. F. Sect. 2, c. 12.



*What Basil is said to confess of Origen, shows that in his Opinion, Custom and Common Consent was, in Origen's Time, on the Side of the Doctrines called Athanasian; and that Origen Himself, sometimes at least, conformed to it. But I shall vindicate Origen at large, in a proper Place.*

*Nazianzen, a Contemporary of Basil's, in more Places than one bears Testimony to the Antiquity and uninterrupted Succession of the Nicene Faith from the Times of the Apostles. As to a pretended Confession of his looking the other Way, it will be consider'd at large in the following Sheets.*

*Epiphanius, about the Year 375, says, that the Apostolical Faith (that is, the Athanasian in his Account) continued pure and uncorrupted 'till the Time of Arius, who divided the Church †: And who by the Instigation of the Devil, and with an impudent Forehead let his Tongue loose against his Lord\*: So little did He imagine that Arianism was primitive Christianity. He observes farther, that had it not been for the subtle Practises of Eudoxius, Bishop of Constantinople, in perverting and corrupting the most pious Emperor Valens, The very Women and Children, and all that had been in any tolerable Measure instructed in Christian Principles, would have reprov'd and routed the Arians, as Blasphemers and Murtherers of their Lord ‡, &c. Such was the Assurance the Athanasians then had, that their Faith was the settled and standing Doctrine of the primitive Churches, all the World over, 'till the Time of Arius.*

*As to Epiphanius's Opinion of Lucian, and Origen, (two single Men) it was severe enough, and indeed not just: As Bishop Bull hath abundantly proved. Yet, from Epiphanius's Censure of Origen, one may perceive plainly, that He thought the Ante-nicene Church in general, both before and after Origen, to be of a*

† Epiphan. contra Hæres. 69. p. 728.

\* Epiphan. p. 736.

‡ Epiphan. p. 737.

*very contrary Judgment to That which He condemns in Lucian and Origen, that is, to Arianism.*

*At This Time lived Gregory Nyssen; who, about the Year 381, encountred Eunomius, the Shrewdest and Sharpest Arian of That Age. In his Reply to Him, He takes notice that the Church had been in Possession of This Doctrine, that God the Son is essentially true God, of the Essence of The True God: And that if Eunomius should undertake to confute That Doctrine, He ought to fix upon some firm and certain Principles whereon to proceed, and trace them down by just and regular Deductions, in order to come at his Conclusion. After He had said This, He goes on in These Words.*

Let no one here tell me, that We ought also to give *rational* Demonstration of what we profess: It is sufficient Demonstration of our Doctrine, that we have a *Tradition* coming down to us from our Fathers; a Kind of Inheritance successively convey'd to us by the primitive *Saints* from the *Apostles* Themselves. They that have *changed* those Doctrines for the present *Novelty*, will have very great need of the Succours of Reason, and Argumentation; if They mean to convince, not the groveling Herd, or giddy Populace, but the grave, and staunch Men, Men of Sobriety and Firmness. While They offer us Discourses without any Argument or Demonstration to support them, it is only playing the Fool, and is even Brutishly stupid: As if greater Regard should be had to empty Talk, void of all Proof, than to the Doctrine of the *Evangelists*, and of the *Apostles*, and their *Successors*, The Lights of the Christian Churches.\*

*Here we see with what Confidence Nyssen appeals to constant Tradition for the Truth of the Athanasian Doctrine: So little did He imagine that the Antenicene Faith was any way different from, much less repugnant to, his own.*

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\* Greg. Nyss. contr. Eunom. l. 3. p. 125, 126.

*I may next mention a famous Case which happen'd in the Year 383. The Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians were then formally and solemnly challeng'd by the Catholicks, to refer the Matter in Dispute to the concurring Judgment of the Writers that lived before the Controversy began: But They declined the Offer; refusing absolutely to put their Cause upon That Issue. This is decisive in the Case, that the Athanasians had all the Assurance imaginable as to the Faith of the primitive Churches; and that the Arians were very sensible that their Doctrines could never bear so fair and just a Trial. The Story is thus told in Socrates, L. 5. c. 10.*

The Emperor (*Theodosius*) sending for *Nectarius* The Bishop (of *Constantinople*) conferred with Him about the properest Method of putting an End to the Dissentions, and restoring the Unity of the Church. He propos'd to have the Matter in Dispute, which had divided the Churches, to be fully laid open; that, removing the Causes of their Differences, the Churches might be reduced to Concord. Upon the hearing of This, *Nectarius* was under some Concern: And calling for *Agelius* the *Novatian* Bishop, of the same Faith with Himself, He acquainted Him with the Emperor's Design. He (*Agelius*) tho' otherwise a very worthy Man, yet having no Talent for Disputation, recommended *Sisinnius*, his *Lector*, to engage in a Conference. *Sisinnius* was a Man of great Wisdom, and Experience, well vers'd in Scripture, and also in Philosophy: But being very sensible that Disputations generally are so far from healing Differences, that They rather foment and inflame them; He suggest'd to *Nectarius* This Method. He very well knew that The *Antients* had ever avoided the ascribing any *Beginning* of Existence to the Son of God, believing Him to be *Coeternal* with the Father: He advises therefore to set aside all logical Wranglings, and to produce The Testimonies of the *Antients*; leaving it to the Emperor

peror to put the Question to the Heads of the several Sects, whether They would make any Account of the Doctors of the Church who lived before the Differences began : Or, whether They would reject Them also, as Strangers to the Faith of Christ. For if They should reject Them, let Them also pronounce an *Anathema* upon Them : Which if They should dare to do, They will be immediately detested by the Generality, and Truth will thus be manifestly victorious. But if They reject not the Antient Doctors, then will it be our Business to produce the Writings of the Antients, by which the Truth of our Doctrine shall be attested.

*Thus far Socrates : who farther relates that Nectarius and the Emperor well approved of the Design, and immediately put it in Execution. Whereupon the Heads of the several Sects were at first much confounded, and divided among Themselves ; some commending what the Emperor had proposed, and others not : But in Conclusion They all chose rather to rest the Cause solely on Logical Disputation, than upon the Testimonies of the Antients. Thus the Design came to nothing. This we may learn from it, that at That Time of Day when many primitive Writings, since lost, were extant, The Athanasians were very willing and desirous to have their Cause tried by the Verdict of the Antient Writers ; being confident of Victory in That Method : And that the Arians, as being sufficiently sensible of the same Thing, prudently declined it.*

*Mr. Whiston did not care to give more than short, general Hints of This Famous Challenge, and the Issue of it : But He endeavors to wind and turn Himself every way to evade its Force\*. He pretends, first, that the Question between the Athanasians and their Adversaries, was not whether the Antients admitted the Co-eternity of the Son, but whether They admitted his Existence to have been without any Limitation of*

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\* Whiston's Reply to Lord Nottingham. Append. p. 63.

Time : *As if the Athanasians intended no more than that the Antients never assign'd any particular Point of Time for the Son's Beginning. But, not to mention how silly such a Challenge had been, and how unserviceable such a Discussion to the Athanasian Cause, which required a great deal more than That comes to ; I say, not to mention This, Socrates and Sozomen's Accounts of That Affair sufficiently obviate every such weak Surmise, or Insinuation. Both say, that Sifinnius well knew that the Antients never durst ascribe any Beginning at all to the Son : And why ? Because They thought or believed Him to be coeternal with the Father †. The Question then was not, whether the Antients had assign'd any particular Time of the Son's beginning to exist : But whether They ascribed Any Beginning at all to Him. And Sifinnius was ready to maintain that They ascribed no Beginning to Him, but believed Him to be coeternal.*

*Mr. Whiston has another very extraordinary Evasion, that The ancient Doctors, appealed to, were not Those of the Three first Centuries, but only such as Father Eustathius, Father Marcellus, Father Alexander, &c. about, or a little before the Council of Nice. A very likely Matter, indeed, that the Emperor should ask the Arians whether They would be tried by the Verdict of Those who had before condemn'd the Arians by Name : Or that the Arians should be at all afraid of pronouncing an Anathema upon such as Father Eustathius, or Father Marcellus, who had been deposed and condemned by the Eusebians, or Arians before : One in a Synod at Antioch, A. D. 329. The other in a Synod at Constantinople, A. D. 335. Socrates observes, that the Heads of those Parties durst not anathematize*

† Ἐν ἐπιστάμην ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀρχὴν ὑπάρξεως τῷ υἱῷ τῆ θεῶ δὲνα ἀπέφυγον κατελήθεισαν γὰρ αὐτὸν συναΐδιον τῷ πατρὶ. Socr. l. 5. c. 10. P. 273.

Ἐν γὰρ ἡδέι, ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ συναΐδιον τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐυρόντες, καὶ ἰτόλησαν ἐπειὴ ἐκ τῶ ἀρχῆς τὴν γένεσιν αὐτὸν ἔχεν. Sozom. lib. 7. c. 12. p. 292.

*those Antient Doctors, lest the People should abhor Them for so doing; or as Sozomen expresses it, lest their own Party should take Offence, and desert Them* || : *Is it at all likely that their own Party should take such Offence in This Case, or should pay any great Respect and Deference to the Memory of Eustathius, Marcellus, &c.?* *Besides This, Those Antient Doctors are stiled οὐ παλαιοὶ, a Word not very proper for such as lived but about 50 or 60 Years before; and some of them alive within twenty, nay within ten Years of the Time: As is particularly true of Marcellus, who died A. D. 374. Add to This, that Socrates and Sozomen are express that the Antient Doctors appealed to, were Those that lived before the Rise of the Differences\* : (as common Sense also must tell us They ought to be) And who could Those be but the Ante-nicene Fathers?*

*Come we now down to the next Century, beginning with 400, where we find Ruffinus a strenuous Advocate for the Faith of the Ante-nicene Church as conformable to his own. The Pretended Confessions which are partially represented from Him, amount to little more than This, that Origen's and the Two Clemens's their Works were originally Orthodox, but had been afterwards corrupted, and interpolated by Hereticks in some Parts of them. This shows what Ruffinus really thought of the Orthodoxy of the Ante-nicene Writers Themselves, that They were of the same Faith with the Athanasians. And tho' Jerom endeavours to expose Ruffinus's Account, with all the Keeness and Satyr of an Adversary; yet He Himself was forced to allow it in the main, and almost to say the same Thing. It may be, says He, that They erred in their Simplicity, or wrote with*

|| Ἰπὸ τῶν δικίων ἐξελαθήσονται. Sozom. p. 292.

\* Τῶν πρὸ τῆς διαίρεσιως ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσαρμοσάντων διδασκάλων. Socr. p. 273.

Πρὸ τῆς διαίρεσιως τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καθ' ἑκαστὸν καὶ διδασκάλος τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων γενεώμενος. Sozom. p. 292.

a different Meaning, or that their Writings have been corrupted by little and little, by unskiltul Transcribers; or however, that before the Rise of the Meridian Dæmon, Arius, They might speak some Things innocently, and incautiously.

The Pretended Confessions out of Jerom, relate chiefly to Origen; whose Case will be considered at large in the following Sheets: And so I need not here say more of it. The like may be said of Theophilus.

We may now come down to St. Austin, who delivers his Mind in the Words here following, in his Treatise of the Trinity, finish'd in the Year 416.

All the Catholick Interpreters of the Old, or New Testament, that I could read, who have wrote before me on the Trinity which is God, intended to teach, in Conformity to Scripture, that Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost do by the inseparable Equality of one and the same Substance, make up the Unity divine †. Surely, St. Austin must have reckon'd the Ante-nicene Doctors among his Catholick Interpreters, of whom He gives this full and plain Testimony. What He has said of Origen, will be considered in Another Place.

I pass over Anastasius, and Justinian's pretended Confessions, as respecting none but Origen.

Photius is an Author of the Ninth Century; who is known to have been often too severe in his Remarks upon the Ante-nicene Writers: Not considering the Difference of Times, or how unreasonable it is to expect that Those who lived before the Rise and Condemnation of Heresies, should come up to every accurate Form of Expression, which long Experience afterwards found necessary, to guard the Faith, against the subtle Practices or provoking Insults of its Adversaries. Bishop Bull has abundantly shown, how easy it is to vindicate the Ante-nicene Fathers against every Thing that can be objected out of Photius.

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† Augustin. de Trin. l. 1. c. 3. p. 753.

*Leaving the Antients, we may now descend to Moderns, to see what Judgment They have made in the present Question.*

*Cardinal Perron, no longer ago than the Reign of King James I. (A. D. 1620.) began the Pretence, that the Arians Themselves would readily submit to be tried by the Doctrine of the Ante-nicene Writers. The Occasion of it was This: The Protestants having well studied the Fathers, were now willing to rest their Cause, not upon Scripture only, but Fathers too; so far at least as the Three first Centuries. And They thought that a much greater Deference was due to the Judgment of those early Ages of the Church, than to That of the Ages succeeding: While the Romanists were used to value the latter equally with the former, or even to give them the Preference. The Cardinal, being press'd in Dispute on this Head, could think of no better an Answer than That before-mention'd. What Mr. Whiston calls his Confession, is, in Truth, nothing else but a poor Pretence, or Subterfuge, made use of in a Case of Extremity, only to serve the Interests of the corrupt Church of Rome.*

*Fisher, the Jesuit, in the Year 1626 seconded the Cardinal in the same Plea, and upon the same Views: But still little Notice was taken of it, 'till a greater than Both, The Jesuit Petavius (who in the Year 1622 had intimated Something of it, in his Notes upon Epiphanius) did by his learned Writings on the Trinity, (A. D. 1644) give new Countenance and Credit to it. And if we consider well the Time when Petavius first began to talk in That Manner, (a very little after Cardinal Perron had open'd the Way to it) or the Use that was to be made of it in Regard to the Interests of the Romish Cause; He may be suspected, by Protestants, to have had some Biass in This Matter, without any Breach of Charity\*. Some learned Romanists, such as Hue-*

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\* See Bull Proem. §. 8. p. 6.  
Grab. Præfat. ad Bulli Opera.

Nelson's Life of Bull, p. 287.



tius, and Valeſius, ſcrupled not to join in ſome meaſure, (after ſo great an Authority) in the like Charge againſt the Ante-nicene Writers; referring to Petavius for Proof of it. This paſſ'd for a while, 'till the Unitarians began to take Advantage of it, and to triumph upon it. In the Years 1658, and 1662, Daniel Zwick-er made his Boaſts of the Ante-nicene Fathers as fa-vouring Arianism: And tho' Comenius and Hoorn-beckius enter'd the Liſts againſt Him; They were hard-ly thought a ſufficient Match for Him. In the Year 1676, Sandius ſeconded Zwick-er in the Arian Cauſe: The Romaniſts hitherto looking on, and leaving it to the Proteſtants to maintain the Honour of the Ante-nicene Churches. In the Year 1678, our Country-man Dr. Gardiner profeſſedly undertook to clear, and defend the Orthodoxy of the Ante-nicene Writers: And ſeveral controverſial Letters paſſ'd between Him and San-dius. The next that engaged in the ſame Cauſe was the learned Le Moyne, in the Year 1684. Soon after, in the Year 1685, followed Biſhop Bull, then a private Clergyman; who ſo learnedly, and ſo effectually defend-ed the Ante-nicene Faith, that the Arian Cauſe has been ſinking under the Weight of his elaborate Pieces ever ſince.

When Biſhop Bull's Books came to be known abroad, They met with the univerſal Eſteem of the Learned in Europe, as well Papiffs as Proteſtants; who from That Time have appeared generally well ſatisfied in the Faith of the Ante-nicene Writers, and have ſtood up in Deſenſe of it. As to Proteſtants, I might mention our own Country-men, Biſhop Stillingfleet, Dr. Cave, and many others; to whom I take leave to add the very pious and learned Dr. Grabe, who long reſided among us. As to the foreign Reform'd, Fa-bricius, and M. Bayle, two very learned Men, have declared Themſelves in Favour of the ſame Sentiments: As alſo have ſeveral other learned Proteſtants abroad, whoſe Names and Treatiſes are recited by Fabri-

cius\*. As to Romanists, I might mention M. Bossuet, late Bishop of Meaux, with the Clergy of France †, and even the best learned Men amongst them. Du Pin is one who has taken all Occasions of answering the Objections made to the Ante-nicene Writers in the Article of the Trinity: So also has M. Massuet as far as concern'd Irenæus; whereof He is Editor. Montfaucon has done the like, so far as properly came in his Way; tho' He gives up Eusebius, who is not in Strictness to be reckon'd with the Ante-nicenes. But the learned Le Nourry has exceeded Them all, in his Apparatus ad Bibliothecam maximam; where He is so zealous in defending the Ante-nicene Writers in general, that He will scarce allow Bishop Bull to have done Justice to some of Them; particularly to Tertullian, and Lactantius, whom therefore He undertakes to vindicate even beyond what The Bishop had pretended. Thus stands the Matter of Fact among the learned Moderns; to whom I might add several now living amongst us, whose Names I am willing to spare. What then can be meant by The strange Report made of the Athanasians, from the Days of their Founder? A Report without Truth; and I had almost said, without any Sobriety, or Modesty. Enough hath been said to take off the pretended Singularity of our Appeal to the Ante-nicene Writers, in This Controversy. It remains only to throw in a Word or two, in answer to Another Objection of a very different kind.

II. There was a Pamphlet publish'd the last Year, intituled Two Letters, &c. One to the Earl of Nottingham, the Other to Mr. Whiston. The Author writes on the Orthodox Side, and has said many, excellent Things, which deserve Commendation. But as He has took the Freedom to pass his Censure upon Others,

\* Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. Vol. 8. p. 312, &c.

† Nelson's Life of Bull, p. 344, 385.

*He will give me leave, I doubt not, to use the like Freedom with Him. What I most find fault with, is his narrowing too much his own Bottom, and his unwary Sapping the Foundation on which He stands. To avoid Perplexities and Uncertainties (as He is pleased to call them) He is for waving all Searches into Antiquity, and is for confining the Debate to Scripture alone: And because many Texts made use of in this Controversy have not been perfectly settled to the Satisfaction of Both Parties, as to the Readings, Translations, or Interpretations, and it requires some Learning and Critical Skill to fix and ascertain Them; These Texts therefore are to be laid aside also, and the Merits of the Cause left to be tried by those only that remain; Such as have never yet been disputed by the Adversaries, or against which They have nothing to say. Pref. p. 8. He does not consider,*

1. *The Difficulty of finding out any Texts, of real Weight in This Controversy, which have not been controverted, either as to their Reading, or Translation, or Interpretation.*

2. *That the strongest and most important Texts are Those which have been controverted; and for That very reason, because They are the strongest, &c. For, it was worth the while for the Adversary to rack Invention, and to call in all the Succours of Learning and Critical Skill to assail Them, if possible, and to wrest them out of our Hands. Thus, The first Chapter of St. John has had more Pains and Art spent upon it, by our Adversaries, than any other part of Scripture.*

3. *That, if once the Issue of the Cause be put upon other Texts which have been more neglected, it will be as easy, nay much easier, to invent some Pretence or other against the Reading, Version, or Construction, to defeat every Argument built upon Them.*

4. *That therefore the Method which this Author proposes, is in Reality (without intending it) laying the Weight of the Dispute upon what least deserves it, and*

*can least of all bear it. It is deserting our strong Holds, and engaging the Adversary upon unequal Ground, and at the greatest Disadvantage: In a word, it is to expose, and betray The Cause which we are endeavouring to support.*

*What I have here observed in relation to our Use of Scripture-Texts, is in some measure applicable to the Testimony of the Antients. The Reason why This also has been so warmly and resolutely contested with us, is because it is of real Weight, and of very considerable Moment for determining the main Question. It would be a very weak Thing to give up so momentous a Point as That is, only because it has been contested; that is, because it is worth the contending for. If the illiterate Vulgar be not competent Judges of This Branch of the Dispute (as indeed They scarce are of any Dispute thro' its whole Compass, tho' confined to Scripture alone) yet there are Others, whom the Vulgar will take for their Guides in this Matter, (and they ought to do so) who can understand, and judge of it.*

*The Author had but little Reason to be concern'd at Mr. Whiston's Followers boasting of his Performance as a Victory, in regard to the Antients: It was natural for Them so to do, either thro' Ignorance, or thro' Prejudice, where They had no manner of Reason. Knowing and impartial Judges will easily see the Difference between obtaining a Victory, and giving the last Word. I must do my Lord Nottingham the Justice to say, that He effectually perform'd his Part, with great Integrity, Learning, and Acuteness; with the Exactness of a Scholar, and the Judgment of a compleat Divine. Had Mr. Whiston, in his Reply, confined Himself, (as He ought to have done, and as My Lord very justly had required of Him) to Those Points, and those Citations only, which were before in Debate, instead of pouring in new Impertinencies, and many foreign Matters, to conceal and cover his Defeat; the very*  
meanest

*meanest Reader must have seen plainly, on which Side the Advantage lies. But to return,*

*The low Notion which This Gentleman every where, thro' Both his Letters, appears to have conceived of the Primitive Saints, may, I hope, be corrected by his more careful perusing Them, when disposed to it. His Chief Argument against Them, (viz. that the Adversaries have been able to raise Cavils, and to perplex their Meaning) will carry Him farther than He is well aware; even to the laying aside, not some Texts only, and Those of the greatest Weight, as it hath already done; but Those very Texts on which He would, at length, have the whole Stress of the Controversy laid. If This Gentleman be of opinion, as He declares in his Preface, that the Gates of Hell should never prevail over That Foundation, over the Doctrine of Christ's Divinity; And if He thinks it of such Moment that Later Ages have universally adhered to it, (A Point which would be disputed with Him as well as the other, were it of half the Moment or Concern as the other) certainly He must think it of some Importance to clear and vindicate the Faith of the most pure and primitive Churches in This Article; lest otherwise what He calls the Foundation (if it cannot be proved to have been constantly upheld) appear at length not to be the Foundation, but rather so much Wood, Hay, or Stubble built upon it. To conclude, as I would not detract from the Merit of whatever This worthy Gentleman has well urged in Proof of our Lord's Divinity; so neither were it advisable in Him, to detract from Those who in Defense of the same Cause, and to very excellent Purpose, have laboured in searching both Scripture, and Antiquity.*

*To the Law and to the Testimony let the Appeal be in the first Place; and next to the united Suffrage of the Primitive Churches, as the best and safest Comment upon the other. On These Two Pillars will our Faith for ever stand, firm and unmovable, against all Attempts;*

*tempts ; whether of vain Philosophy, to batter the Doctrine, or of vainer Criticism to corrupt or stifle the Evidence : And the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.*

*I should here advertise the Reader, that in the following Papers I have endeavoured always to express my self fully, and particularly, in the most material Points : But as to incidental Matters of slighter Moment, I have sometimes, purely for the Sake of Brevity, pass'd them off in general Hints only ; such as will not be perfectly understood without looking into The Reply which I am answering, or sometimes into my former Defense.*

*I suppose, the Inquisitive, and such as have Leisure, will not think it much Trouble to compare all the Three together, as they read ; especially where any Thing occurs which may appear obscure by reason of its Brevity. As to others, They will be content with a more confuse and general Perception of such Parts as are of least Concernment, and require a little more Pains and Care in the Examining than They have Leisure, or Inclination to spend upon them.*

## E R R A T A.

Page	Line	For	Read
123	14	or number	of the number
159	29	παραιλευσάμην	παρικειυσάμην
162	20	you short	you come short
165	25	is man	is of Man
174	36	p. 184.	p. 194.
183	35	as have	as hath
209	24	entred to	entred into
240	28	183	187
276	38	βελών	βενών
276	38	πολλάχρ	πολλαχρς
304	34	ὑπεξευμένος	fortè, ὑπέξευγμένος
320	32	One That	One with That
335	25	εὑρίχεται	εὑρίσκειται
336	7	any thing of	any thing more of
439	29	Origination of	Origination in
476	34	Σαμοσατέως	Σαμοσατίας
240	33	Mr. Wall	Dr. Wall
414	39	p. 51.	p. 57.

I trouble not the Reader with the more slight *Errata*, such as will not disturb the Reading.



THE  
ANSWER  
TO THE  
PREFACE.



YOU begin with big Words: You have, you say, *clearly shewn, that Dr. W.'s Notion is entirely contrary to Reason, Scripture, and all primitive Antiquity.* Your Design, no doubt, is to magnify your Work, and to help it forwards in the Opinion of the Reader. But wise Men will not expect much from a Performance that wants a Proclamation in the Entrance: Had your Arguments been just, and your Proofs clear; a Reader might have been trusted to find them out.

You proceed to complain of my *Manner of Writing*, as being *greatly fitted to deceive.* You apprehend, it seems, that it may still have some Influence, notwithstanding that you have so *clearly, and so entirely* confuted it: Which, if it does not betray a great Degree of Mistrust, is a very ill Compliment to the Understanding of your Readers.

After this general Charge, you go on to particular Complaints, drawn up in Form.

1. The first is, my *Entitling* my Book, *A Vindication of Christ's Divinity*: Being so rude as to insinuate, that the Men I have to deal with, are *Impugners* of Christ's *Divinity*. I confess the Charge; and am so far from thinking it a Fault, that I have a second Time very deliberately done the same Thing, in This very Treatise. Till you give us a better Account of our Lord's *Divinity* than you have hitherto done, I must persist in it: Because it is very proper that the World be made justly sensible of your Prevarication, and indeed shameful Banter, in a momentous Article of the Christian Faith. I use the Word *Divinity* in the plain and usual Sense of it, as the Christian Church hath long done. I know of no *Divinity*, but such as I have here defended. The other, falsely so called, is really none. While you maintain the Principles you do, I must look upon you as *Impugners* of Christ's *Divinity*; well knowing, that the Christian Church in all Ages would have thought the same of you, and that your Doctrine was condemned as *Blasphemy*, long before *Arius* appeared; and that, upon his first Appearance, He and his Adherents were charged, as you now are, and very justly, with *denying* the *Divinity* of their God and Saviour.<sup>a</sup>

You have invented a very soft Name for it: It is not *denying* the *Divinity* of Christ; but it is differing about the *particular Manner of Explication of That Doctrine*. p. 4. Which Pretence, like many others, has a great deal more of *Art*, than of *Solidity* in it. Explaining a Doctrine is one Thing, explaining it *away*, is quite another. There is some Difference, for instance, between explaining the *Doctrine* of the *Resurrection* of the *Body*, and explaining the *Texts* relating to it in such a Manner as to make void the very Doctrine it self. When *Basilides*, *Valentinus*, *Cerdo* and *Marcion*, so interpreted Scripture, as wholly to destroy the Supreme Divinity of the *Creator*, or *God of Israel*; was This, think you, no more than differing concerning the *particular Manner of Explication of his Divinity*? They acknowledged, indeed, his *Divinity* still; that is, in Words, and in Scripture-Words too; but in a Sense peculiar to themselves.

<sup>a</sup> Τὴν θεότητα τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀρνούμενοι. Alexand. Epist. apud Theod. E. H. l. i. c. 4. p. 10.

Ἀρνούμενοι τὴν θεότητα τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ — παντοχόθεν ἄδειν γενέσθαι, ὥστε μήτε θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιγνώσκειν, μήτ', &c. Athan. ad Adeiph. p. 912.



The plain Truth is, You and We differ about the *Sense of Scripture*, in the Question of Christ's *Divinity*. We find Christ's *Divinity* in our Bibles: You find not the Doctrine there. Accordingly, we assert Christ's *Divinity*, and you deny it; that is, you deny the *Thing*, and retain nothing but the *Name*. The Difference then is, not concerning the Manner of explaining our *Doctrine*, (which with you is *no Doctrine*) but concerning the Manner of explaining the *Texts* which relate to it. You speak of Christ's *Divinity* however; you have some Awe and Reverence for the *Language* of the Church, tho' you have left her *Faith*. Some Concern you have also for your own Characters, and for the Interest of the Cause you are engaged in; which can never prevail, no not with the Populace, but under the Benefit of a Mask. If it be asked why we have no such Doctrine as That of the *Divinity* of *Angels*, and of *Magistrates*, (called *Gods*, in Scripture,) or why the *Divinity* of Christ should be asserted, while the other is absolutely denied, I am persuaded, you will be much at a Loss for any satisfactory Answer, upon your Principles. It will be a vain Thing for you to plead, that you assert as much of Christ's *Divinity*, as Scripture hath asserted. For, were the Fact really so, (as it certainly is not,) Then indeed Scripture might justify you in your *Denial* of Christ's *Divinity*; but it can never justify you in calling That *Divinity* which, according to the Language of the Church, and just Propriety of Speech, you your selves, as well as we, know to be none.

You tell me, that the *whole and only Design* of the Authors I oppose, has been, *soberly, and in the Fear of God, to collect and consider what it is that our Saviour himself and his Apostles have in Scripture taught us, concerning That Doctrine, separate from the metaphysical Hypotheses of fallible, and contentious Men*. Now, to pass by the extraordinary *Civility* of these Reflections upon others, and the *Modesty* of assuming so much to your selves; as if you had no *Hypotheses*, no *metaphysical Fancies*, were never *contentious*, scarce *fallible*, like other Men: Waving This, yet give me Leave to say, that be your Designs ever so *good*, your Intentions ever so *sober*, and your Searches directed in the *Fear of God*; if the Result of all be, that you cannot find Christ's *Divinity* (properly so called) in Scripture, you ought not to pretend, either that you are Advocates for Christ's *Divinity*, or that Any Man is to blame for charging you as *Impugners* of it.

You say farther, that by the *Divinity* of Christ, I mean my own particular *metaphysical Explications* of it. A Sug-

gestion as false, as it is mean. For neither is my Sense any *particular Sense*, but the *common Sense* of all Men, learned or unlearned, that know the Difference between *God* and *Creature*: Neither is there any thing of *Metaphysicks* in it, more than there is in the Declarations of the *God of Israel*, as often as He proclaimed Himself to be *God*, (in Opposition to such as were *no Gods*,) on the Score of his *Almighty Power, Wisdom, Greatness*, and other *divine Perfections*. However, supposing my Account of the Son's *Divinity* to be *metaphysical*, is not your Account of the Father's *Divinity* as *metaphysical* as the other? And if you, thro' your *false Metaphysicks*, exclude the Son from the *One Godhead*, I shall not be ashamed of making Use of *true Metaphysicks* to correct your Errors, and to establish the Son's *Divinity*, upon the same Foot whereon Scripture has fixed it. You might be ashamed to mention *Metaphysicks*, when every Body knows that you have little else to rely upon, for the Support of your novel Doctrine<sup>b</sup>. Who sees not what a Stress has been laid upon a false Notion of the *Self-existence* of the Father, to degrade and separate his beloved Son from the *One True Godhead*? What Batteries have you not raised against a proper *Sonship*, from *metaphysical Reasonings*, should I say, or *Reveries*? That Generation implies *Division*, and necessary Generation outward *Coaction*; that Generation must be an *Act*, and every *Act* must mean *Choice*; that necessary Agents are *no Agents*, and necessary Causes *no Causes*; that nothing *individual* can be communicated; that Three Persons must be *Three intelligent Agents*, and Three intelligent Agents, reciprocally, Three Persons; that Three Agents cannot be *One Being, One Substance, One Lord, or One God*; that there can be no *Medium* between *Being*, and *not Being*; that inseparable Union, without *identical Life*, will not suffice to make Two Persons *One God*; and that if there be *identical Life*, then They are no longer *Two Persons*; nor can there be any *Equality, or Subordination*; that the same living God necessarily signifies the *same individual intelligent Agent*, or Person; that God the Son must be either the *same identical whole Substance*, or an *homogeneous undivided Part* of the infinite Substance, upon my Principles; and that He can be *neither*; and therefore not one and the *same God* with the Father. Here are *Metaphysicks* in great Plenty, sufficient, one may think, to furnish out an ordinary *School-man*. Nevertheless, we should

<sup>b</sup> See my Defense, p. 300, 323,

not, on This Account, be so unreasonable as to censure either Dr. *Clarkè*, or his Friends, for procuring all the *real* Assistance They can from *Metaphysicks*; true *Metaphysicks* being nothing else but true Divinity: Let but your Reasonings be clear, solid, and pertinent, and we shall never find fault with them for being *metaphysical*. The Truth is, you have pretended to *Metaphysicks*; but have betrayed very great Mistakes in that Part, as you have also done in your other Pretences, relating to *Scripture*, and *Antiquity*. To return to the Business of the Title.

You observe, very shrewdly, that you could with *much* greater Justice (and yet you did not think it reasonable so to do) have entitled your Reply, *A Vindication of the Divinity of God the Father Almighty*. Truly, if you had done it, you would not have found me complaining of the *Injustice* of it: For, what Hurt could you have done to me, or my Cause, by making your self ridiculous? I hope, therefore, you do not expect any Thanks from me upon This Head. You go on, however, seriously to shew, how you could have defended so conceited a Title. You could have pleaded, that the *denying the Father to be alone Supreme in Authority and Dominion over all*, (in which consists the true Notion of his *Divinity*;) is *denying his Divinity*. That is to say, you could have begged the main Question, and have thereupon founded a Charge against me, with the same, nay, *greater Justice*, than I charge you with a plain Matter of Fact, no Part of the main Question between us. The Question is, Whether the *one true Godhead* be *common* to Father and Son, or *proper* to the Father only? You have determined for the latter; therefore you have struck the Son out of the *one true Godhead*, previously to our Dispute; therefore you have denied his proper *Divinity*: And the Question now is, not whether you have denied it, (which is out of Question,) but, Whether you have *justly* denied it? If you see no Difference between the Two Cases, I can only pity your Confusion. Whether *Divinity*, strictly so called, can be *common* to more Persons than one, remains to be considered. In the mean while, it is evident that you, by making it *proper* to the Father only, have denied the *Divinity* of all besides.

2. A second Complaint, is of a *Motto* in my Title Page: *I am Jesus whom Thou persecutest; it is hard for Thee to kick against the Pricks*. Now, I thought a Writer might be at Liberty to follow his Judgment, or Fancy, in such a Trifle as a *Motto*, without being so solemnly called to Account for it. But, it seems, This must be now brought to the

Bar, and deliberately scann'd. *As if, say you, the not receiving Dr. W.'s Notions in Metaphysics, was persecuting Christ.* As if, say I, the abusing of *Metaphysics*, to the Destruction of a *plain Scripture-Doctrine*, and the undermining the *Christian Faith*, were not, by a very easy Figure, justly called the *persecuting of Christ, crucifying the Son of God afresh, and putting him to an open Shame.*

Since I am called upon, in this Case, I will tell you, so far as I remember, what I principally intended by the *Motto*.

1. One Thing was, to intimate the great Awe and Dread which every Man ought to have upon his Mind, when he takes Pen in Hand to write in Opposition to his Saviour's *Godhead*, and with a form'd Design to deprive him of that *Worship*, and those *divine Honours*, which have been constantly paid him by innumerable Martyrs and Confessors, by the whole Church of Christ for fourteen Centuries at least, I doubt not to say seventeen. Whatever may be pleaded for disputing Points of an inferior Nature, and less set by; This particularly, is a Cause not to be entred into without *Fear and Trembling*, by any pious Man; lest haply he be found to *fight against God*. You may think, perhaps, you have no need of such Caution: But for That very Reason, I should be apt to conclude, you have.

2. Another Thing intended by the *Motto* was, to insinuate, how impracticable and vain (in all Probability) any Attempt must be to defeat the Doctrine of our Lord's *Divinity*; which has now stood the Test for a long Tract of Centuries, *tho' all imaginable Endeavours and Artifices have been from the Beginning employed to overthrow it.* A late Writer<sup>c</sup> very well observes, that "This Foundation has been so upheld, that where the first Institutions were, as it were, sunk out of Memory, by the Weight of impure Mixtures, as in the *Greek Church*; and where every other Article of Faith had received Wounds by the Innovations of Error, as in the *Roman Church*; yet all of them have adhered to, and preserved This main and *Fundamental Point* to This Day. The same is likewise true of all the Churches of the *Reformation*: And God has visibly blasted and defeated All Attempts against the *eternal Godhead* of our Blessed Saviour. *It is hard for Thee to kick against the Pricks.* So said a pious Father of the Church,

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<sup>c</sup> *Two Letters to the Earl of Nottingham, and Mr. Whiston.* Pref. p. 19.

applying it to this very Case<sup>d</sup>, (one would think with a prophetic Spirit,) thirteen hundred Years ago. Such were then the Sentiments of the wisest and best Men of Those Times. They were *fallible*, They were *Men*: But if Posterity, *fallible* as They, grow bold and daring, where the other would have trembled, let Them look to it. They had the same Scriptures we have, and better Helps for the understanding them: They had their Faculties of discerning no less than we; and They spared no Pains, or Care, in their Searches. This is a Consideration of some Moment, especially in a *Fundamental Article*. We should not, at least, go *rashly* into contrary Sentiments, nor without *plain Scripture* to warrant it. We may be apt to flatter ourselves too much, and think we see farther than Those before us; when in Reality, perhaps, it is not that we have more *Sense* than They, but that we want their *Piety*.

You tell me how *carefully* the Men of your Way have *studied the Scripture*, and how *sincerely* They have *made Use of all the Helps God has given them, to understand it rightly*. Be it so: And I do not know any one that can lay it to the Charge of *St. Paul*, that He had not, in such a Sense *sincerely* studied the Scripture, or had not *sincerely* made Use of the Helps God had given Him, tho' still a *Persecutor of Christ*. However *sincere* you may have been, yet believe also that others, as *sincere* as you, have carefully studied the same Scriptures; and that the most eminent Lights of the Christian Church in all Ages, have as *sincerely* thought it their indispensable Duty to pronounce an *Anathema* upon the Doctrine you give us, as you do that you ought to receive and follow it. We have nothing to do to inquire after your *Sincerity*, of which *God* is Judge. Neither Civil Judicatures, nor Ecclesiastical Courts, ever proceed upon That Bottom. Our Business is not to consider the *Sincerity* of the Men, but the Nature, Quality, and Tendency of the Doctrine. There have been sincere *Photinians*, sincere *Samosatenians*, sincere *Sabellians*, sincere *Papists*, sincere *Jews* and *Mahometans*. And indeed, what Sects are there that have not *sincere* Men amongst them? The more *sincere* you are, the better it will fare with you at the great

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<sup>d</sup> Τὶ γὰρ κενόδοξε πολεμῆεις τὸν ἀκαταπολέμητον; τί μάχη ἀκαταμαχῆται; σκληρὸν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν. σκαυτὸν σκαυδαλίζεις, καὶ οὐ τὸν λόγον. σκαυτὸν ἀλίσκεις, καὶ οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα. σκαυτὸν ἀταλλοτριεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος, καὶ οὐ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπὸ πατρὸς, οὐδὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ. Epiphani. Ancor. c. 14. p. 20.

Day of Account. In the mean while, give us leave to be *sincere* too, in condemning heartily, what we heartily disapprove. And let the *Sincerity* of each be tried by the Nature and Quality of the Cause you and we are engaged in, and by the Strength of the Evidence on either Side; on which, as I conceive, chiefly hangs the Proof of our *Sincerity*. You proceed to *Invective*. *It concerns Those who thus affect to sit in the Seat of God, and to equal their own disputable Notions with the express Word of God, to consider a little more seriously, what Spirit They are of.* But, laying aside childish Wrath, let us argue this Matter coolly and sedately with you. Is it *affecting to sit in the Seat of God*, that we are doing our bounden Duty, in condemning false Doctrine, or what we take to be such; and in *contending earnestly for the Faith which was once delivered to the Saints?* And how is it *equalling our own disputable Notions with the express Word of God*, when we stand up for the *express Word of God*, against Those who appear to us to contradict and pervert it, in Favour of their *metaphysical Conceits*, and ill-grounded *Hypotheses*? What Right have a few private Men to claim *express Scripture*, and to equal their own disputable Notions with the *express Word of God*, in Opposition to the *Christian World*, as capable of judging what *Scripture* is, as They that so vainly boast of it? Charge us no more, so fondly, with *affecting to sit in the Seat of God*, lest it be told you, in Return, that there appears to be infinitely more Pride, Vanity and Arrogance, in a few *private Men* sitting in Judgment upon whole Churches, and throwing their *hasty*, ill-grounded Censures upon *Fathers*, and *Councils*, and all the greatest and wisest Men that have lived in past Centuries, than any can be imagined in Those whom you so injuriously reflect on; for no Cause, but for honestly declaring their Abhorrence of your *novel*, and *dangerous* Opinions. Surely we may presume, without *affecting to sit in the Seat of God*, to think some very fallible Men liable to *Errors*: And when in Fact it appears that They are so, we may presume, according to our bounden Duty, to take all proper Care to prevent such Errors spreading. But enough has been said in Vindication of a *Motto*.

3. A Third Complaint is of my *unrighteous* Use of the Term *Arians*, and *Arianism*. But that This Censure of yours is very *unrighteous*, may appear sufficiently from what I have elsewhere demonstrated<sup>e</sup>, and may again, as Occasion

<sup>e</sup> Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription, p. 10. to 21. also p. 67.

offers. In Truth, it is complimenting you, to call you *Arians*; for you really come short of the old *Arians*, in more Points than one (as I shall observe hereafter,) and have not so *honourable* Thoughts of God the Son, as the Generality of the *ancient Arians* had. As to what you pretend about the *particular Tenets of Arius*, I shewed you long ago<sup>f</sup>, that yours differ not in any Thing material from them. You are pleased to say, that by my *Way of consequential Deductions the Fathers of the Council of Nice, and all their Catholick Predecessors, may with equal Justice be charged with Arianism*. You mean, I suppose, provided in drawing *Consequences*, no Regard be had to what is *plain, or obscure; right, or wrong; true, or false*. Such a *consequential Way* as This, never was *my Way*; and I hope, never will be: Whether it be *yours*, we shall see. You are to prove, that the Council of *Nice* is chargeable with *Arianism*, upon my Principles. I perceive, you are sanguine enough to undertake it; we are now to examine how you perform.

I must abridge your long tedious Train of Argument, to bring the Parts nearer together, and to save my self the Trouble of transcribing. But I'll take Care that your Argument shall not lose a Tittle of its Force, or Strength; having indeed none to spare.

“ The Council of *Nice*, by asserting that the Son was, not  
 “ (*ποιηθείς ἐξ ἑν ὄντων*) *made or formed out of nothing*, but  
 “ (*γενηθείς ἐκ τῆς ἑσῆς τῆ πατρὸς*) *generated from the Substance*  
 “ *of the Father*—— confessedly, did not mean either, that  
 “ the Son was (which is the first of *Dr. W.*'s Two Senses  
 “ of the Term *individual*) the *same identical whole Sub-*  
 “ *stance* with the Father—— or (which is the Doctor's other  
 “ Sense of the Term *individual*) that He was a *homogeneous*  
 “ *undivided Part* of That infinite and inseparable Substance  
 “ which is the Father's—— But their Meaning evidently  
 “ was, that as one Fire is lighted from another without any  
 “ *Division, Abscission, Diminution, &c.* so the Son was ge-  
 “ nerated from the Father without any *Division, Abscission,*  
 “ *&c.* of the Father's *Substance*, or of his *alone* supreme  
 “ *Authority and Dominion over all*. And this Notion of  
 “ theirs, because it supposes the Son to be —— not *the*

<sup>f</sup> *Defense*, p. 216, &c.

<sup>g</sup> See my Supplement, p. 20. where I justify my charging our Adversaries with Consequences, and also intimate in what Cases such a Conduct is allowable, or otherwise.

“ Substance of the Father, but from the Substance of the Fa-  
 “ ther: And because it supposes the Generation of the  
 “ Son to be an *Act* of the Father — and because it re-  
 “ serves inviolably to the Father, his *Audientia*, his *Alone*  
 “ *Supreme Authority and Dominion over all*, which makes  
 “ Him to be in the absolute Sense, *The One God*: There-  
 “ fore, I say, This Notion Dr. *W.* is pleas'd to rank, a-  
 “ mong other Things, under the Head of *Arianism*.

This is the *consequential* Thing, which you have been pleas'd to bring forth. The Sum is thus: If Dr. *W.* supposes the Son to be a *Part* of the Father's Substance, (which he does not,) and if the *Nicene* Council denies the Father and Son to be one *undivided Substance*, (which it doth not,) and if the Council supposes the eternal Generation to be an *Act*, in the Sense of *free Choice*, (which is a *false* Supposition,) and if the Council supposes the Father *alone* to have supreme Dominion over all, (which is another *false* Supposition,) if These several false and groundless Suppositions be evidently true; then Dr. *W.* by charging some Persons with *Arianism*, who deserve it, has *consequentially* charged others also, who have not deserved it. That I may be certain of doing you Justice, as to this marvellous Thread of Reasoning, I will come to Particulars.

1. In the first Place, Where do you find me saying, that the Son is either the *same identical* (that is, same, same) *whole Substance with the Father*, or an *undivided Part of that Substance which is the Father's*? I leave *Whole and Parts*<sup>h</sup> to Those Gentlemen of strong *Imagination*, that consider every Thing in a *corporeal* Way, under the Notion of *Extension*. All that I say is, that Father and Son are *one undivided Substance*; which is also the Sense of the *Nicene* Fathers. For,

2. Where do you find that the *Nicene* Council ever supposes the Father and Son not to be *one* and the *same undivided Substance*? They say, *ἐκ τῆς ἑσίας*, *from the Substance of the Father*: This is all you have to ground your Cavit upon. But the Council supposes the Son to be both *from* the Substance of the Father, and *of* the Substance of the Father, and but *one Substance* in Both, because of the inseparable Union and Connexion of Both. The Doctrine is

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<sup>h</sup> Κυρίως Θεός, ὡςπερ οὐκ ἔστι μέρος, οὕτως οὐδὲ ὅλον, ἐπεὶ τὸ ὅλον ἐκ μερῶν ἐστὶ. καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ λόγος παραδέχασθαι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν εἶναι ἐκ μερῶν, ἃν ἕκαστον οὐ δύναται ὅπως τὰ ἄλλα μέρη. Orig. contr. Cels. p. 18.



plainly This, *God of God*, and *Both one God*; *Light of Light*, and *Both one Light*; *Substance of Substance*, and *Both one Substance*<sup>1</sup>. This is the Catholick Doctrine, which it is much easier to carp and cavil at, than to confute. I should take Notice of your Words, not ποιηθείς ἐξ οὐκ ἔνταυ, *not made or formed out of nothing*. Why do you here insert ποιηθείς, and pretend to give the Sense of the Council in a Way wherein They never expressed it? Is it not to insinuate, that the Council imagined the Son to be *made*, or *formed*, only *not out of nothing*? One may believe that This was in your Head, by your silyly remarking, presently after, that *Tertullian*, *Origen*<sup>k</sup>, and *Lactantius*, affirmed the same Thing of *Angels*, and *Souls*, as the *Nicene* Fathers did of the Son. Your Report of every one of them is utterly false, (as shall be shewn in a proper Place;) but were it true, what is it to the *Nicene* Fathers, who were wiser Men than to countenance any such detestable Doctrine? What They meant by ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, is very plain, from the Creed it self, and has been fully explained and vindicated<sup>1</sup> from Misconstructions. The Sum of what They

<sup>1</sup> Quemadmodum Lumen de Lumine & utrumque unum Lumen, sic intelligatur Sapiencia de Sapiencia, & utrumque una Sapiencia: Ergo & una essentia, quia hoc est ibi esse quod sapere ——— Pater & Filius simul una sapiencia quia una essentia, & singillatim sapiencia de sapiencia, sicut essentia de essentia. *August. de Trin. l. 7. c. 1, 2. p. 855.*

Consilium de Consilio, & voluntas de voluntate, sicut substantia de substantia, sapiencia de sapiencia. *Ibid. l. 15. c. 20. p. 994.*

See other Examples of the same Way of speaking, collected by Petavius. *De Trin. l. 6. c. 10. p. 351.*

<sup>k</sup> See Origen fully vindicated, in This respect, by Huetius. *Origenian. p. 30, 93.*

<sup>1</sup> See my Defense, p. 464. *Bull D. F. p. 114. Athanas. p. 224, 895.* Eusebius of Nicomedia may be an Evidence of the Meaning of ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, (while he is endeavouring to expose it,) by what he uses as parallel, and what as opposite to it.

## Parallel.

Ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀν μέρους αὐτοῦ, ἢ ἐξ ἀπορροίας τῆς οὐσίας.

Ἐχει τὴν ταυτότητα τῆς φύσεως.

Φύσις ἐκ τῆς φύσεως

Euseb. Nicomed. apud Theod. l. 1. c. 6. p. 24.

## Opposite.

Τῆς φύσεως τῆς ἀγεννήτου μὴ μετέχων.

Ἐτερον τῆ φύσει καὶ τῆ δυνάμει. Κτιστὸν.

Ἰπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονὸς.

Βουλήματι γενόμενος.

They intended was, that the Son was not *from Nothing*, nor from any *extraneous* Substance, but from the Substance of the Father; as Light streaming out from Light, but without *Division*, or *Abscission*, or *Diminution*; being eternally *in* the Father, as well as *from* Him, and inseparably included with Him. Indeed, the *Arians* invidiously charged Them with making the Son a *Part of the Father's Substance*<sup>m</sup>, as you also are pleased to charge me. Which is to me an Argument that my Notion is still the same with That of the *Nicene* Fathers, and yours not different from That of the *Arians*.

3. Where do you find that the Council ever supposes the Generation of the Son to be an *Act*, in your Sense of *Act*? The Council has not a Word about *Act*, that I know of: Nor, if it had, would it be at all to your Purpose. The Question about *Act*, will depend upon another Question, *viz.* Whether the Council intended an *eternal*, or *temporal* Generation? Upon either Supposition, I can allow the Generation to be an *Act*; but not in your novel Sense of *Act*, in Both Cases. Suppose it *eternal*, then the Generation was an *Act*; but in the *ancient* Sense of *Act*, and *necessary* Agency: As the *Sun* was supposed to *act* in generating *Rays*, *Fountains* to *act* in generating *Streams*, the *Mind* to *act* in generating *Thoughts*, *Trees* to *act* in generating *Branches*, *Bodies* to *act* in generating *Effluvia*, *Vapours*, or *Perfumes*, the *Earth* to *act* in generating *Fruits*; and the like. No matter whether, in strictness, these kind of Generations should be called *Acts*: They are such as the *Antients* called so; and when we are interpreting the *Antients*, we must attend to the *antient* Sense of Words. *Necessary Acts* were then called *Acts*; and therefore no Wonder if *eternal* Generation was looked upon as an *eternal Act*. But, suppose the Council intended only *temporal* Generation, (as some have thought, and it seems not improbable) then I readily allow it to be an *Act*, even in your Sense of *Choice*; as much as was the Son's Generation of the Blessed Virgin. But then I insist upon it, that the *Ni-*

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*Some of these Expressions which Eusebius uses as parallel, are put invidiously, and injuriously. But still, we may see what in the main was the Catholick Sense of the Phrase, thro' the false Colours whereby he hoped to expose it.*

<sup>m</sup> See Arius's Letter. Apud Theod. E. H. l. i. c. 5.  
And Eusebius of Nicomedia. Theod. l. c. 6.

ence Fathers maintained the Son's eternal and necessary Existence, antecedent to the Generation; which is a Doctrine opposite to yours, as Light to Darknefs.

4. In the last Place, where do you find one Word of the Father's *alone* Supremacy of Dominion, in the *Nicene* Decrees? This is purely a Fiction of your own, without the least Shadow of a Reason for it. Do you find the *Nicene* Fathers telling you of a *Sovereign* producing to himself a *Subject*, or of a *Lord* and Master producing a *Servant*? Is it *Subject of Sovereign*, very *Subject of very Sovereign*; instead of *God of God*, very *God of very God*? You will see that one is *of the other*, not that one is *above the other*. If the Father be there called *Almighty*, (παντοκράτωρ,) yet They understood the Son to be *Almighty of Almighty*, (παντοκράτωρ ἐκ παντοκράτου<sup>n</sup>;) as well as *God of God*: All Perfections common to Both, only not *co-ordinately*; the Father having his Perfections *from none*, the Son having the same Perfections *from Him*; *Equal* in every thing, but still *deriving* That very *Equality*. If This be the *Ἀουθενία* you speak of, the Thing is *true*, but not *pertinent*; if you mean more, it may be *pertinent*, but it is not *true*; nor have you a Syllable of Proof for it, either in *Scripture*, or *Antiquity*.

We have now seen how well you have acquitted your self in the *consequential* Way, under This Article; not quite so well, I think, as before in your Charge upon me as *denying* the Father's *Divinity*. I must do you the Justice to say, that you can sometimes manage an Argument to greater Advantage: Or if you could not, I should have made it my Resolution not to exchange a Word more with you. How you came to perform so much below your self, here in your *Preface*, I know not; except it be that your *Passions* were more deeply engaged in This Part, than in the rest. To proceed.

4. A fourth Head of *Complaint* is, that I have *talk'd about calling in Question a fundamental Article of Religion*. I have so; and, I pray, where is the Offence of so doing? Your first Reason against it, lies in these Words, *As if the first Article of the Creed was not as fundamental as the second*. But who are They that set the *First* and *Second* Articles at Variance with each other, when for fourteen Centuries, and more, They have agreed most amicably together? Do not be surprized, when I tell you, that you are the Men that

<sup>n</sup> παντοκράτωρα ἐκ παντοκράτου. πάντων γὰρ ἂν ἄρχῃ ὁ πατήρ καὶ κρατεῖ, ἄρχῃ καὶ κρατεῖ καὶ ὁ υἱός. Athan. Expos. Fid. p. 99.

impugn the *First* Article, by impugning the *Second*. I have learned from the *first* Article, that God is a *Father*: Which, in the Sense of the Christian Church, and according to the Intention of the Compilers of the Creeds<sup>o</sup>, supposes him to have a *Son*<sup>p</sup>; a co-eternal, co-equal, and co-essential Son, of the *same Nature* with Him. And I readily submit the Case to the pious and considerate Reader to judge of, whether I, who, among the other Perfections and Glories of the Father, reckon This for one, that he has always had with him so great and so divine a Son<sup>q</sup>, equal to Himself; or you, who, out of the Abundance of your *Metaphysicks*, contrive to rob Him of That superlative Glory, shew the greater Zeal and Concern for the Honour of God the Father. The *Pagans*, I know, thought it very much for the Honour of their *supreme God*, to have *other Gods* under him. This they looked upon as an Article of Grandeur, and the very Top of Magnificence<sup>r</sup>. But *Christians* never talk'd at this Rate: They thought it most for the Honour of the supreme Father, to have a *Son*, equal to Him in *Nature*, and *one God* with Him. You go on to another Exception: *As if an Article's being Fundamental, was a Reason why — even the most learned and able Men should by no means be suffered to consider or inquire what This Fundamental Article is.* You have very little Reason to use this kind of Talk with me; because, when I first entred into Conference with

<sup>o</sup> See my Sermons, p. 329. Bull Judic. Eccl. p. 36, &c. Stillingf. Trin. c. 9. p. 229.

<sup>p</sup> Πατέρα τὸν Θεὸν ὀνομάσαμεν, ἵνα ἄμα τῷ νοεῖν πατέρα, νοήσωμεν καὶ τὸν υἱόν. υἱὸς γὰρ καὶ πατὴρ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ μεταξὺ τῶν ὄντων. Cyril. Hierof. p. 114. Bened.

Ecclesiæ Fides solum verum Deum *Patrem* confessa, confitetur & *Christum*. Hilar. p. 1006. Bened.

*Patrem* cum audis, *Filii* intellige *Patrem*, qui *Filius* supradictæ fit imago substantiæ. Ruffin. Symb. p. 540.

<sup>q</sup> Δόξα υἱοῦ ἐκ τιμῆς πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν υἱοῦ δόξαζομένου, μεγαλῶς τιμᾶται ὁ τοῦ τοσοῦτου πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ. Cyril. Hierof. p. 87. Bened.

Σέβομέν γε τὸν πατέρα, θαυμάζοντες αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱόν, λόγος, καὶ σοφίαν, καὶ ἀλήθειαν, καὶ δικαιοσύνην, καὶ πάντα ἅπερ εἶναι μεμαθήκαμεν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν γεννηθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πατρὸς. Orig. contr. Cels. p. 387.

Honor Filii Dignitas fit Paterna; & gloriosus Auctor fit ex quo is qui tali Gloria fit dignus extiterit. Hilar. p. 832.

<sup>r</sup> Onatus apud Stob. Eccl. Phys. c. 3. Plotinus Enn. 2. l. 9<sup>a</sup> c. 9. p. 207.

you, my whole Design and Desire was, to have the Thing amicably debated betwixt us, and with *equal Freedom* on Both Sides, in a *private* Way, without troubling the *Press*. And tho' the Article I am defending be a *Fundamental* one, yet it was never such to me, till I had well *examined* it: Nor do I expect it should be such to you, without the like Method. However, there is a great deal of Difference between settling one's own *private* Faith, and undertaking to *publish* and *propagate* the same among others. While a Man pretends no farther than to judge *for himself*, he ought to rest unmolested, to enjoy the Freedom of his own *private* Sentiments, wherein others are not concerned. But when He endeavours to draw *Disciples* after Him, the Case is altered; and it then becomes the *common* Concern of all that have *Truth* at Heart, and more especially of Those who are the appointed *Guardians* of the Christian Faith, to be upon the Watch against Seducers, and to interpose their reasonable Offices to prevent the Growth of any dangerous Error. There must be some *publick* Restraints to hinder conceited Men from venting *Crudities*, as well as a just and due Regard to the Interests of *Truth*; if Any Man, with *Sobriety*, and *Modesty*, has any *new* Thing to offer. Where to fix the true *Medium* between *Liberty* and *Restraint*, is not my Business here to enquire: I think, our Governors in Church and State have already fixed it, beyond all reasonable Exception. But to return.

Let Those *learned* and *able* Men you speak of, consider and examine, that They may find out the *Truth*; and when they have done *defend* it. But if the Result of their Enquiries, is the embracing, and propagating of *Errors*; be They ever so *learned*, or *able*, They must be rebuked, and reprov'd for it. What if a learned *Jew*, or a *Deist*, after examining and considering, thinks it right and just to reject, and openly to vilify the *Christian Revelation*? May He not therefore be told that his Labours have been ill laid out, and that his *Infidelity* is a very great, a very unpardonable Crime? And if Another, after Enquiry, sets himself publicly to oppose any momentous Article of the *Christian Faith*; it is the Duty, and the Business of Those that know better, and of Those that are in Authority, to stand up for the true Religion, and to use all proper Means for its Preservation. What would have become of the Christian Faith, if such *learned* and *able* Men as *Praxeas*, *Noetus*, *Paul of Samosata*, *Photinus*, *Arius*, *Eunomius*, *Apollinarius*, &c. had not been vigorously opposed, and expelled the Christian Church? *Errors* once entred have been sometimes kept in  
by

by the same Methods, as *Truth* hath been preserved: Just as the *Banks* intended to keep out the *Waters*, if once overflowed, serve afterwards to keep them in: Which yet is no Argument, I suppose, for having no *Banks* at all, or for throwing all open to Inundations. You add, *As if taking great Pains — to find out the Sense and Meaning of a Doctrine, was calling in Question the Doctrine it self*: Which I have answered above. In your next Words, you betray an unbecoming Heat, which should be avoided always, if you desire to see clear. *Wonderful*, you say, *that the very Foundations of all Religion, and of all Truth, should be thus turned into Ridicule, by Men of Learning, without their perceiving what they are doing!* A heinous and heavy Charge; not upon me, nor upon a few private Men, but upon the Church of Christ in all Ages, and upon the best Men of it. For, what is it, I beseech you, that you are here so severely declaiming against, under the opprobrious Name, of *turning all Religion into Ridicule*? I say, what is it but the Church's acknowledging that there are *Fundamentals* in Religion, and her defending Those *Fundamentals*, in such a Way as Christ and his Apostles have taught Her, against all Opposers? Be you ever so *able*, or so *learned*, (which I dispute not) yet we know, that if an *Angel from Heaven* comes to teach us any *other Doctrine* than what we have received from *Scripture*, we have *St. Paul's* Warrant for pronouncing an *Anathema* upon That and Him. You will say, no doubt, that you have *Truth* and *Scripture* on your Side. Well: That is saying something, if you can make it good. It is the very Point which we are going to try. In the mean while, argue not against the properest Methods of defending and preserving the *Truth*, (which are undoubtedly right, and good, in the *general*;) but shew, if you are able, that there is something *particular* in the present Case, to put a Bar to the *general* Rule.

5. The last Article of Complaint is, my *artificially concealing from the Reader, the true and indeed only material Point in Question, and amusing him with Matters of a quite different Kind*. In This affected Charge, (which I am unwilling to say, you do not believe one Word of,) I blame not so much the *Injuriousness* of it, since it is too weak to do Hurt, as the *Indiscretion*. Might you not have been content to set out upon a *new Foot*, and as it were silently and unobserved, to alter the Terms of the Question; but you must begin with laying your Sin at my Door, and charging me with the very Fault which you are, that Instant, committing? I will shew you, first, that my Manner of  
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stating the main Question was right: And I shall afterwards tell you what I have to say to yours; which in Reality, (when stripp'd of its *Ambiguity*) is not different from mine. All my Labour and Endeavour was, to bring the Dispute to This short Question, whether the Son of God be a *precarious* Being, that is, a *Creature*, or no<sup>c</sup>. This was the only Point I was concerned for; being That upon which all the rest turn. There therefore I laid the Stress; making it my Business to confute whatever I could find in Dr. *Clarke's* Pieces, tending to degrade the Son of God into *precarious* Existence, or to make a *Creature* of Him. If This Point be but once secured, that the Son is *no Creature*, but *necessarily-existing*; the Doctor may go on talking of *Supremacy* and whatever else he pleases; They are incidental Points only, and must either fall of Course, or else be understood in a Sense *consistent* with the Resolution of the other Question.

You are sensible of This your self; And therefore you all the way, resolutely dispute with me the Point of the Son's *Necessary-existence*, as much as the other Point of the Father's *Supremacy*: You are as resolute in denying the Son to be *one God* with the Father; you are scrupulous as to calling Him *Creator*, and never directly assert his Creation of the World by his *own Power*, or his *Co-eternity*. In short, you dispute every Thing with me that is pleaded to exempt Him from the Number of *precarious* Beings, or *Creatures*. Were it not for This, you should be permitted to talk of the Father's *Supremacy* as much as you pleased, and to make Sense of it at Leisure. Indeed, the determining of the Point of *Supremacy*, and how it is to be held, depends intirely upon the other Question; which is therefore the *main Question* betwixt us. Do but allow me, that the Son is *no Creature*, that He exists not *precariously*, but *necessarily*, that He is *one God* with the Father, that He is properly *Creator*, and by his *own Power*, with other the like Things; and you shall then go on, without Lett, or Hindrance, in your Talk of the *Supremacy*. Now then, will you please to answer me: Do you understand the *Supremacy* in a Sense which you believe *consistent* with the Points which I maintain, *viz.* the Son's *Necessary-existence*, *Uncreatedness*, &c.? If you do, the Dispute is ended, go on and prosper with so *Catho-*

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<sup>c</sup> See my Supplement, where I have shewn nine, several Ways, from the Writings of Dr. Clarke, and his Disciples, that They do by immediate and necessary Consequence make the Son a Creature, Suppl. p. 20, &c.

lick a Notion of the *Supremacy*. Or do you understand the *Supremacy* in a Sense *not consistent* with Those other Points which I maintain? If This be the Case, (as I presume it is) then do not pretend that those other Points are not *material*; for, by maintaining Them, I overthrow your pretended *Supremacy*, as much as you by maintaining the *Supremacy*, design to overthrow the Church's Faith: And so it matters not, whether the main Question be put into your Terms, or mine; since Both, in Reality, come to the same Thing. Only, there is this Difference in the Case; my Way of stating the main Question is *plain* and *clear*; yours *obscure* and *ambiguous*: Mine is fitted to *instruct* and *inform*; yours to *perplex* and *confound* a Reader. Mine is proper to bring the Debate to a short and clear Issue; yours to protract and lengthen out a Dispute. In a Word, mine is sincere and open, like That of a Man that knows his Cause is good; yours is fallacious and disguised, as of one that's diffident of his Cause, and is retiring behind the Curtain. You will have the Question put thus: *Whether the Father alone hath supreme Authority, Sovereignty and Dominion over all?* When This is tripp'd of Ambiguity and Chicane, I suppose it will fall into mine. You determine in the *Affirmative*. The Son then is naturally a *Subject* of the Father, and the Father is his *Sovereign* Lord and Ruler. He has an absolute Right over Him, to call Him to Account, to *reward* Him if He does well, to *punish* Him if He does amiss. This all Men understand to be implied in *supreme Dominion*; a Right and Power over *Subjects*, to compel, constrain, and punish, as occasion serves; and in short, to bridle them at Pleasure. Is This your Meaning? Pray then, where is the Difference between saying it, and calling God the Son a *Creature*?

And, do you imagine that you have any the least Syllable of Proof of such *alone Dominion*, either in *Scripture*, or *Antiquity*? Yet there is certainly no *Medium* between This, and what I assert of the *Equality* of Father and Son. They are either naturally and strictly *equal*; or else one is *infinitely* superior to the other, as *God* and *Creature*. Well; be the Consequence what it will, you are attempting to prove your Point syllogistically, after This Manner.

“ If the Father never acts in Subjection to the Will of any other Person, and every other Person acts in Subjection to his Will; then the Father *alone* is the one supreme Governor of the Universe.

“ But



“ But it is Fa<sup>ct</sup> that the Father never acts in Subjection, &c. and that every other Person acts in Subjection, &c. Therefore, &c.

This is the wonderful Demonstration; lame and deficient in every Part. To prove that the Father *alone* hath supreme Dominion, &c. you should shew, not only that all other Persons *act in Subjection*, (for an *Equal* may act in Subjection to an *Equal*, or even to an *Inferior*, as our Lord acted in Subjection to *Joseph* and *Mary*, and *washed* his *Disciples Feet*;) but that They are *really* subje<sup>ct</sup>, and under his absolute Power and Authority. Your Reasonings therefore on This Head, amount only to what the Schools call *Ignoratio Elenchi*; proving beside the Question, or talking wide of the Purpose. And how easy is it for a Man to fill a Book with Quotations, as you have done, that can be content with any Thing, however foreign to the Question? You have proved, that the Son acted sometimes a *ministerial* Part, or that He submitted to an *inferior* Office: This is all that you have proved; and it is no more than I would have readily granted you, without quoting so much as a *single* Father for it. But you are not advanced one Tittle towards the Proof of what you intend, that the Father and Son naturally have not one *common Dominion*. I affirm that They have; and that at the very same Time that the Son is executing any *inferior Office*, He is still *Lord of the whole Universe*, in common with the Father; and that their Dominion over all, is one and the same *undivided Dominion*, as They are *one God*, and *one Lord*. You would gladly slip upon us *Supremacy of Dominion*, instead of *Supremacy of Order*, or *Office*. Instead of saying that the Father *alone* has his supreme Dominion *from none*, you pretend that He *alone* has *supreme* Dominion; to make *two Dominions* where there is but *one*. You play with the ambiguous Word *Authority*, that you may have something to blind the Readers with: While you quote Fathers who affirmed it in *one Sense*, and you intend it in *another*. *Auctoritas* is often no more than *Paternitas*, with the *Latin* Fathers, as *Auctor* is *Pater*: But you are wresting it to the Sense of *Dominion*. The like Use you make of the *equivocal* Word *Dignity*; which is of *Order*, or *Office*, or *Dominion*, or *Nature*; and you artificially blend and confound all together. None, I hope, can be imposed upon by such weak Fallacies, but They that want their Faculties of discerning. Let the Reader carefully distinguish *Three Things*, and he will then be able of Himself to unravel all your

Pretences, and to throw off that studied Confusion which you are labouring to introduce in a plain Thing.

1. *Supremacy of Nature*, or *Supremacy of Perfection*, is to be possessed of all Perfection, and the highest Excellency possible: And This it is to be God. There is nothing of this kind but what is common to Father and Son; who are therefore *one God Supreme*. And as *Supremacy of Dominion* and *Sovereignty* (properly so called) over all Creatures (as soon as they exist) is included in it, and consequent upon it; Father and Son have one common and undivided *Sovereignty* over all; the constant Doctrine of *Antiquity*.

2. *Supremacy of Order*, consists in This; that the Father has his *Perfections, Dominion, &c. from none*; but the Son *from the Father*. All that the Son has, is referred up to the *Father*, and not *vice versa*. This kind of *Supremacy* is of the *Father alone*: And the Son's *Subordination*, thus understood, is very consistent with his *Equality of Nature, Dominion, Perfection, and Glory*, according to all *Antiquity*.

3. *Supremacy of Office*. This, by mutual Agreement and voluntary *Oeconomy*, belongs to the *Father*: While the Son, out of voluntary *Condescension*, submits to act *ministerially*, or in Capacity of *Mediator*. And the Reason why the condescending Part became God the *Son*, rather than God the *Father*, is because He is a *Son*, and because it best suits with the *natural Order* of Persons, which had been inverted by a contrary *Oeconomy*. These Things being fixed and settled, there will be no Difficulty in replying to any thing you have offered, or can offer in This Cause. You may amuse us with *Scripture, and Fathers*: But every Man sees, before this Time, where the whole Pinch of the Controversy lies: You think the *Unity* of the *Godhead*, as we teach, is not consistent with the *Distinction* of *Persons, Order, and Offices*. While you pretend to be disputing against Me, you are really disputing against the standing Doctrine of the *Antient Churches*, from some *Concessions* which They made, and in which I agree with Them. And your Way is to wrest and strain some Principles maintained both by Them and Me, to a Sense *repugnant* with their other known *Doctrines*. If you can prove any Thing, we are ready to hear you: If you cannot, it is high Time to desist from an impracticable Attempt, that can bring nothing in the End, but Shame and Confusion to as many as engage in it. I take no Notice of your Reflections upon my *Hardiness*, as you call it, (in denying what no good Catholick ever affirmed) and

and my *metaphysical Excursions*, and my fixing Names of *Reproach*. It will be seen in the Sequel who are most remarkable for *Hardiness*, who make *Excursions*, and who *reproach*, not their Brethren only, and the whole Church of *Chrill*, but the *Lord of Heaven and Earth*, the *living God*; to whom be Honour and Glory, now and for ever.

That the Reader may not imagine our *Dispute* to be any Thing *new*, or that you have advanced any Thing beyond what the antient *Arians* and *Eunomians* vainly endeavoured in the same Cause; I shall just give Him a Specimen of what some of the *Fathers* of That Time answered to the same Pretences which you are now reviving. When *Eunomius* had been magnifying the Father, as *alone* subject to none, on purpose to degrade and depress the Son, under the Notion of a *Subject*; the great *Basil* rebukes him, for thereby reducing God the Son to the Condition of a *Creature*; in these Words: “ Forasmuch as there are Two Things, “ the *Creature*, and the *Godhead*, and the *Creature* is ordained to *Subjection* and *Servitude*, while the *Godhead* is “ regnant, and paramount; is it not manifest, that He that “ deprives (*the Son*) of the Honour of *absolute Dominion*, “ (*δισποτείας*) and casts Him down to the Meanness of *Servitude*, does at the same Time rank Him with the rest of “ the *Creation*?”

*Gregory Nyssen* thus more at large answers the *Eunomian* Pretence, of the *alone* Supremacy. I shall give it in *English* only, because of its Length, and to save my self Trouble.

“ He (*Eunomius*) says, that the Father has no *Sharer* “ (*μερίτην*) in *Glory* with Him. Wherein he says the Truth, “ tho’ he knows not what he says. For the Son doth not “ *share* (or *divide*) the *Glory* with the Father; but He has “ the Father’s *whole Glory*, as the Father has also the *whole* “ *Glory* of the Son. For thus He said, speaking to the Fa- “ ther, *All mine are thine, and thine are mine*, Joh. xvii. “ ——— He who is *Heir of all Things*, who is *Creator of* “ *the Worlds*, who shines out from the *Glory of the Father*, “ and together with it, and in Himself, carries the *express* “ *Image of the Father’s Hypostasis*; He has all Things what- “ soever the Father Himself hath, and is also *Lord of all*

‘ Δύο ἢ ὄντων πραγμάτων, κτίσεώς τε καὶ θεότητος· καὶ τῆς μὲν κτίσεως ἐν δουλείᾳ καὶ ὑπακοῇ τεταγμένως, ἀρχικῆς δὲ αὐσης καὶ δεσποτικῆς τῆς θεότητος· ὁ ἀφαιρουμῆν τῆς δεσποτείας τὸ ἀξίωμα, καὶ εἰς τὸ τῆς δουλείας τάπειον καταβάλλον, οὐχὶ δὴλός ἐστι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συσειχούνη αὐτὸν τῇ πάσῃ κτίσει δεικνύς; Basil. Contr. Eun. l. 2. p. 73.

“ *Power*. Not that the Majesty passes away from the Fa-  
 “ ther; but it abides with Him, and at the same Time rests  
 “ upon the Son. For while He is *in the Father*, He is to-  
 “ gether with his *whole Power*, in the Father: And as He  
 “ hath the Father in Himself, He must contain the *whole*  
 “ *Power and Authority* of the Father. For, He has the en-  
 “ tire Father in Himself, and not a *Part* only: Wherefore  
 “ having the Father entire, He must have his Authority al-  
 “ so entire. What then does *Eunomius* mean, by pretend-  
 “ ing that the Father has no *Consort* in (Power or) Autho-  
 “ rity? — He says, there is one only God, *Supreme Ruler*  
 “ (*πρωτεύων*). If He means a *Father*, by the Name of  
 “ *Supreme Ruler*, He says the same as we do, and nothing  
 “ contrary: But if He means it of any *Supreme Ruler*, that  
 “ is not a *Father*; he may preach up *Circumcision* if he  
 “ pleases, along with his other *Jewish* Tenets: The Faith  
 “ of Christians looks to a *Father*. The *Father* indeed is  
 “ all and every Thing, He is *Most High, Supreme Ruler,*  
 “ *King of Kings,* and *Lord of Lords*; And whatever Ti-  
 “ tles sound high or great, They are the Father’s own;  
 “ and all Things that are the *Father’s* belong to the *Son*.  
 “ Allow but This, and we admit the other. But if instead  
 “ of a *Father*, he introduces another kind of *Supreme Ruler*;  
 “ his Doctrine is *Judaism*: Or he strikes in with *Plato’s*  
 “ Sentiments. For they say, that That Philosopher also  
 “ taught that there is a certain supreme *Creator* and *Maker*  
 “ of some *inferior* Gods. As therefore a *Jew* or a *Plato-*  
 “ *nist*, tho’ he admits a *supreme Governor*, is yet no *Chris-*  
 “ *tian*, as not believing in a *Father*: So also *Eunomius* does  
 “ but belie his Profession, while, when his Doctrine is  
 “ either *Judaism* or *Paganism*, he pretends to the Name of  
 “ *Christianity*.

I have recited thus much out of *Gregory Nyssen*, (who in  
 the same Place<sup>a</sup>, has a great deal more to the same Pur-  
 pose) to give the Reader a just Notion of *Christian* and  
*Catholick* Principles. For, this acute Writer has really hit  
 the true Point of Difference between the *Catholicks* and their  
 Adversaries; whether *Pagans, Jews, or Hereticks*. It lay  
 chiefly in the acknowledging, or the not acknowledging a  
 true and proper *Father* in the *Godhead*. *Pagans, Jews, Sa-*  
*bellians, Samosatenians, Arians, Eunomians, &c.* all denied  
 it: While there was no true *Catholick* but strenuously con-  
 tended for it. Hence it was manifest, that the *Arians* were

<sup>a</sup> Greg. Nyss. contr. Eunom. Orat. 1. p. 13, 14, 15.

the *Innovators*, in endeavouring to introduce a *Creator* and a *Creature*, a *Sovereign* and a *Subject*, instead of a *Father* and a *Son*. They professed the Relation in *Words*, but in Reality they disowned it. The considering God as a *Father*, in a just and proper Sense, (as the *Antients* always did,) is breaking the Neck of *Arianism* at once. It gives a quite different Turn, from what They aim at, to all their Pre-ferences of the Father being the *only God*, the *highest*, &c. For none that believed God to have a *Son*, (properly so called) could ever be Fools enough to imagine that such Expressions were intended in *Opposition* to Him. On the contrary, They always understood, that magnifying the *Father*, was at the same Time magnifying the *Son* too: Their Relation being so close and intimate, that whatever *Perfections* belonged to one, must of Course be supposed *common* to Both. He who reads the *Fathers* that lived before or after the Council of *Nice*, with This Key, will find Them clear and consistent throughout: And will the less wonder at the exceeding great Offence taken against *Arius*, for attempting to *divide* Father and Son; and indeed to divest the one of his *Paternity*, (according to the *Catholick* Sense of it,) and the other of his *Filiation*. *Fulgentius* is a late Writer, of the fifth and sixth Centuries; but a judicious Man, and well instructed in the true and antient Principles of the Christian Church; especially in Regard to our present Subject: Wherefore I thought I should close This, with an Account from Him<sup>w</sup>; not because of his

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<sup>w</sup> Inaniter tibi visum est, male intelligendo, ad tuum sensum velle Rectitudinem Symboli retorquere; & inde præscribere sanctæ Fidei Catholicæ, quia in Symbolo non omnia dicta sunt de Filio, quæ sunt dicta de Patre: Cum utique propterea plenitudo divinitatis, quantum oportebat, debuerit in Origine commendari, quia non debuit aliter in Prole cognosci. Cum enim quisque se dicit credere in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, hoc ipsum quod in Deum Patrem dicit, sicut in eo veritatem naturalis Divinitatis, ita veritatem naturalis quoque Paternitatis, & ex hac veritatem naturalis etiam generationis ostendit. — Totum igitur in se habet illa generatio divina quicquid in se habet Dei Patris æterna substantia. Proinde sufficiebat ut diceretur de Patre solo, quicquid æqualiter intelligendum esset in Filio. Pater enim sic omnipotentem Filium genuit, sicut est ipse Pater Omnipotens; sic universorum Creatorem, sicut ipse universorum Creator est; sic Regem Seculorum, sicut ipse Rex Seculorum est; sic immortalem & invisibilem, sicut ipse immortalis est & invisibilis. Omnia igitur quæ Deo Patri dantur in Symbolo, ipso uno Filii nomine, naturaliter tribuuntur & Filio. *Fulgent. Fragm.* 36. p. 652, &c.

*Authority*, but because what he says is true and just, and very well expressed, in his Comment on the *Creed*, written in Opposition to the *Arians* of That Time. The Sum is This, that whatever High Things are said of the Father in the *Creed*, are to be understood to belong equally to the *Son*: And there was no Need of any more particular Application, since the very Name of *Son* is sufficient.





A

# SECOND DEFENSE

OF SOME

# QUERIES

RELATING TO

Dr. CLARK E's

SCHEME of the H. TRINITY:

IN ANSWER to the

COUNTRY CLERGY-MAN'S REPLY.

Compare the following TEXTS.

*I am the Lord, and there is none else; There is no God besides me,* Isai. xlv. 5.

*Is there a God besides me? Yea, There is no God, I know not any,* Isai. xlv. 8.

*I am God, and there is none like me;* Isa. xlvi. 9.

*Before me there was no God form'd, neither shall there be after me,* Isai. xliii. 10.

*The Word was God,* John. i. 1.

*Thy Throne, O God,* Heb. i. 8.

*Christ came, who is over all God blessed for ever,* Rom. ix. 5.

*Who being in the Form of God,* Phil. ii. 6.

*Who being the Brightness of his Glory, and the express Image of his Person,* Heb. i. 3.

QUERY

## QUERY I.

*Whether all other Beings, besides the one Supreme God, be not excluded by the Texts of Isaiah, (to which many more might be added) and consequently, whether Christ can be God at all, unless He be the same with the Supreme God?*



OUR general Answer to This Query is, that the Texts of *Isaiah* expressly and uniformly speak of a *Person*; and therefore all other Persons, besides the *He*, the *I*, the *Me*, are excluded from being what *He*, who there speaks, declares Himself *alone* to be. To which I reply, first, that the *exclusive* Terms need not be interpreted with any such Rigour: And secondly, that They *ought not*, because such Interpretation leads you into Absurdities which you have not been able to answer.

1. I say, *exclusive* Terms are not always to be interpreted with such Rigour, as to leave no Room for *tacit* Exceptions, such as Reason and good Sense will easily supply.

*Matth. xi. 27.* speaking of the *Person* of the Son, says, *No one knoweth the Father but the Son.* Doth it therefore follow, that *no Person* but the Son, no, not the *Father* Himself, knows the Father?

So, *1 Cor. ii. 11.* *The Things of God knoweth no one but the Spirit of God; no Person but He.* Doth it therefore follow, that neither the *Father*, nor the *Son*, knoweth the Things of God as much as the *Holy Spirit*?

*Rev. xix. 12.* it is said of the Son of God, that He had a Name written, that *no one* (*ἑδούκῃς*) knew but *He Himself*. Doth it therefore follow, that neither the *Father* nor *Holy Ghost* knew it? See more Instances of like Kind, in my fourth *Sermon*. I say then, that *exclusive* Terms are not always to be interpreted



preted up to the utmost Rigour: And there are many Reasons why They should not be so interpreted, in This particular Case; as I have shewn at large, in the same *Sermon*.

2. I am next to observe, that such Interpretation, in the present Case, has led you into Absurdities which you have not been able to answer. For, if the Son be excluded at all, by those Texts of *Isaiab*, and others of like Kind, He is *entirely* excluded. He cannot be *Another God*, all *other Gods* being excluded by Those Texts; and you will not admit that He is the *Same God*: Since therefore He is not *Another God*, nor the *Same God*, it follows, upon your Principles, that He is *No God*. That the Texts exclude not only all other *supreme Gods*, but absolutely all *other Gods*, I prove, not barely from the Force of the *exclusive* Terms, but from the Scope, Drift, and Intent of Those Texts; which was to exclude *inferior* as well as *supreme* Deities; and to leave no Room for *Idolatry*; which might be consistent with paying *Sovereign* Worship (to use your Phrase) to the *God of Israel*. You take a great deal of Pains to wind your self off; or rather, to shew how much you can have to *say*, when you have nothing to *reply*. You tax me with *Quibbling* in the Word *Beings*, as standing in the Query: Which is a Rebuke that comes late, now you are answering, not my *Queries*, but my *Defense*. However, since all *other Gods* are by me shewn to be excluded, and not all other *Persons*, the Expression is just, and no other but what should be. You observe, next, that the Son cannot be the *same God* with the Father on any but *Sabellian* Principles: Which is begging the Question. It is sufficient to say, that the *Fathers* in general (as we shall see hereafter) acknowledged *Both* to be *one God*, and not *one Person*. You cite *Euseb*<sup>a</sup> as your Voucher, that the Words of *Isaiab* (*Be-*

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Theol. l. 2. c. 19. p. 133.

*sides Me there is no God*) denote one *Person*. When you look again into *Eusebius*, you will find that the Words are *Marcellus's*, not *Eusebius's*: Though little depends upon them either Way. You have another Piece of a Quotation from *Eusebius*, p. 4. where he makes it *Sabellianism*, to say that the Father and Son are ἐν κ' τ' αὐτὸν, *one and the same Thing*. Add, as *Eusebius* there does, ὀνόμασι μὴ ἁφ' ἑαυτοῦ, &c. *under different Names only*; and then I condemn it for *Sabellianism*, as well as *Eusebius*. Your quoting *Tertullian*, in This Case, is very extraordinary; when every Body knows that He makes Father and Son *one God*, in the very same Treatise where he is confuting the *Sabellians*; that is, the *Praxeans*, Men of the same Principles with those of *Sabellius*. Was *Tertullian* then a *Sabellian*? Ridiculous! You have a farther Shift, (but still in the Way of *retorting*, not *answering*;) that I my self, *when I come to explain*, do not in Reality make the Son to be the *same God*, but only to be *in his Substance undivided*. Add, from the Father as his *Head*, and *consubstantial* with Him, and then I insist upon it, that He is therefore the *same God* with the Father, upon the certain and standing Principles of all *Catholick Antiquity*.

But what becomes of the *Difficulty*, all this while, which it concerned you to answer? You were to tell us, whether the Son (since He is not the *same God*) be *another God*, or *no God*. You say, he is not *another God*, in That *Sense* whercin the Father is: That is your Meaning. But if He be received as an Object of *Worship*, He is then *God* in such a Sense as none but the *God of Israel* was, and must either be the *same God*, or *another God*. By your Argument, the *Jews* might have admitted as many *inferior Gods* as they pleased, consistent with the *First Commandment*; for that would not have been admitting *other Gods*, because not *Gods* in the same Sense. So you leave a Gap open to all manner of *Idolatry*. You  
from

say farther, that the Texts do not exclude *Moses* from being a *God* unto *Pharaoh*, nor *Magistrates*, nor *Angels*, from being *Gods*. But the Texts do exclude *Moses*, and *Angels*, and *Magistrates*, and all *Creatures* whatever, from being *adorable Gods*: And therefore they can be no more than *nominal Gods*; that is to say, *no Gods*. The *Jews* might have had *nominal Gods* what they would: But They were to pay *Worship* to one only; which comes to the same as having *no other Gods* but one. The receiving more *adorable Gods* than one, is making *another God*. Well then, will you cast off the *Worship* of God the Son, or will you frankly own that you make of Him *another God*? You discover a great Inclination to own Him for *another God*: You do not scruple in one Place, to call Him *Another Lord*<sup>a</sup>: And yet, when you come to the Pinch, you pause, you hesitate, you are at a Loss what to resolve on: *Another God*, or *two Gods*, sound very harsh; no Scripture, no Fathers, ever ventured upon it; and Christian Ears cannot bear it. What then must be done? You at length put on an Air of Assurance, and intimate to us, (p. 6.) that an inferior God besides the supreme, is not *another God*; and that *Two Gods*, in the Nature of Language, must signify two *Co-ordinate Gods*, or Gods in the *same Sense*. But, as the *Nature of Language* hitherto has been always different, and you can give no Examples in any Writings, sacred or profane, of this *new Kind of Language*; that any two Gods, and each of them received and adored as *a God*, were not *two Gods*, as well as *one God*, and *another God*;<sup>b</sup> you must give us Leave to think that This Kind of answering is really saying nothing. All the Heathens that acknowledged one *supreme God*, over many *inferior Deities*, will, by your Way of Reasoning, stand clear of the Charge

<sup>a</sup> Page 197.

<sup>b</sup> See the Preface to my Sermons, p. 33, &c.

of admitting *more Gods than one*. Strange! that you should appeal to the *Nature of Language*, in a Case where the *Language* of Mankind, *Jews, Pagans, and Christians*, hath been always contrary.

You have two or three References at the Bottom of the Page; which I pass over, as not coming up to the Point in hand. If you have any Countenance from *Eusebius*, it will amount to no more than That great Man's contradicting Himself, and the Catholics before him, as well as Those of his own Time: His Authority therefore, especially for a plain Blunder and Solecism in *Language*, will be very inconsiderable, and weigh little with us.

As to my Argument, concerning *Baal*, and *Ash-taroth*, and the *Pagan Deities*; you answer it by telling me, you know not how to excuse it from *Prophaneness*. You should have said, (for That the Reader will see to be plainly the Case,) that you *knew not how* to evade its Force. A Rebuke is much easier than a solid Reply; which was here wanted. Tell me plainly, if the first Commandment excludes only other *Supremes*, and not *inferior Deities*; why *Baal*, or *Ash-taroth*, or any *Pagan Deity* might not have been worshiped along with the *God of Israel*, without any Violation of *That Commandment*? The Law indeed says, you shall have *no other Gods* before, or besides Me; that is, according to you, no other *supreme God*, or Gods. How then are inferior and subordinate Deities, how many, or what soever, at all excluded by That Law? Here lay the Pinch of the Difficulty; which, because you could not take it off, you are pleased to dissemble, and to run to another Point. You represent it, as if I had intended a Comparison between *Christ*, and the *Pagan Deities*; and you remind me of the Difference betwixt Them; which is only solemn Trifling. I made no *Comparison*, nor did my Argument imply Any: But This is plain, that the Texts which exclude only *supreme Deities*, do not exclude any that are *not Supreme*, or

not considered as *Supreme*: And so you, by your Interpretation of Those Texts, have, in a manner, voided and frustrated every Law of the Old Testament against *Idolatry*. If the very Mention of This evident Consequence be a Thing so *prophane*, what must your Doctrine be, that involves This very Consequence in it? I shewed you, in my *Defense*, p. 237. how, upon your Principles, Any Man might easily have eluded every Law of the Old Testament, relating to *Worship*, or *Sacrifice*. One plain and direct Answer to That Difficulty would have been more satisfactory to the Reader, than all your studied Diversions.

You proceed to a tedious Harangue about *mediatorial Worship*; which shall be considered in its Place, but is here foreign, and not pertinent. You should have shewn how, by the Force of These Texts (which declare the *Unity*, and ascribe the Worship to *God* alone) *inferior Deities* can be excluded, but upon This Principle, that the Texts are to be understood as excluding all *other Gods* absolutely, and not with your Restriction of all other *Supremes* only. You have indeed contrived a Way, such as it is, to bring in the *Worship* of Christ: But it is by making so wide a Breach in the *Laws* of the Old Testament, that had it been discovered by the *Jews* of Old, there had been Room enough to let in all imaginable Kinds of inferior Deities. They might easily have pleaded, that the Texts were intended of one *supreme God*; and that He *alone* was to be worshiped as such: But as to *subordinate* Deities, as the Texts did not reach Them, so neither need they be scrupulous about the Worship of Them. This is the pressing Difficulty, to which, after sufficient Time to consider, you have not been able to make any tolerable Answer. Wherefore it may fairly be concluded, that the Argument is unanswerable; and that This Query having bore the Test, will now stand the firmer. You seem to think that you have done your Part, when you  
have

have found out a Reason why *Christ* should be worshipped: But the main Thing wanting, was to give a Reason (upon your Principles) *out of the Law*, why Any *inferior Deities*, along with the *Supreme*, might not be worshipped also. You do well to plead for the Worship of *Christ*: It is a Doctrine of the *Gospel*, and I think of the *Law* too. But you had done better, if you had contrived to make the *Law* and the *Gospel* hang together; and had not entirely frustrated the main Intent and Design of one, in Order to maintain the other.

You have some Observations, *p. 9, 10, 11.* which seem to me foreign to the Business of This Query: They may deserve some Notice in a more proper Place.

## QUERY II.

*Whether the Texts of the new Testament (in the second Column) do not shew, that He (Christ) is not excluded, and therefore must be the same God.*

THE Sum of my Argument is, that since all other adorable Gods are excluded by the Texts of *Isaiah*; and yet it appears from the same Scripture, that *Christ* is *adorable*, and *God*, it must follow, that He is not *another God*, but the *same God* with the Father.

This Scripture Argument I confirm from Testimonies of *Antiquity*, declaring,

1. That other Gods only, (not God the Son,) or *Idols*, are excluded by the Texts which concern the *Unity*.

2. That God the Son is not *Another God*.

3. That He is the *same God*, or *one God*, with the Father.

4. That the one God of *Israel* (confessedly *God Supreme*) was *Christ*, speaking in his own *Person*; being *God*, not as *God's Representative*, but as *God's Son*, of the *same Substance* with the Father. This

This is the Sum of what I endeavoured to make out, under the second *Query*. I am first to consider what you have to offer, in Order to take off the Force of my Evidence; and next, to examine any Counter-Evidence which you may have produced to ballance mine. In This Method I design to proceed: And let the Reader, who desires to see distinctly into the Merits of the Cause, take it along with him. My *Scripture-Argument* was formed upon the following Texts: *Job*. i. 1. *Heb*. i. 8. *Rom*. ix. 5. *Phil*. ii. 6. *Heb*. i. 3. Let us now examine Them in their Order.

*John* i. 1.

My Argument here is, that the  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , *Word*, is called *God*, not in any improper, or loose, figurative Sense; but in the proper, and strict Sense of the Word *God*. Therefore He is not excluded among the *nominal* Gods; therefore He is *one* and the *same* God with God the Father.

You reply, *p*. 15. that God the *Word*, is not God in as *High a Sense as the Father Himself*. The Reason why He is not, or can not, you assign, Because By Him, or Through Him, *all Things were made; which cannot, you say, be truly affirmed of the one supreme God and Author of all*. On the contrary, I affirm, That since *All Things were made by Him*, He is not of the Number of the Things *made*; therefore *no Creature*; therefore *God* in the strict Sense; and, since God is *one*, the *same* God.

The most which you can justly infer from the Father's creating all Things *By* or *Through* Christ, is only This; that They are *Two Persons*, and that there is a *Priority of Order* betwixt Them; not that the Son is not God in as *high a Sense*, or in the *same* Sense as the Father.

What you cite from *Eusebius*, signifies little; except it be to expose the Weaknesses of a great Man: Whose Authority is of no Value with me, any farther than he is consistent with himself, and with the

Catholicks before, and in, and after his own Times. Not to mention that his Authority is late; and I may almost as well produce *Athanasius*, *Hilary*, and the elder *Cyril* against you, as you produce *Eusebius* against me: Who, after all, is so different from Himself, in different Places of his Works, that, upon the whole, it is extremely difficult to know what Judgment to make of Him. To return to *John* i. 1.

In my *Defense*, p. 11. I gave the Reader a View of your real, and intended Construction of *St. John*. 'The Word was with the *one supreme God*, *Another God* inferior to Him, a *Creature* of the *great God*.

This Representation, you say, is *unjust*, p. 45. It seems, your own real Sense, when put into plain Terms, is too frightful for your self to admit. You endeavour therefore to wrap it up, and disguise it, in These Words: *The Word was with the one supreme God and Father of all; and the Word was Himself a divine Person, —in Subordination to the one supreme God, —and By Him did the one supreme God and Father of all make all Things*. All the Difference between This and mine is, that I spoke out your *whole Sense*, and you insinuate it, or mince it; being ashamed to say all that you mean. This *divine Person* you speak of, you own to be *God*, neither dare you say otherwise; you do not allow Him to be the *same God*; therefore your Meaning is, and must be, that He is *Another God*: So far my Representation is manifestly just. But farther, This *same divine Person* you, with your whole Party, deny to be *necessarily-existing*; therefore you make of Him a *precarious Being*, which is nothing but Another Name for *Creature*: Therefore He is, upon your Principles, a *Creature* of the *great God*: And so my Interpretation, or Representation of your reserved, and real Meaning, is true and just to a Tittle. Your next Attempt is, not to *represent*, but to *corrupt*, and *mangle* my Construction of *St. John*. I refer the Reader to my *Sermons*, for a full View of my Sense in That Particular.

Let



Let us see what you can make of it by the Help of Chicane, and Cavilling. *The Word was with the one supreme God—Himself the same one supreme God, (yet meaning Another supreme God in the same undivided Substance) and by the same one supreme God, did the one supreme God make all Things.* That is to say, “The Word was with the Father the one God Supreme, and was Himself, tho’ not the same Person, yet one and the same God<sup>c</sup> Supreme, and by the Son who is God Supreme, and Creator<sup>d</sup>, the Father, supreme God also, made the Worlds.” What is there absurd, or contradictory in all This? I have given you three *Ante-Nicene* Writers (*Irenæus*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, and *Hippolytus*) interpreting *St. John* in the same Way as I do. Shew me one that ever interpreted him in your Manner. You are forced to disguise the Matter, and to give your Meaning but by Halves; because you know you have not one *Ante-Nicene*, or *Post-Nicene* Catholick Writer on your Side, so far as concerns your Construction of *St. John*. You pretend that I make of the Son *Another supreme God*; not the same God. But as This is only said, not proved; it must pass for nothing but a trifling begging of the Question. Prove you That, as plainly as I have proved that you make the Son *Another God*, a *Creature-God*; or else acknowledge the Difference between a just Representation, and an injurious Misrepresentation. So much for *Job. i. i.* The second Text is,

<sup>c</sup> Dei verbum, imo magis ipse Deus. Iren: p. 132.

<sup>d</sup> Εν ᾧ ἀμφω ὁ θεός. ὅτι εἶπεν, ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ θεός ἦν ὁ λόγος. Clem. Alex. p. 135. Conf. p. 86.

Εἰ ὃ οὖν ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὸν θεόν, θεός ἂν, τί οὖν φησιν ἂν τις δύο λέγειν θεούς; δύο μὲν οὐκ ἔρω θεούς, ἀλλ’ ἢ ἓνα, πρόσωπα ὃ δύο, &c. Hippol. Contr. Noet. c. 14. p. 15.

<sup>d</sup> Mundi enim Factor, vere verbum Dei est. Iren. p. 132.

Θεός καὶ δημιουργός πάντα ᾧ δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χάρις αὐτοῦ, ἐγένετο εἰς ἐν. Clem. Alex. p. 156.

*Heb. i. 8.*

My Argument here is, that Christ who in This Text is declared to be *God*, must be the *same God* with the *Father*, because Scripture admits but *one God*; and expressly declares against every *other God*. To which you reply, *p. 13.* that the Apostle sufficiently explains Himself by the Words, *God, even thy God*; Verse the ninth: And that I *ought not to have omitted it*. But I had abundantly answered That Pre-*tence*<sup>c</sup>, by interpreting the Words of Christ consider'd in his *human Capacity*, referring to *Dr. Bennet* for a Vindication of it. Which is what you ought not to have omitted. This Text will come up again under *Q. III.*

*Rom. ix. 5.*

From This Text I form my Argument after the same Manner as in the two former. You pretend it *dubious whether it may not possibly be meant of the Father*; referring to *Dr. Clarke's Script. Doct. p. 75. 2<sup>d</sup> Edit.* On the contrary, I maintain, that no reasonable Doubt can be made of its being meant of *Christ*; referring to such as have proved it<sup>f</sup>.

But allowing the Words to be intended of Christ, (which is no great Courtesy,) you have still something farther to say, *viz.* that the Meaning of This Text *is distinctly explained, 1 Cor. xv. 27. and Eph. i. 22.* But how explained? so as to make the Son *Another God*? I see nothing like it: Neither does God's being the *Head of Christ*, nor his *putting all Things under Him*, conclude any thing against what I assert, that Both together are *one God Supreme*. See my *Sermons, p. 224.* A distinct Personality, together

<sup>c</sup> Defense, p. 56.

<sup>f</sup> My Sermons, p. 221. Grabe *Not. in Bull, D. F. Sect. 2. c. 3.* Grabe's *Instances of Defects, &c.* p. 24. *Second Review of Doxologies,* p. 15, 16. *Dr. Calamy's Sermons, p. 38.*

with a Supremacy of *Order*, or *Office*, are sufficient to account for all, upon my Principles. You remind me of *Hippolytus's* Comment on This Text, in these Words: "Christ is God over all: For thus He Himself says plainly, All Things are *given* me from the "Father &c." But why did you overlook the Words immediately following: "Who being over all God "blessed, was begotten (*of the Virgin*) and becoming "Man is God for ever". You see, *Hippolytus* supposes Him to have been *God* before the commencing of his *mediatorial* Kingdom, before the Time when all Things were said to be *given* Him; and therefore *Hippolytus* may reasonably be supposed to mean no more, than that all Things were intrusted with Him, because He, so *great* and so *divine* a Person, was the most proper to sustain so *great* a Charge. The Consideration thereof leads back to his *antecedent* Dignity, and Excellency, which qualified him for so *great*, and so *endearing* a Charge. Wherefore it was right in *Hippolytus* to make Mention of it, in Order to confirm what was said, *Rom. ix. 5.* that He is *over all God blessed for ever.* *Epiphanius*, who cannot be suspected of *Arianizing*, scruples not to argue upon the same Text, just as *Hippolytus* does, and almost in the same Words<sup>h</sup>. And they did not quote *Matt. xi. 27.* (or *Luke x. 22.*) to shew how, or when, Christ was appointed God; They had no such Thoughts, believing Him to have been always God; but to confirm what was said in *Rom. ix. 5.* so as to shew withal, that He was *distinct* from the *Father*, not the *same Person* with Him, as *Noetus* pretended.

<sup>g</sup> Οὗτ' ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός ἐστιν, λέγει ἦν οὕτω μετὰ παύρησιās πάντα μοι ὠφελῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς. Ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός εὐλογητὸς γενένηται, καὶ ἀνθρώπων γενέμενος θεός ἐστιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Hippol. contr. Noet. p. 10.

<sup>h</sup> Ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός θαυμασῶς διηγείται. οὗτ' ἂν γὰρ ὁ ὢν, ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ αὐτὸς διδάσκει ἡμᾶς, λέγαν' πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πάντων ἐστὶ θεός. Epiph. Hæc. 57. p. 487.

You bring up *Hippolytus*<sup>i</sup> again, to confirm, as you imagine, your Fancies upon 1 *Cor.* xv. 27. *Hippolytus* answering the Objection of *Noetus*, drawn from *Rev.* i. 8. where Christ is stiled παντοκράτωρ, (and from whence *Noetus* inferred, that Christ must be the very *Father* Himself incarnate,) I say, *Hippolytus*, in his Answer, hath the Words which you recite. “ If  
 “ therefore all Things are put under Him, excepting  
 “ Him that did put all Things under Him, He hath  
 “ Dominion over all, and the Father over Him;  
 “ that in all Things may be made appear *one God* to  
 “ whom all Things are subject, together with Christ,  
 “ to whom the Father hath subjected all Things,  
 “ Himself only excepted.”

*Hippolytus* here speaks not of the λόγος, but of *God incarnate*, Christ Jesus; shewing that *Christ*, since his Incarnation, has been *subject* to the Father, and will be so also, in his human Capacity, after He has delivered up his mediatorial Kingdom. From whence it is manifest, against *Noetus*, that the *Father* Himself was not *incarnate*, was not *Christ*; for

<sup>i</sup> Καλῶς εἶπεν παντοκράτορα χριστόν — μαρτυρῶν ὅτι χριστὸς εἶπεν, πάντα μοι παραδίδονται παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ πάντων κρατεῖ, παντοκράτωρ παρὰ πατέρα κατεστάθη χριστός — πάντα υποτέτακται αὐτῷ, ἔκτος τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος, πάντων κρατεῖ, αὐτοῦ δὲ ὁ πατήρ, ἵνα ἐν πᾶσιν εἷς θεὸς φανῇ, καὶ τὰ πάντα υποτάσσεται ἅμω χριστῷ. ὃ τὰ πάντα πατήρ ὑπέταξε παρὰ ἑαυτοῦ. Hippolyt. Contr. Noet. p. 10.

Καὶ πάλιν φησὶν ἐν τῇ Αποκαλύψει· ὁ ὢν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος παντοκράτωρ. καλῶς κατὰ πάντα εἶπε· καλῶς γὰρ εἶπε, πάντα μοι παραδίδονται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου — ἐπὶ πάντας μὲν οὖν ἂν θεός, ἔχων δὲ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ πατέρα, &c. Epiph. Har. 57. p. 488.

Omnipotens Christus appellatur. Si enim omnia Patris Filii sunt, & ut ipse loquitur in Evangelio, data est mihi omnis potestas in celo & in Terra, & omnia mea tua sunt, cur non etiam Omnipotentis nomen referatur ad Christum, ut sicut Deus Dei, & Dominus Domini, sic Omnipotens Omnipotentis Filius sit? Hieronym. in Isa. Tom. 3, p. 13.

Nec mirum si Christus dicatur Omnipotens, cui Tradita est omnis Potestas in celo & in Terra. Et qui dicit; omnia que Patris sunt, mea sunt. Si autem omnia, id est, Deus ex Deo, Dominus ex Domino, lumen de lumine; ergo & ex omnipotente omnipotens: Neque enim fieri potest ut quorum una natura est, diversa sit gloria. Hieron. in Zach. Tom. 3. p. 1718.

then whom could Christ be *subject* to, but to *Himself*? Which is absurd. This I take to be the Sense of *Hippolytus*, and his full Sense; his Argument requiring no more: Besides that, it is not consistent with *Hippolytus's* other Writings, to make the Son, in his highest Capacity, *subject* to the Father, and under his *Dominion*. For, not to mention that *Hippolytus* in This very Tract, plainly teaches that the Son is of the same Substance with the Father, and *one God* with Him, (as shall be shewn more fully hereafter,) he concludes his Treatise with ascribing *Glory* and *Dominion* to the Son *with the Father and the Holy Ghost*. Now, it would be very absurd thus to join *Sovereign* and *Subject* together, ascribing the same *Glory* and *Dominion* to Both<sup>k</sup>. And in the Words going before, speaking of Christ, he says, *He being God, became Man for our Sakes, to whom the Father subjected all Things*<sup>l</sup>. Which shews that all his Discourse before, relating to the *Subjection* of Things to the Son, and of the Son to the Father, is after his Incarnation; and is to be understood of the Θεάνθρωπος, the *God-Man*; who, as God, had all Things under Him; as Man, was Himself under the Father. To confirm which, we may observe that *Hippolytus* interprets Christ's *praying* to the Father, as being done οἰκονομικῶς. These are his Words: *Christ made all these Prayers economically, as Man, being Himself very God*<sup>m</sup>. Does This look as if *Hippolytus* believed God the Father to have *sovereign Dominion* over Christ, in his highest Capacity? Might not any *Subject* of God have prayed to God, as such?

<sup>k</sup> 'Αυτῷ ἢ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτῳ ἅμα πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, &c. Hippol. p. 20.

<sup>l</sup> Οὐτῷ ὁ Θεός, ὁ Ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἡμᾶς γεγονῶς, ᾧ πάντα ὑπέταξεν πατρί. Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> Ταῦτα ἢ πάντα χριστὸς οἰκονομικῶς ὡς Ἄνθρωπος ἤυχετο, Θεὸς ἂν ἀληθινός. Ἀλλ' ὡς φάσασιν εἶπον, ἢ μορφή τοῦ δούλου ἦν ταῦτα λέγεσθαι καὶ πάσης. Hipp. contr. Jud. p. 3.

You say (p. 16.) that the *Doctrine which I alledge This Text* (Rom. ix. 5.) to prove, is a *Contradiction to the whole Stream of Antiquity*. And here again you quote *Hippolytus* (the *spurious* and *interpolated Hippolytus*, according to you) as a just Interpreter of the Antients. It seems, you are willing to admit him, when he says Any Thing that looks for your Purpose. The Words you chiefly value are παντοκράτωρ ἀπὸ πατρὸς κατεστάθη χριστός. *Christ was constituted Ruler over all by the Father*. On Occasion whereof, let me observe a Thing to you which you are not aware of; that tho' the Antients scrupled not to say, that Christ was *constituted* by the Father, Ruler, or Lord, or even Creator, (according to *Prov. viii.*) or Any Thing coming under the Notion of *Office*, (the Father being ever looked upon as *First* in Order, and in virtue thereof, the Fountain of every *Office*, according to his own voluntary Appointment) yet you will never find it said by the Antients, that The Father *constituted* Christ a God, or *appointed* Him to be God. Which Observation is highly deserving your special Notice; as it may discover to you a fundamental Flaw in your *Hypothesis*, and may shew that you have took a great deal of Pains with the Antients, upon a very wrong View, and (give me leave to add) to very little Purpose. Had you found ever an antient Testimony, declaring that Christ was constituted *God over all*, you would have done something: The rest are impertinent, and come not up to your Point. The Word *God* was never looked upon as a Word of *Office*, or *Dominion*, but of *Nature* and *Substance*: And hence it is, that the Antients never speak of Christ's being *constituted* God. One Use indeed you may make of your Observation from *Hippolytus*, that παντοκράτωρ, tho' it be often in the LXX the rendering of יהוה צבאות Lord of Hosts, yet the Fathers sometimes used it in a lower Sense, such as comes not up to the Strength of the *Hebrew*: And therefore I readily acknowledge to you, that such

Passages

Passages of the Fathers as stile Christ *παντοκράτωρ*, are not pertinently alledged to prove Him to be the *Jehovah* in the strict Sense of that Name, according to Those Fathers. But enough of This. Upon the whole, it may appear that you have not been able to take off the Force of *Rom. ix. 5.*

*Phil. ii. 6.*

My Argument from This Text runs thus. He that was in the *Form of God*, that is, *naturally* Son of God, and *God*, and as such *equal* with God<sup>n</sup>, is God in the same high Sense as the Father Himself is; and since God is one, the same God. To This you only reply, (*p. 14.*) that *nothing can be more directly against me*, than This Text. Which decretory Sentence, void of all Proof, and coming from a Man *fallible* as my self, deserves no farther Notice. You have a great deal more upon This Text, from *p. 50. to p. 64.* but put together in so confused a Manner, with a Mixture of foreign Matters, that I shall not spend Time in pursuing you; but refer the Reader to my *fifth Sermon* upon this very Text: Where all that you have material is already answered, or obviated. Your incidental Pleas and Pretences relating to *Novatian*, and other Antients, will be answered in their Place. I proceed to another Text.

*Heb. i. 3.*

My Argument here is, that He who is *the Brightness of his Father's Glory*, and *the express Image of his Person*, cannot reasonably be supposed to be *excluded* among the *nominal Gods*. But if he be not excluded, He is included in the *one supreme God*. Therefore, &c. Now, in Page the fourteenth, you are content only to say, which I can as easily gainsay, that This Text is *directly against me*. But you resume it again, *p. 65.* out of Method; and thither I must attend you.

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<sup>n</sup> See my *fifth Sermon*.

There you talk much of *By his Son*, and *By whom*, and of the Father's being *his God*: Which kind of Reasoning I have sufficiently answered above. But you add, that *the Image of the one supreme God cannot be Himself That one supreme God, whose Image He is*. But what mean you by the Words *That supreme God*? Plainly, *That supreme Father, who is God*: And thus I readily allow, that He cannot be Himself *That very Person* whose *express Image* He is. But why do you thus perpetually quibble with the Phrase *That supreme God*; as if there were *two Gods*, *This* and *That*, and making the *supreme God* a Name for one *Person* only? This, you must be sensible, is taking the main Point for granted; and poorly begging of the Question: Which is a Thing beneath the Character of an able Disputant. To proceed: I had been press'd with a Passage of *Eusebius*, relating to This Text; and I returned a clear and full Answer to it in my *Defense*, p. 18, 19. You bring another Passage out of *Eusebius*, in his *Demonstratio Evang.* tho' you know that even Bishop *Bull*, who otherwise is a Defender of *Eusebius*, yet makes no Account of what he wrote before the *Nicene Council*: As neither do I. I shall not therefore give my self the Trouble of attending you, as often as you fill your Margin with That Author. I had said however, what was true, in relation to the Passage brought against me before; that by *δύο ἰσῆαι*, *Eusebius* might mean no more than what *Pierius*, *Methodius*, *Alexander*, and *Tertullian*, meant by the like Expressions; that is, *two Persons*. To which you reply, (p. 68.) that I, *by adding what the Antient Writers constantly disclaimed*, (viz. an Equality of supreme Authority in the *Two Persons*) *do necessarily make, what They never did, Two supreme Gods, however inseparable or undivided, as to their Substance*. But you are under a double Mistake; first, in imagining that the *Antients* did not acknowledge an *Equality of supreme Authority* as much as I do; and next, in fancying that *They* and *I*

(for



(for the Charge affects Both, or neither) thereby make *two supreme Gods*. The *Antients*, and I conformable thereto, always suppose a *Headship*, or *Priority* of Order of the Father, referring his *consubstantial* Son to Him as his *Head*. And *This Origination in the divine Paternity* (as Bishop Pearson speaks<sup>o</sup>) *hath antiently been looked upon as the Assertion of the Unity: And therefore the Son and Holy Ghost have been believed to be but one God with the Father; (N.B.) because Both from the Father, who is one, and so the Union of them*. If you ask how the *Authority*, or *Dominion*, (for so I understand you here, and not as *Authority* sometimes signifies *Paternity*, and *Auctor* is *Pater*;) I say, if you ask how it can be *supreme* in Both, if it be *original* here, and *derivative* there; I answer, because it is the *same* in Both, only existing in a different Manner: Neither are there *two Dominions* or *two Sovereignties*, any more than *Two Essences*, *Substances*, or *Gods*. The Question, *from whence* the Son's *Dominion* is, is one Point, and *how great*, or *how high*, is quite Another. If you ask *from whence* the Son's *Dominion* is, I say *from the Father*, as his *Essence* also is: If you ask *from whence* the Father's *Dominion* is, I say, *from none*, as I say also of his *Essence*. But if you ask me, *what*, or *how great*, or *how high*; I say *equal*<sup>p</sup> in Both, and indeed

one

<sup>o</sup> Pearson on the Creed, p. 40.

Ὀὔτις ἢ τοῖς τρισὶ μίᾳ, θεὸς ἕνωσις ἢ ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ, καὶ πρὸς ὃν, ἀνάγεται τὰ ἕξῃς. οὐχ ὡς συναλειφθεὸς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕως. Greg. Naz. Orat. 32, p. 520.

In illa quippe una Substantia Trinitatis, *Unitas est in Origine*, *æqualitas in Prole*, in *Caritate autem*, *Unitatis æqualitatisque Communio*, Fulgent. ad Monim. l. 2. c. 11. p. 37.

<sup>p</sup> *Æqualem ergo Patri credite Filium*, sed tamen *de Patre Filium*, *Patrem verò non de Filio*. Origo apud Illum, *æqualitas* apud Istum. August. Serm. 140. Tom. 5. p. 681.

Quod si dixeris, eo ipso major est Pater Filio quia *de nullo* genitus genuit tamen *æqualem*; cito respondebo, imo ideo non est major Pater Filio, quia genuit *æqualem*, non *minorem*. Originis enim Quæ-  
stio

one undivided *Same*, just as the *Essence* is. Thus your Charge of *two Gods*, which you so frequently repeat, through your abounding in false *Metaphysicks*, is proved a Fallacy, and a groundless Calumny.

You proceed to examine my Authorities for my Construction of *Heb. i. 3.* one by one. This being but a very small and incidental Part of the Controversy, I could be content to pass it over, for fear of being tedious to the Reader. But I will endeavour to be as short as possible. You begin with rebuking me for citing *Origen* out of *Athanasius*; who lived, you say, above a hundred Years after *Origen's* Death. It was not quite a hundred when *Athanasius* wrote the Piece from whence I cited the Passage. But no Matter. I question whether you can bring any Thing of *Origen's* that is of *better*, or indeed so *good* Authority; considering how carefully *Athanasius's* Works have been preserved, how negligently most of *Origen's*, and how much They have been *corrupted*; as the best Criticks allow. Will you produce me any Mss. of *Origen*, above the Age of *Athanasius*? Or will you assure us that later *Scribes* were more faithful in copying than He? To pass on; you think however that the Passage cited from *Origen* is *nothing to my Purpose*; it does not shew that the Son is the *one supreme God*. But it shews enough to infer it, though it does not directly say it. It shews that, in *Origen's* Opinion, the *Image* must be perfectly like the *Proto-type*;

*fio est quis de quo fit, æqualitatis autem qualis, aut quantus fit. August. Tom. 8. p. 718.*

Cum sit *gloria, sempiternitate, virtute, Regno, Potestate*, hoc quod Pater est; omnia tamen hæc non sine *Auctore*, sicut Pater, Deus ex Patre tanquam Filius, sine initio et *æqualis* habet: & cum ipse sit omnium Caput, ipsius tamen Caput est Pater. *Ruffin. in Symb.*

Cum Pater omnia quæ habet gignendo dedit, *æqualem* utique genuit, quoniam nihil minus dedit: Quomodo ergo Tu dicis, quia ille dedit, ille accepit, ideo *æqualem* Patri Filium non esse; cum Eum cui data sunt Omnia & ipsam *æqualitatem* videas accepisse? *August. Contr. Maxim. l. 2. c. 14. p. 707.*

Both

Both alike *invisible*, and alike *eternal*<sup>a</sup>: So far He is *express*; and his Premises infer a great deal more, by Parity of Reason. Wherefore *Origen*, in his Book against *Celsus*, carries the Argument up to a formal Equality in Greatness. His Words are<sup>r</sup>, “ The God “ and Father of all is not, according to us, the only one that is *great*. For He hath imparted even “ his *Greatness*, to his only Begotten, begotten before the Creation: That He being the *Image* of the “ invisible God, might keep up the Resemblance of “ the Father, even in *Greatness*. For it was not possible for Him to be (if I may so speak) a commensurate and fair Image of the invisible God, without “ copying out his *Greatness*.”

Now, to me it seems, that This and the other Passage of *Origen*, are Both very much to my Purpose. For, *Origen* was never weak enough to imagine that there were *two Gods*, equal in *Invisibility*, in *Eternity*, in *Greatness*: But that the Father and Son, thus *equal* to each other, were together the one God Supreme. If you have any Passages to alledge to the contrary, out of *Origen*'s less accurate, or perhaps *interpolated* Works, They are by no means to be brought in Competition with those I have cited: Besides that the very most of them may admit of a fair and candid Construction, as meaning no more than that the Father is naturally *prior* in *Order* to the Son, or in *Office* superior, by mutual Concert and Agreement.

<sup>a</sup> Εἰ ἔστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, ἀόρατος εἰκὼν. ἐγὼ δὲ τολμήσας προείρηκα ἂν, ὅτι καὶ ὁμοίότητος τυγχάνων τοῦ πατρὸς, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν. *Orig.* apud *Athan.* p. 233.

<sup>r</sup> Οὐ μόνον ἡ μέγας κατ' ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ὄλων θεὸς καὶ πατήρ· μετέδωκε γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς μεγαλειότητος τῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πραιοτέρῃ πάσης κτίσεως· ἢ εἰκὼν αὐτὸς τυγχάνων τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ μεγέθει σώζῃ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ πατρὸς· οὐ γὰρ οἶον ἦν εἶναι σύμμετρον (ἢ οὕτως ὁνομάσθαι) καὶ καλὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ, μὴ καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους παρῶν εἴδωσαν τὴν εἰκόνα. *Orig. Contr. Cels.* p. 323.

Nor shall I think my self obliged (which I mention once for all) to answer such Testimonies as have been before compleatly answered by Bp. *Bull*; unless you have something *new* to add upon the Subject. We shall have more concerning *Origen*, in another Place.

You proceed to *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, (p. 71.) whom I had also cited in Relation to *Heb. i. 3*. You call it citing at *second Hand*, because out of *Athanasius*. May not any Writings whatever be almost with equal Justice said to be cited at *second Hand*? They must be conveyed to us by some Hand or other: And we cannot be more certain of any Parts of old Writings than we are of these Parts especially which were long ago cited, higher up than any Mss. now reach. But enough of this trifling. You bring up again the stale Pretence about what *Basil* and *Photius* said of *Dionysius*: Which has been answered over and over, by considerable Writers<sup>f</sup>. This is what you ought not to have concealed from your Reader. You observe farther, that *Dionysius* does not draw the *same Inference* from the Text that I do, *viz.* that the Son is the *one supreme God*. Very true: Neither should I draw That Inference, if I was only proving the *Eternity* of God the Son; but I should stop there. However, if there be occasion to advance farther, nothing is easier than from the *Coeternity* to deduce all that I desire, *viz.* that the Father and Son are together the one God *Supreme*: Which is indeed the plain, certain Doctrine of the same *Dionysius*, in the same Treatise. *The undivided Monad we extend to a Triad, and again the undiminished Triad we contract into a Monad*<sup>t</sup>. Now, I beseech you, what is his

<sup>f</sup> Bull Def. Fid. Nic. p. 142. Mr. Thirlby's Answer to Mr. Whiston's Suspicions, p. 91, &c. Ruinart. Act. Mart. p. 181. Le Moyne Not. ad var. Sacr. p. 235. Athanasius de Sententia Dionysii.

<sup>t</sup> Οὕτω μὲν ἡμεῖς εἰς τὴν τριάδα τὴν μονάδα πλατωνοῦ μὲν ἀδιάφετον, καὶ τὴν τριάδα πάλιν ἀμείωτον εἰς τὴν μονάδα συγκριψαλαίουμεθα. Dionys. Alex. apud Athanas. Vol. I. p. 255.

*Monad*, but the *one God Supreme*? And what doth it consist of, but of *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, according to this excellent Writer?

My next Authority was *Alexander of Alexandria*<sup>u</sup>; whom, you say, I cite out of *Athanasius*. You should have said, out of *Montfaucon's* Edition of *Athanasius's* Works, into which He has inserted This Epistle of *Alexander*. The Reader perhaps otherwise may suspect that This was again at *second Hand*, as you would call it, from *Athanasius*. Well, what have you to say to the Thing? It amounts, you think, to no more than what *Arius* himself might have said, *viz.* that the Son is not (ἀνόμοι⊕ τῆ ἑσία τῆ πατρὸς) of *unlike Substance to the Father*. You should have added the other Words by me cited, εἰκὼν τελεία, καὶ ἀπαύγασμα τῆ πατρὸς, *the perfect Image and Shining forth of the Father*. Which I believe neither *Arius*, nor your self would be willing to admit. However, *Arius* had denied that the Son was ὅμοι⊕ τῆ ἑσία, *of like Substance with the Father*; as appears from That very Epistle<sup>w</sup>. And neither *Arius*, nor you, would have said ἀπαύγασμα τῆ πατρὸς, but ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης τῆ πατρὸς, which Kind of Expression *Dr. Clarke* contends for in Opposition to the other. You proceed to cite a pretty large Passage from *Alexander's* other Epistle in *Theodoret*, to shew, as you pretend, that *He has nothing agreeable to my Notion*; tho' the whole Epistle is exactly agreeable to my Notion, and indeed contains it. *Alexander* no where says, with you, that the Father *alone* has *supreme Authority, Sovereignty and Dominion*: He was too wise and too good a Man to *divide the Son* from the Father. He

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<sup>u</sup> Πῶς ἀνόμοι⊕ τῆ οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, ὃ ἂν εἰκὼν τελεία, καὶ ἀπαύγασμα τοῦ πατρὸς; *Alexand. Alexand. Ep. inter Op. Athanas.* pag. 399.

<sup>w</sup> Among *Arius's Tenets*, This is one. Οὐτε ἕ ὅμοι⊕ κατ' οὐσίαν τῆ πατρὸς ἔστι. *Ibid.* p. 398.

expresses their *Inseparability*\* in all Things, in very full and express Terms; together with the Son's *Necessary-Existence*†, and *supreme Divinity*‡; blaming the *Arians* for laying hold of Christ's Acts of Submission, and Condescension, in Order to sink and lessen it. All you can find in this Writer, that looks for your Purpose, is, that the Prerogative of *Unbegotten* belongs to the Father (which I also constantly maintain) and that the Son was neither *unbegotten*, nor *created*, but between Both: Which *Alexander* observes, in Opposition to the *Arians*, who pretended there was no *Medium*, but that the Son must be either *Unbegotten*, or a *Creature*. You cite Part of This Passage, but omit what would have shewn fully the Sense of the Author; which runs thus:

“ For These Inventers of idle Tales (the *Arians*)  
 “ pretend, that we, who reject their impious and un-  
 “ scriptural Blasphemy against Christ, as being from  
 “ Nothing, assert *Two unbegotten* Beings: Alledging,  
 “ very ignorantly, that one of these two we must  
 “ of Necessity hold; either that He (Christ) is *from*  
 “ *Nothing*, or that there must be *two unbegotten Be-*  
 “ *ings*. Unthinking Men! not to consider the great  
 “ Distance there is between the *unbegotten* Father,  
 “ and the Things *created* by Him out of Nothing,  
 “ (as well rational, as irrational,) betwixt which  
 “ Two, come in the intermediate *only-begotten Na-*

\* Ἀλλήλων ἀχώριστα πράγματα δύο, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν, &c. p. 12. Μεταξὺ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ οὐδὲν — διάστημα, οὐδ' ἄχρι τινὸς ἐνοίας τοῦτο φαντασιῶσαι τῆς ψυχῆς δυναμένης. Ibid.

† Ἀτρέπτον τοῦτον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον ὡς τὸν πατέρα, ἀπροσδέη καὶ τέλειον υἱόν — μόνῃ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ λειπόμενος ἐκεῖνος. p. 18. Τὸ γὰρ ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης μὴ εἶναι λέγειν, συναρῆ καὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον φῶς, εὖ ἐστὶν ἀπαύγασμα. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἦν αἰεὶ, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ οὗ ἐστὶν εἰκὼν, ἔστιν αἰεὶ. p. 14.

‡ Ἡ υἰότης αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν τυγχάνουσα τῆς πατρικῆς θεότητος, &c. p. 14. Τῆς ἀνωτάτης, καὶ ἀρχῆθεν αὐτῷ θεότητος. p. 16.

“*ture* of God the *Word*, by whom the Father made  
“all Things out of Nothing<sup>a</sup>.”

I see nothing in This Passage, but what I can heartily assent to; understanding by Nature, *Person*, as *Alexander* Himself understood it; which *Valesius* observes. One Thing the Reader may remark, that the main Principle upon which you and your Friends found all your Opposition to the Doctrine of a *Co-equal* and *Co-eternal* Trinity, is no other than what you have borrowed from the ancient *Arians*; and which *Alexander*, in this Passage, severely condemns; namely, that God the Son cannot be God in the strict and proper Sense, unless He be *unoriginate* and *self-existent*, as the *unbegotten* Father Himself; there being, as you conceive, no *Medium* between *Self-existence*, in the highest Sense, and *precarious* Existence: That is, in plain Words, (tho’ you love to disguise it) between being *unbegotten*, and being a *Creature*. And thus we have done with *Heb. i. 3.* Some *Post-Nicene* Writers I had added, not to *make a Shew*, as you frowardly and falsely suggest; but, as you very well knew, to correct your *Wonder*, and your representing it before as *strange*, and *new*, to offer This Text in Proof of Christ’s *Divinity*.

You have not been able, we see, to invalidate the Force of Those few Texts, laid down in This Query, with design to prove that Christ is *not excluded*, by any Texts of the Old Testament, or New, from being *one God* with the Father, but necessarily included in the one *God Supreme*. To these I might

<sup>a</sup> Φασί γὰρ ἡμᾶς οἱ φληνάφων ἐφευρεταὶ μύθων, ἀποσφραγίστους τὴν ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἀσέση καὶ ἀγραφοῦν κατὰ χριστοῦ βλασφημίαν, ἀγέννητα διδάσκειν δύο· δύοὶ γάρτερον λέγοντες θεῖν εἶναι οἱ ἀπαίδευτοι, ἢ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων αὐτὸν εἶναι φρονεῖν, ἢ πάντως ἀγέννητα λέγειν δύο· ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ ἀνάσκητοι, ὡς μακρὸν ἂν εἴη μεταξύ πατρός ἀγέννητε, καὶ τῶν κτισθέντων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων λογικῶν τε καὶ ἀλόγων. ἂν μεσιτεύσεται φύσις μονογενής, δι’ ἧς τὰς ὅλας ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐποίησεν ὁ πατήρ, τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, &c. Alexand. Epist. ap. Theod. l. i. c. 4. p. 17, 18.

See Bull Sect. 3. c. 9. n. 11. Animad. in Gilb. Clerke, p. 1027.

add many other Texts, signifying that the Father and Son are *one*; that the Son is *in the Father*, and the Father *in Him*; that He who hath seen *one*, has therein seen the *other* also; that the Son is in the *Bosom* of the *Father*, and as intimate as *Thought* to *Mind*; that *all Things* which the *Father* hath are the *Son's*; and that *whatsoever* the *Father* doth, the *Son* doth likewise; that They are represented as *one Temple*, *Rev. xxi. 22.* and as having *one Throne*, *Rev. xxii. 1.* and as making *one Light*, *Rev. xxi. 23.* These and many other Considerations, suggested in Scripture, serve to confirm and illustrate the same Thing. But it is now Time to examine your pretended *Counter-Evidence*, drawn from *Scripture*: After the Discussion of which, we may come regularly to our Enquiry into the Sense of *Antiquity* upon This Head.

You had produced *Job. xvii. 3.* *1 Cor. viii. 6.* *Eph. iv. 6.* which prove that the Father is stiled, sometimes, the *one God*, or *only true God*; and that He is God of the *Jews*, of *Abraham*, &c. I asked, how those Texts proved that the Son *was not*? You say, (*p. 26.*) *very plainly*. Let us hear how. You add, *Can the Son of the God of Abraham*, (*Acts iii. 13*) *be Himself That God of Abraham, who glorified his Son?* But why must you here talk of *That God*, as it were in Opposition to *This God*, supposing *two Gods*; that is, supposing the Thing in Question? If I allow that there is a *This God*, and a *That God*, or *Two Gods*; you can prove, it seems, that *Two Gods* are not *One God*. Very ingenious! But if I tell you that *This divine Person* is not *That divine Person*, and yet Both are *one God*; the Quibble is answered. You are very often at this kind of Play: And therefore it may be here proper to say something more to it. Let us make Trial of the like Argumentation in another Case. It is the Doctor's Principle, as hath been observed, that the divine Substance is infinitely *extended*, and yet the *same Substance*, every where. Let us now argue much after the same Manner as you do against me;



*This divine Substance* here on Earth is not *That divine Substance* which fills Heaven: For *This* and *That* cannot be the *Same*. It is but repeating the Argument, and one may prove that the Divine Being, according to the Doctor, consists of an infinite Number of *different Substances*, no two *Parts* whatever being the *same Substance*. Such is the Force of your Logick, by the Help of *This*, and *That*. But if the Doctor, on the other Hand, can allow that the Substance may be the *same*, where there is a Distinction of *This* and *That*; then give us leave to take the Benefit of the Doctor's own Principles; and to conclude in the present Case, that *Father* and *Son* may be *one Substance*, *one Being*, or *one God*, notwithstanding the Distinction of *This Person*, and *That Person*. Having once fully answered your Quibble, you will not, I hope, expect that I should do it again and again, as often as you get into this trifling Way. It will be sufficient, just to hint to the Reader, that you are again playing, as usual, with *This*, and *That*; and so to dismiss it. Now let us proceed. You ask farther, upon *Acts* iii. 13. *Can the one Supreme God be exalted, or glorified by Another?* In Answer to which I refer you to my *fifth Sermon*. You add, is it not true, that *the Less is blessed of the Greater?* But what has *Benediction* to do with *Exaltation*, and *Glorification?* I am weary of answering such Things.

You come to take off the Answer I had made to such Texts as stile the Father the *only God*, &c. I had said, He was not so stiled in *Opposition* to the Son, or to *exclude* Him, from being the *one God*. That is, say you, *The Father*, tho' expressly distinguished, is still both *Father* and *Son*. That is your Mistake: We do not say, that in these, or the like Instances, Both Persons are included in the Term *Father*; but that the exclusive Terms, *alone*, or *only*, are not to be so rigorously interpreted, as to leave no Room for *tacit* Exceptions. To make this a little plainer to you.

Rev. xix. 12. It is said of the Son, *He had a Name written, which no one knew but Himself.* This was not said in *Opposition* to the Father, or as *excluding* Him from that Knowledge: For, it is still *tacitly* supposed, that *He knew* as much as the Son; and no Question could be made of it. This is not *including* Father and Son under the Term *Son*; but is *speaking* of one only, *abstracting* from the Consideration of, not *excluding* the other. I had said that the *Father* is *primarily*, not *exclusively*, the one true God. You do not understand *primarily*: I am sorry for it. *First* in Order, *first* in Conception, God *unbegotten* and proceeding *from none*, as distinguished from God *begotten*, and *proceeding*. You add, that *when* one Person is in any *Respect* declared to be the only, &c. *He must needs be so*, *exclusively* of all others, in That Sense wherein He is declared to be the only, &c. *Otherwise there is no Certainty or Use in Language.* That is to say, since *no one knoweth the Father, but the Son*, the Father must be *excluded* from *knowing* in the same, or in so high a Sense: And if *no one* knoweth the Things of God but *The Spirit*, Both Father and Son are *excluded* from *knowing* in so high a Sense, or in the same Sense. And if *no one* knew the *Name written* but the *Son Himself*, Both the *Father* and the *Holy Ghost* must be *excluded* from *knowing*: *Otherwise, there is no Certainty or Use in Language.*

And if Christ be stiled by the primitive Fathers, as He often is, (see my *Sermons*, p. 141.) the *only Judge*, the *only Lord*, the *only God*, the *only King*; the Father must be excluded from being *Judge*, *Lord*, *King*, or *God*, in such a *Sense* as Those Authors intended of God the Son: *Otherwise there is no Certainty or Use in Language.* But I think, the Use of Language, and Custom of Speech, in all Authors I have met with, has gone upon This Rule, or Maxim, that *exclusive* Terms are always to be understood in *Opposition* only to what They are *opposed* to, and not in *Opposition* to what They are *not opposed* to: And there

is both *Use* and *Certainty* enough in *Language*, in This Way, so long as Men are blessed with any tolerable Share of common Sense, and are but capable of understanding the Design, Drift, or Purport of any Speaker, or Writer. I see where your Confusion lies: And if you will bear a while with me, I will endeavour to help you out of it. I consider the Matter thus: The *God* of *Israel* (be it Father, or Son, or Both, or the whole Trinity,) is stiled the *one God*, God in the strict, and *emphatical* Sense of the Word *God*, in Opposition to *Creature-Gods*; which are none of them Gods in the same Sense of the Word *God*. Here, you will observe that I lay the *Emphasis* upon the Sense of the Word *God*: And in This very *highest* and most *emphatical* Sense of the Word, I suppose as well *Son* and *Holy Ghost*, as the *Father*, to be *God*.

Again, the *Father* may be *emphatically* stiled the *only God*, because of his *emphatical* Manner of existing. Here I lay the whole *Emphasis* upon the *Manner* of existing, existing *from none*. Either *Son*, or *Holy Ghost*, is *God* in the very *highest Sense*, in the *same Sense* of the Word *God*, but not in the same *emphatical Manner*. If therefore the *Emphasis* be laid upon the Sense of the Word *God*, every Person of the Three is *emphatically God*, in Opposition to *Creature-Gods*: But if the *Emphasis* be laid upon the *Manner* of existing, the *Father* only is *God* in That *emphatical* Manner, and for That very Reason is most frequently stiled, in Scripture and Antiquity too, the *only God*. I perceive, you do not distinguish between being *God* in a *different Sense* of the Word *God*, and being *God* in a *different Manner*, tho' in the *same Sense* of the Word: And hence arises your Perplexity upon This Head. I will give you one Example, out of many, which may help to illustrate the Case. The *Father* is *Spirit*, and the *Son* is *Spirit*; but yet the *Holy Ghost* is *emphatically the Spirit*. Not that He is *Spirit* in any *higher*, or any *different* Sense of the Word

*Spirit*; But upon other Accounts, the Name of *Spirit* is emphatically and more peculiarly attributed to Him. In like Manner, the Father is God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God; yet the Father is emphatically the *one God*. Not that He is God in any *higher*, or any *different* Sense of the Word *God*: But upon other Accounts, (either as He is *first known*, or as being most *universally* acknowledged\*, or chiefly as being *First Person* †, and *Head* of the other two,) the Name of *God*, or *only God*, has been emphatically and more peculiarly appropriated to Him. These Things being cleared, and set right, let us now pass on. What you have, p. 27, 28. about the Son's being *sent*, considered even in his divine Nature, I readily admit, and never doubted of. Neither do I dispute but that He that *sends*, is for That very Reason *greater* than Him that is *sent*; greater in respect of *Office* voluntarily entred into; and greater in respect of *natural Order of Priority*, which made it proper for one to submit to the *inferior* Office rather than the other. And therefore I have not scrupled, after *Cyprian, Novatian, Athanasius, Basil*, and others, in my Sermons ‡, to admit that the *Son* is *greater* than

\* Quin & illud observazione dignum est, Judæos per id tempus, ut erant rudes & occæcati; *solum Deum* agnovisse quem *Patrem suum* esse Christus docuerat — idcirco *Joh. viii.* sic illos Christum alloquitur: *Est Pater meus, qui glorificat me, quem vos dicitis quia Deus vester est, & non cognovistis eum.* Itaque de Hoc ipso Deo, quem Judæi animo Capiabant, necnon Judaizantes Hæretici plerique, ad quos dedocendos, vel refutandos *Johannes* ista scribebat, loqui sic necesse habuit, ut diceret verbum erat *πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*, Hoc est apud *illum Deum*, quem vos O Judæi & Hæretici, *solum* novistis. *Petav. Dogm. Theol. Tom. 5. Part 2. p. 352. l. 16. c. 4.*

† *Salvo* enim *Filio*, rectè *unicum Deum* potest determinasse, cujus est *Filius*. Non enim desinit esse qui habet *Filius ipse unicus*, suo scilicet nomine, quotiens sine *Filio* nominatur. Sine *Filio* autem nominatur cum *principaliter* determinatur ut *prima persona*, quæ ante *Filii* nomen erat proponenda, quia *pater* ante cognoscitur, & post *patrem* *filius* nominatur. *Tertul. contr. Prax. c. 18.*

‡ Sermon 6. p. 191.

the *Holy Ghost*; of which, if you please, see a full and brief Account, in a Book refer'd to in the Margin\*.

Your Testimonies therefore upon That Head, might have been spared, as containing nothing contradictory to me: unless perhaps *Eusebius*, or the Council of *Sirmium* (neither of which are of any great Authority with me) might strain the Notion rather too far; as it is certain you do.

You go on to 1 Cor. viii. 6. where you say the Son is in the most *express Words* excluded. Excluded from being *one God* with the Father? Where? Shew me the *express Words* if you can. I say, the Father is there *emphatically* stiled the *one God*; and the Reason of it is intimated, because *of Him* are all Things; whereas in respect of the Son, they are only *by Him*: Which shews a Difference of *Order* betwixt Them, in existing, and operating. And this is all you can make of 1 Cor. viii. 6. However, as all Things are *by the Son*, as well as *of the Father*; it appears from That very Passage, that They are *Both one Creator*, one *Joint-Cause* of all Things. But of This Text I have said more in my *Sermons*†. You wonder I should not see in 1 Cor. viii. 6. that if the *one Lord* is included in the *one God*, (there spoken of, you should have added,) the whole Reasoning of the *Apostle* is quite taken away. But it is easy to answer, that *one God* there is taken *personally*: And so I do not pretend that it there stands both for Father and Son, but for Father only; as *one Lord* is also taken there *personally* for the Son only. Nevertheless, the giving the Name sometimes to one singly, is no Argument that the *same Name* may not also justly belong to Both together. On the contrary, it is certain, that if Both are joined in the same one *common Godhead*,

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\* Leo Allatius his Notes upon Methodius, p. 102. in Fabricius's second Volume of Hippolytus.

† Sermon. 2. p. 49. 54.

either of them singly has a Right to be called the *one God*, not excluding the other from the same Right.

What you add about *Sabellianism*, I pass over here as foreign. Your Quotation from Bp. *Pearson* is shamefully abusing your Reader, while you conceal what would have shewn that the Bp.'s Notion was diametrically opposite to yours. I have set down his Words above †. As to *Origen's* Way of solving the *Unity*, it will be seen hereafter to be directly contrary to yours; as are also the *Ante-nicene* Fathers in general, as will be seen presently. *Eusebius* I reckon not with the *Ante-nicenes*; unless you'll take in *Athanasius* too, who has Two Treatises written before any Pieces now extant of *Eusebius*. What I had said of *Novatian*, stood corrected in my two later Editions of my *Defense*, which you might have been so fair as to look into. I say, if *Novatian* did not mean that Christ was *God* in the same Sense with the Father, and *only God* as well as the Father, it will be hard to make out the Sense or Connexion of his Inference\* from *John* xvii. 3. His Reasoning is plainly This; that when our Lord said, *They might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent*, his joining Himself to the Father in that Manner, shews that He must be *God also*. The Strength of his Argument lies only in the Conjunction *And*: There are but two Constructions of it; either thus, know Thee, *and also* know Jesus Christ, (according to which there is nothing like an Argument, at least not according

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† Pag. 43.

\* Si nolisset se etiam *Deum* intelligi, cur addidit, & quem misisti *Jesum Christum*, nisi quoniam & *Deum* accipi voluit: quoniam si se *Deum* nollet intelligi, addidisset, & quem misisti *Hominem* *Jesum Christum*; nunc autem neque addidit, nec se *Hominem* nobis tantummodo *Christus* tradidit, sed *Deo* junxit, ut & *Deum*, per hanc conjunctionem, sicut est, intelligi vellet. Est ergo credendum in *Dominum*, unum verum *deum*, & in eum quem misit *Jesum Christum* consequenter: qui se nequaquam patri, ut diximus, junxisset nisi *Deum* quoque intelligi vellet. *Novat. c. 24.*

to *Novatian*) or else thus, Thee the only true God, and also Jesus Christ. Thus indeed the Text does afford an Argument of Christ's being *God*, and *only God* too. For it comes to This, that the Father, and also Christ, is the *only true God*. And thus *Ambrose*\* reasons upon that Text, much after the same Way with *Novatian*: As also do *Athanasius* †, and *Austin* ‡. Wherefore I do not see that I have at all misrepresented the Sense of *Novatian*. What you farther pretend from other Parts of his Treatise, is by no means made out: All being easily reconciled upon the Foot of the Son's *Subordination* as a Son, or his voluntary *Condescensions*, without the least Diminution of his supreme Authority, naturally and essentially adhering to Him. But *Novatian* shall be more distinctly and accurately considered in the Sequel. You tell me, pag. 36. that the *Nicene Creed* professes the Father to be *the one God*; as if any one question'd it, or thought it of any Weight in the Controversy! Do not I also profess the same Thing? You add farther, that even the *Post-nicene Writers* refer'd the Title of  $\delta \mu\acute{o}\nu\text{\textcircled{C}} \alpha\lambda\eta\theta\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ , *the only true God*, to the Father only (which is a Mistake ||;) But what if They did? Then They reserved  
some

\* *Ut cognoscant Te solum verum Deum, & quem misisti Jesum Christum*; conjunctione illa Patrem utique copulavit & Filium, ut Christum verum Deum à majestate Patris nemo secernat: Nunquam enim conjunctio separat. *Ambr. de Fid. l. 5. c. 1.* Compare *Hilary*, p. 815.

† *Athanas. Orat. 3. p. 558.*

‡ *Et quem misisti Jesum Christum.* Subaudiendum est, *unum verum Deum*, & ordo Verborum est, *ut te & quem misisti Jesum Christum cognoscant unum verum Deum.* *August. de Trin. l. 6. c. 9. p. 849.*

*Petavius remarks, that Novatian's was the same with St. Austin's.* *Petav. de Trin. l. 2. c. 4.*

|| *I think it not worth while to search particularly for a Thing of little or no Weight. But so far as I remember, the Title of only true God, is very often applied by the Post-nicene Writers to all the Persons together;*  
the

some peculiar Titles to the Father, by Way of *Emi- nency*, to distinguish the *first* Person of the *Godhead*: And That is all. And if the *Post-nicene* Writers, notwithstanding their reserving some peculiar and eminent Titles to the Father, yet believed all the three Persons to be the *one God*; why should the reserving of the same, or like Titles to the Father, among the *Ante-nicenes*, be made any Argument against their having the same Faith with Those that came after? What you say of *Epiphanius*, (p. 37.) that He understood the Words τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν, in *John* xvii. 3. of the *Father only*, is true: But you are prodigiously out in your Account, when you pretend from the same *Epiphanius*, that ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεός, the *true God*, in *John* v. 20. was in his Time, universally understood of the *Father*. *Athanasius* quotes the Words seven Times; constantly understanding them of *God the Son*: *Basil* applies Them in the same Manner\*. So also do *Ambrose*, *Jerom*, *Faustinus*, and *Didymus*. These were all Contemporaries of *Epiphanius*. And I have not yet met with so much as one ancient Writer that ever understood Those Words in 1 *Job*. v. 20. of *God the Father*. *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Austin*, *Fulgentius*, *Vigilius*, *Eugenius*, and the rest that wrote in the Age next to *Epiphanius's*, interpret the Text the same Way: And if *Epiphanius* did otherwise, he is very *singular* in it, and his Judgment of very little Weight, against so many considerable Au-

tho' perhaps rarely to any single Person, except the Father. Two Instances of the latter, may here suffice.

Ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος μόνος Θεός ἀληθινός, ὃς καὶ μονογενὴς διὰ τὸ μόνος εἶναι Θεός ὡς ὁ πατήρ. *Athanas.* in *Pfal.* Nov. *Collect.* p. 83.

Est ergo solus & verus Deus Filius, Hæc enim & Filio prærogativa defertur. *Ambros.* de *Fid.* l. 5. c. 2. p. 556.

As to the Want of the Article, it is of no Moment, since the Words without the Article are as full and expressive of the Catholick Sense of the Son's Divinity, as possible.

\* See the Places refer'd to, Sermon 6. p. 212.



thors his Contemporaries. But it is as wild a Consequence as ever was drawn, that because *Epiphanius* did not insist upon This Text, where he had Occasion, therefore all the other Fathers, (tho' we have their own Words to vouch the contrary) understood that place of *God the Father*. Mr. *Whiston*, whose Zeal sometimes transports him, yet did not care to come up to your Lengths in This Matter; being content only to say, that *Epiphanius* was utterly a Stranger to the *Athanasian* Exposition\*: Which perhaps may be very true; and to the *Arian* Exposition also. For I will frankly own, I am inclinable to suspect, that *Epiphanius* made use of some faulty Copy which had not the word *Θεός*, but *ἀληθινός* only; tho' I have not observed that Any other Greek Writer had any such faulty Copy. But it is certain, that some *Latins* read, *Hic est Verus, & Vita æterna*. *Hilary* † for one; and probably *Faustinus*, tho' the present Editions have *Deus*: And there is a *Latin* Treatise among the supposititious pieces ascribed to *Athanasius* ‡, which reads the Text the same way. The Author, probably, *Idatius Lemicensis*, about the Year 458.

You have something more to say on 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. in Page 38. But, I think, I need not add Any thing to what I have before said, referring also to my *Sermons*.

The next Text we are to consider is *Eph.* iv 6. *One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all*: A Passage, which, I said, had by the *Antients*, been generally understood of the whole Trinity. Upon which you say, *a Man must have a strange Opinion of the Antients, who can think so*. Your Reason is, because He is there distinguished from the *one Spirit*, and the only *Lord*. And

\* *Whiston's Reply to Lord Nottingham*, p. 35. Append. p. 47.

† *Hilarius*, p. 908. Ed. Bened.

‡ *Athanasii Opera Suppos.* p. 608. Ed. Bened.

what if the *one Lord*, and *one Spirit* be there first distinctly named, I see no Absurdity in afterwards mentioning and summing up the three Persons in the *one God*, under a threefold Consideration of *above all, through all, and in all*. But we are not now inquiring into the Sense of the Text, but into the Sentiments of the *Antients* upon it, whose Testimonies I have now given in one View in the Margin \*. As to *Irenæus*, you deny that He understands the Text of the *Trinity*; referring to Dr. *Clarke's* Reply to Mr. *Nelson*, p. 71. In return for which I refer to *True Scripture Doctrine continued*, p. 67, 103. Nor is there any Thing more absurd in this Construction of *Irenæus*, than there is in his often reckoning the Son and Holy Ghost to the Father, as being his very *Self* in a qualified Sense. Indeed, nothing is more common than for the *Head* of a Family, suppose *Abraham*, to be understood in a stricter or larger Sense; either as denoting his own proper Person, or as denoting Himself and all his Descendents considered as contain'd in Him, and reckon'd to Him. There is therefore nothing strange or absurd in it, if the *An-*

\* Unus Deus Pater ostenditur, qui est *super omnia*, & *per omnia*, & *in omnibus*. Super omnia quidem Pater, & ipse est caput Christi: per omnia autem Verbum, & ipse est Caput Ecclesiæ: in omnibus autem Nobis Spiritus, &c. Iren. p. 315.

Οικονομία συμφωνίας συνάγεται εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, εἰς γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ Θεός. Ὁ γὰρ κελεύων πατήρ, ὁ δὲ ὑπακούων υἱός, τὸ δὲ συνέλιζον ἅγιον πνεῦμα. Ὁ ἄν πατήρ ἐπὶ πάντων, ὁ δὲ υἱός διὰ πάντων, τὸ δὲ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν πάσῃ. ἄλλως τε ἕνα Θεόν νομίσαι μὴ δυνάμεθα, εἰάν μὴ ὄντως πατρί καὶ υἱῷ, καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πισεύσωμεν. Hippol. contr. Noet. p. 16.

Εἷς Θεός ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κηρύττεται, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων, καὶ διὰ πάντων, καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἐπὶ πάντων μὲν ὡς πατήρ, ὡς ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ, διὰ πάντων δὲ διὰ τοῦ λόγου, ἐν πάσῃ δὲ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ. Athanas. p. 676.

Diversitas autem præpositionum, in quibus dicitur: *unus Deus*, & *Pater omnium*, qui *super omnes*, & *per omnes*, & *in omnibus*, diversam intelligentiam sapit. Super omnes enim est Deus Pater, quia Auctor est omnium. Per omnes Filius, quia cuncta transcurrit, vaditque per omnia. In omnibus spiritus sanctus, quia nihil absque eo est. Hieron. in locum. Tom. 4. Part 1. p. 362.

tients sometimes considered God the *Father*, the *Head* of Both the other Persons; either in a more restrain'd, or more enlarged Signification: It is Fact that They did so, as will be seen presently.

You proceed to *Hippolytus*, and speak of his *Spuriousness* with as much Confidence as if you were able to prove it: Of which more in the Sequel. You tell me also that *He's against me*; tho' I think He is clearly for me, and that the Father who *gives Orders*, the Son who *executes*, and the Holy-Ghost who *finishes*, are, with Him, *one God*, as plainly as Words can make it, both before and after: Which I leave to the learn'd Reader to judge of. Only, I may add in Confirmation of *Hippolytus's* Comment on *Eph. iv. 6.* that He \*, as well as *Tertullian* †, and *Irenæus*, considers the *Father* sometimes in a *restrain'd* Sense, for the Person of the Father, and sometimes in a *larger*, as containing both the other Persons. Neither is *Athanasius* against me, as you pretend, but directly for me, when He is justly translated, without your *Interpolations*. “In the Church, there is preached *one God*, who is *above all*, and *through all*, and *in all*. *Above all*, as Father, as Head, and Fountain; and *Through all* by the Word; and *in all* by the Holy Spirit.” You, by putting in *He* in one place, and *his* twice, have endeavour'd to pervert the Author's true Meaning; as if *Athanasius* had been speaking of the *Father* all the way, when the *one God* is his Subject, and He is shewing how the *one God* is considered in the several Persons of Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost.

What you have farther in Page 40, 41, betrays either such strange confusion of Thought, or such

\* τὸ δὲ πᾶν πατήρ, ἐξ ἧς ἡ δύναμις λόγος. Hipp. p. 14.

† Unus omnia dum ex uno omnia, per substantiæ scilicet unitatem. Tertull. Contr. Prax. c. 2.

Pater Totâ substantiâ est, Filius vero Derivatio & Portio Totius. Ibid, c. 9.

a peculiar Talent at misrepresenting, that I hardly know what to say to it. But I must make some short Strictures upon it. I had said, some Texts are meant of Christ as *Mediator*; upon which you gravely tell me, that the one *Mediator* is not a *part* of Christ but the *same Christ*, the *same Person incarnate*, and *Mediator* in respect of Both Natures. I hope you'll remember This, when we come to speak of *mediatorial* Worship, which by This account will appear to be strictly *divine* Worship; since a *Mediator* is *God*, as well as *Man*. But That by the way. I must however observe, that a *Mediator* is considered two ways, by *Nature* or by *Office*, as the Fathers distinguish. He is *Mediator* by *Nature*, as partaking of Both Natures *divine* and *human*: and *Mediator* by *Office*, as transacting Matters between God and Man. The submitting to This *Office* is a great Instance of the Son's *Condescension*; And if any low Things be said of Him consider'd as executing an *inferior* Office, voluntarily undertaken, They affect not his real *inherent Dignity*, or his *essential Equality* in all Things with the Father. It is not that He is really a *Servant*, or *Subject*, under the Father's *Dominion*; but that He has been pleas'd to take upon Him a *ministerial* Part: So that now you may see how little Pertinence, or Sense there is in your wide and loose Talk (p. 41.) about *Two Persons* in Christ, and about *Cerintbus*, or whatever else came into your Head; to give you a handle to fill your Margin with strange, frightful, impertinent Quotations, to prejudice weak Readers.

Your 43<sup>d</sup>, 44<sup>th</sup>, and 45<sup>th</sup> Pages, containing little but *Declamation*, I pass over: When you have any Thing that looks like serious Reasoning, I'll attend you.

I have, I hope sufficiently made it appear, that the Texts which you brought to *exclude* the Son, prove nothing like it; as I before shewed, that you could not answer the Texts alledged to prove the contrary.

I should

I should now be willing to go regularly on to *Antiquity*, after the Method laid down above. But in your 25<sup>th</sup>. Page, you have thrown some *Metaphysical* Jargon in my Way, and of which you are so confident as to say, that unless I can reply to it, *all other Things are to no Purpose*. This is the Man that builds nothing upon *Metaphysics*. Indeed; I cannot but wonder at your unaccountable Conduct in This Controversy. If you really think the *received* Doctrine of the Trinity, to be *absurd* in it *self*, and therefore *impossible* to be proved, why do you amuse us with *Scripture* and *Fathers*; as if the Stress of the Question lay there, when, according to you, it doth not? You should rather have wrote a *Philosophical* Dissertation to shew, that the Notion it self is contradictory, and such as no *Scripture*, or *Fathers* can prove. This is really your Meaning. And as the first Question always is, whether a Thing be *possible*, and next whether it be *true*; you should have begun with the Point of the *Possibility*, without meddling at all with *Scripture*, or *Fathers*: which are impertinently brought in, while the Question of the *Possibility* remains in Suspence. But if you resolve to put the Cause upon *Scripture* and *Fathers*, then your *Metaphysics*, which relate to the *Possibility* of the Doctrine, are very impertinent, and come out of Place: Because the *Possibility* is to be always presupposed before we join Issue upon *Scripture* and *Antiquity*. But to leave you to take your own Way, however peculiar, or preposterous, let us examine a little into those marvellous Subtilties, which you lay such Weight upon. Your Design is to prove that the *same* God is and must be the *same* Person, and that therefore *Two* or more *Persons* cannot be *one* God. If you can make this out, the Business is done at once; and our Dispute is at an End. Several Ways have been attempted by Dr. *Clarke* before, which now seem to be given up as unsatisfactory. It was once a Principle, a Maxim with him, that a Person is a *Being*, and that two individual Beings cannot be one individual

individual Being. I have heard no more of This, since the Doctor has been apprised, that his own *Hypothesis* of the divine Substance being extended, could not stand with his famed Maxim; every *Part* of that Substance being consider'd as *Being*, and yet all but *one Being*. The Doctor however, and you, still resolve to hold to your *Conclusion* against the *Trinity*; and to seek for new *Premises*, wherever you can find, or make them. After some *Deliberation*, comes out this *Syllogism*.

There must be *Identicalness* of *Life*, to make the *same* God.

But Three *different* Persons cannot have *Identicalness* of *Life*.

Therefore Three *different* Persons cannot be the *same* God.

This *After-thought*, which has took you up so much *Time* and *Pains*, is at length good for nothing; except it be to set weak Persons a musing upon the new *Thing*, called *Identical Life*. Whatever it be, you might as well have formed twenty *Syllogisms* as one, and all of the same *Value*. For you might have argued, that Three Persons cannot have *Identicalness* of *Power*, or *Identicalness* of *Will*, or *Identicalness* of *Wisdom*; or, to say all in a *Word*, *Identicalness* of *Essence*, which includes every *Thing*. But when you have done your utmost, the main *Question*, *viz.* what is or is not *Identical*, stands just where it did, and you are not advanced a *Tittle* farther than before. There is the same *Rule* for *Life*, and for every *Thing* else you can invent, as there is for the *Essence*. The *Life* is *common* to all the *Persons*, as the *Essence* is; and it is *Identical* in all, \* just as the *Essence* is *Identical*. So much for *Syllogism*: Pity it could not be more serviceable, in a *Case* of *Extremity*.

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\* Propter unam eandemque Naturam, atque inseparabilem vitam, ipsa Trinitas — intelligitur unus Dominus Deus noster. *August. Epist. 10. ad. Max. p. 609.*

You are often puzzling your Reader, and your self, upon a very abstruse and intricate Question; whether Any Thing, or What, can make two Persons or more *one God*. The Short of the Case is This; the Christian Churches have collected from *Scripture*, that Three Persons are *One God*: And believing the Thing to be *Fact*, They have, according to the best of their Judgment, resolv'd the *Unity* into *Consubstantiality*, *Inseparability*, and *Unity of Origination*; finding, (or at least believing that They had found) that *Scripture* had also signified the three Things now mention'd. This Account appears as probable as any; neither perhaps can human Wit invent any thing beyond it. But still it must be said, that little depends upon stating the Manner *how* the three Persons are conceived to be *one God*: The *Fact* is the one material Point. If *Scripture* really makes them expressly, or by necessary Consequence, *one God*; I know not what Men have to do to dispute about *Intelligent Agents*, and *Identical Lives*, &c. as if they understood better, than God himself does, what *one God* is; or as if *Philosophy* were to direct what shall, or shall not be *Tritheism*. *Jews* and *Pagans*, and *Heretics* of several Denominations, have often charged the Christian and Catholic Doctrine of the *Trinity* with *Tritheism*. The Fathers of the Church have as constantly denied the Charge; giving such Reasons as I have mention'd, why it is not, and therefore should not be called, *Tritheism*. One general Reason might have sufficed for all, *viz.* That the *Unity* of the *Trinity* is too strict and close, to admit of the Name, or Notion of *Tritheism*. This is ending the Dispute at once, without farther Inquiry into the Nature of That *Unity*; unless the Adversary can shew (which is impossible) that *no Unity* whatever, can be sufficient to make more Persons than one, *one Being*, *one Substance*, *one God*. If we are to build our Faith on *Scripture*, such an *Unity* there may be, because there really is. *Philosophy*, falsely so called, may reclaim against it; but having no certain Principle

ciple of Reason to go upon, no Rule whereby to judge, whether the *one God* be one Person or more; it is evident, that this Point must at length be determin'd by *Scripture* alone; And that must be the true *Unity* of the Godhead, which *Scripture* (according to its most reasonable, and natural Construction) has given us for such.

But it is high Time now to come to *Antiquity*; which has been so long staved off, and yet must make a great part of our Discourse under this Query. I shap'd out my Method into four Particulars, which may be seen above.

I. The first Particular is, that the *Antients* have, in accounting for the Texts relating to the *Unity*, declared their Judgment, that *Idols* only, or *other Gods* are thereby *excluded*, and not God the Son.

I cited *Irenæus* for this Purpose, where he says, that the holy Scriptures declare, that the *alone God*, excluding *others*, made all things by his *Word* \*. That is, *other Gods* are excluded, not God the Son, who is not *another God*, according to *Irenæus*; as we shall see under the next Article. I observed farther, that 'The Son and Holy-Ghost, are the very *self* of the Father, according to *Irenæus*; as the Father is also the *self* † of Them: Wherefore it can never be imagin'd that either of them is excluded from the *one God*.

Let us go on to *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, who frequently teaches the same Thing. He says, that *the*

\* *Universæ Scripturæ — unum & solum Deum, ad excludendos alios, prædicent omnia fecisse per verbum suum, &c. Iren. L. 2. c. 7. p. 155.*

† Si enim existens in Patre, cognoscit Hunc in quo est, Hoc est semetipsum, non ignoret. *Iren. p. 139.*

Fecit ea per semetipsum, Hoc est per Verbum & Sapientiam suam. p. 163.

Fecit ea per semetipsum: Hoc est per Verbum & Sapientiam suam. Adest enim ei semper Verbum & Sapientia, Filius & Spiritus, per quos & in quibus omnia libere & sponte fecit. p. 253.



Father of all Things is alone perfect; immediately adding, For, in him is the Son, and in the Son the Father\*. This Writer could never believe, that the exclusive Terms were intended in Opposition to God the Son. In another Place, He says, He that is the alone God, is also the alone just: And soon after adds, that He, (the Father) considered as Father, is call'd That only which He is, good; but as the Son, who is his Word, is in the Father, He is stiled just, on account of the mutual Relation to each other †. A few Pages lower, He observes that no one is good, but the Father; adding presently after, that the God of the Universe is one only, good, just, Creator, the Son in the Father, to whom be Glory, &c. ‡ What a Stranger must Clemens have been to your novel Divinity, whereby you would exclude the Son from being one God with the Father?

Tertullian's Doctrine in This Point is very well known, and that he expressly interprets the exclusive Terms in Opposition to Idols only, or false Gods, or other Gods; not to God the Son, who is not another God ||. And so now I may come to the Proof of my second Article.

2. That the Antients always declared against admitting another God, and denied constantly that the Son was another God.

\* Απεδείξαμεν — μόνον ὃ εἶναι τέλειον τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ὁ υἱός, καὶ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ ὁ πατήρ. Clem. Alex. p. 129.

† Αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ θεὸς καὶ δίκαιός ἐστιν ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ μόνος — καθὸ μὲν πατὴρ νοῦται, ἀγαθὸς ἂν αὐτὸ μόνος ὃ ἐστὶν κέλῃται ἀγαθός· καθὸ ὃ υἱός, ἂν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἐστὶ, δίκαιος προσαγορεύεται, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλλα σχέσεως. Clem. Alex. p. 140.

‡ Οὐδείς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ — καταφανές τὸ τῶν συμπάντων θεῶν ἓνα μόνον εἶναι, ἀγαθὸν, δίκαιον, δημιουργόν, υἱὸν ἐν πατρὶ, ᾧ ἢ δόξα, &c. Clem. Alex. p. 142.

|| See my Defense, p. 24.

Itaque præter *semetipsum* non esse alium Deum; Hoc propter Idolatriam tam *nationum*, quam *Israelis*: etiam propter *Hereticos*, qui sicut Nationes *Manibus*, ita & ipsi *Verbis*, Idola fabricantur, id est, alium Deum, & alium Christum. *Tert. contr. Prax. c. 18.*

*Justin M.* in his *Dialogue* with *Trypho*\*, declares, that there never was nor will be (ἄλλοθεός θεός) *Another God* besides the Maker of the Universe. And in a Fragment cited by *Irenæus*, He says, He could not have given Credit even to our Lord himself, had He preached up any *other God* (ἄλλοθεόν θεόν) besides the *Creator* †.

*Irenæus* is very exprefs to the same Purpose, in more Places than one, declaring against admitting *another God* ‡. And if you would know, how then He could consistently admit another Person to be God, besides the Father; He will tell you, as before seen, that the Son is considered as the very *self* of the Father, and that they are not *Another* and *Another God* ||.

*Tertullian* is Another Voucher of the same Thing. “ There is, says He, one God, the Father; and there “ is none other besides him. By which He does not “ mean to exclude the Son, but *Another God*; now “ the Son is not *Another* besides the Father §.

*Origen* shall be our next Evidence; who in his famous Piece against *Celsus*, (the most to be depended on, both for the uncorruptness of the Copies, and the Accuracy of the Thoughts contain'd in it) does in a very remarkable Manner, teach the same Doctrine.

\* *Just. M. Dial. p. 34. Ed. Jeb. See This explain'd at large in my Reply to Dr. Whitby. p. 49, &c.*

† *Just. M. Fragm. p. 408. Ed. Jeb.*

‡ *Alterum Deum præter eum qui est, non requiremus. Iren. p. 156.*

*Alterum Deum minime possitis ostendere. p. 157.*

*Nec tunc quidem oportuit Alterum Deum annuntiari. p. 233.*

|| Non ergo *alius* erat qui cognoscebatur, & *alius* qui dicebat, *nemo cognoscit patrem*, sed unus & idem, omnia subjiciente ei Patre, & ab omnibus accipiens testimonium, quoniam verè Homo, & verè Deus, &c. p. 235. *Vid. Massuet. Dissert. Præv. p. 131.*

§ Unus Deus, Pater, & *alius*, absque eo non est: quod ipse inferens, non Filium negat, sed *Alium* Deum. Cæterum *Alius* a Patre Filius non est. *Tert. contr. Prax. c. 18.*

He having charged his Adversary with the Worship, not of one God, but of *Gods* \*, (N. B.) tho' all the inferior Deities were supposed *subordinate* to one supreme, comes afterwards to answer the like Charge, retorted by *Celsus* †; the Charge of worshipping ἄλλον (Θεόν) another God besides the one supreme God. Now, how does *Origen* answer it? Plainly, by denying the Fact, that the Christians did worship ἄλλον *Another* (i. e. *God*) besides the God of the Universe. His Reason is, because Father and Son are *one* ‡. This was the only Way He had to get off the Charge of worshipping *Another God*, besides the Father, by taking both into *one*, and considering Both as one in the Worship. Wherefore He concludes, a little after, *we therefore worship as before said, one God, the Father and the Son*. This was *Origen's* Resolution of the grand Point in Debate, between Christians and *Pagans*, as to the Charge of *Polytheism*; in answer to one of the sharpest Adversaries the Christians ever had, in a solemn and accurate Treatise, wrote in the Name, and in Defense of the Church,

\* Ἐκεῖνος ὃ πολλὰς ἡμᾶς διδάσκων σέβειν θεοὺς, θεῶν μᾶλλον ᾤφειλεν — λέγειν βασιλείαν, ἢ περ θεοῦ. *Orig. contr. Cels. p. 385.*

† Ἐγὼ μὲν δὲ μηδένα ἄλλον ἐθεράπευον οὐτοὶ πλὴν ἑνα θεόν, ἢν ἂν τις αὐτοῖς ἴσως πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτενὴς λόγος· νυνὶ δέ, &c. *ibid.*

‡ Λεπτέον δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο, ὅτι, εἴτερ νεκρίκει ὁ Κέλσος τὸ, ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἑσμέν· καὶ τὸ ἐν εὐχῇ ἐρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ, ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ ἐν ἑσμεν· οὐκ ἂν αἴτο ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄλλον θεράπευεν παρὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεόν. N. B. *After ἄλλον must be understood θεόν: For Origen could not pretend to say, that the Christians worshiped no other Person, besides the Father (when immediately after he owns, that they worshiped both Father and Son,) but only that They worshiped not Another God; Son and Father being one God, as He also in the same Place expressly asserts.*

*I may here add a Passage out of the Acts of Pionius's Martyrdom; which have the Appearance of being true, and genuine.*

*Polemon (rogat) Quem Deum colis? Respondet (Asclepiades) Christum. Polemon. Quid ergo? Iste Alter est? Respondit: non; sed Ipse quem & ipsi paulo ante confessi sunt. Ruimart. Act. Mart. p. 144.*

wrote by the Author then above 60 Years old; and (as Criticks now agree) after He had been admonished by *Fabian* of *Rome*, for his Want of Caution at other Times, and therefore was the more likely to keep strictly up to the Sense of the Church, in an Article especially of so momentous Importance. He did not pretend that a *subordinate* God, purely because *subordinate*, would not be *Another God*, or would not make *two Gods*. The *Pagans*, in that silly Way, might have clear'd Themselves of the Charge of *Polytheism*; as *Origen* well knew. He did not pretend to say, that the Father *only* was God, because God in a *high* Sense, (which the *Pagans* could also have said of their *one supreme* God, and so have got clear of *Polytheism*) but he answer'd upon the true and standing Principles of the Christian Church, that Father and Son were *one God*, and the Son not *another God*. This acquitted the Christians of *Polytheism*, and left the Charge fixed, and unremoveable, upon the *Pagans*.

We have seen then that the *Antients* never would own *Another God*, that They constantly declared against it; and even in the particular Case of *God the Son*. It is to the same Purpose, that They as constantly denied *Two Gods*, or *Three Gods*, as may appear from many Testimonies; which being well known, I shall only refer to one or two in the Margin \*. Nay, it was a Principle so fixed and rivetted in the Heart of every pious Christian, that They would rather have died than have ever admitted *Gods*, or *Lurds*; as is plainly intimated by *Tertullian* †.

Hitherto,

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\* Έι ἢ οὖν ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, Θεὸς ὄν, τι εἶν, φησίου ἕν τις, δύο λέγειν Θεούς; δύο μὲν οὐκ ἐρῶ Θεός, ἀλλ' ἢ ἕνα, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, &c. Hipp. contr. Noet. p. 15. Vid. Epist. Synod. Antioch. contr. Samosat. Labbè Tom. 1. p. 845.

† Caterum si conscientia nostra qua scimus Dei nomen & Domini, & Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui Sancto convenire, Deos & Demonos nominaremus; extinxissemus Faces nostras, etiam ad Martyria timidiore,

Hitherto, perhaps you tell me, that you and the *Antients* can agree, (that is, in *Words*) for neither do you assert *Another God*, or *Another Lord*, nor *two Gods*, or *two Lords*. To which I answer, that as to *Another Lord*, you have said it in Terms: And by necessary Consequence, you assert *Another God*; yea, *two Gods*, and *two Lords*. Nor have I ever met with a more deplorable Example of Self-contradiction, and resolute Opposition to the most evident Truth, than your pretending that Father and Son are not *two Gods*, while you affirm each to be *a God*, and deny their being both together *one God*. But we will go on with the *Antients*; who, like Wise and Honest Men, as they would not admit *another God*, or *two Gods*, so, consistently, with Themselves,

3. They as constantly taught, that Father and Son were *one God*, or the *same God*: And thus they settled That grand Article of the Christian Faith. I will shew This plainly by clear and express Evidence, and shall answer your Exceptions to every *Writer*, as I go along. I have, in some Measure, anticipated myself upon This Head, in my *Sermons*, and elsewhere: And therefore shall sometimes content my self with References. Let us take the Authors in Order of Time, fixing also the Time of their *Writing*, according to the latest and best Accounts.

A. D. 145. JUSTIN MARTYR.

As to *Justin Martyr*, I do not here produce Him as one, who, in express Terms, has ever stiled Father and Son *one God*. But that he believed the Thing, may be made out two Ways. 1. As he declares for the Worship of God *alone*, at the same Time admitting the Worship of all the three Persons\*: Which is

timidiores, quibus evadendi quoque pateret Occasio, jurantibus statim per *Deos & Dominos*, ut quidam Hæretici, quorum *Dii plures*. Tertull. *contr. Prax.* c. 13.

\* See my Sermons, p. 299, &c.

implicitly including all the Three in the *alone God*. (The Pretence of *inferior* Worship, shall be answer'd in its Place.) 2. As declaring that God the Son is not *Another God*, besides the Maker of all Things, (that is the *Father*) as hath been remark'd above \*. you have some Things to object to what I produce from *Justin*, under another Article: And there I shall consider Them as I come to them.

A. D. 170. LUCIAN, a *Pagan* Writer.

The famous Testimony out of *Lucian's* Dialogue, inscribed Φιλόπατρις, I produced in my *Eighth Sermon* † to prove that, at That Time, the Christians believ'd *Three in one*, and *one in Three*, Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost, *one God Supreme*. It is so noted a Testimony that I need not here repeat it.

There has been some Doubt, as I intimated in my *Sermons*, whether *Lucian* was the Author of the *Dialogue*; But all agree, that it was either *Lucian* himself, or a *contemporary*, if not a more antient Writer ‡: Which serves our Purpose as well.

A. D. 177. ATHENAGORAS.

I produced also, in my *Sermons* ||, this antient and excellent Writer, as a Voucher for the Truth of This Doctrine, that Father and Son are *one God*. I shall not repeat what I there said, or in my *Defense*, pag. 26. but referring the Reader thither, shall proceed to answer your Objections. You begin with lessening the Credit of the Author, (pag. 105.) as being *full of very obscure Notions*; a Character you would give to any Writer that is *full of*

\* See my *Answer to Dr. Whitby*, p. 49, &c.

† *Sermon* 8. p. 303.

‡ Vid. *Bull. Def. F.* p. 73. *Jud.* p. 32. *Fabricius Bibl. Græc.* lib. 4. c. 16. p. 504. and *Le Moyne. Varia Sacra.* Vol. 2. p. 187.

|| *Sermon eighth*, p. 301.

the Doctrine of a *coeternal* and *consubstantial* Trinity. You object, that *He describes This very Doctrine in a way directly condemn'd by Justin Martyr, and even by Athanasius Himself, for Gnostick, or Sabellian; making the Holy Ghost an Emanation, like a Ray shot forth from the Sun, flowing from it, and returning to it.* But *Athenagoras's* Doctrine is far from being the same with That which *Justin* condemns. He always speaks of the *Son* and *Holy Ghost* as *real* and *permanent*, not as the *Hereticks* in *Justin* did, who supposed Them to be *dissolved*, and in a manner *extinct* \*. And *Athenagoras* did not teach a *nominal* Distinction only of the Persons, but a *real* Distinction of *Order* †; which is directly opposite to the Tenets of those *Hereticks* described in *Justin*. *Athenagoras* always speaks of the *Spirit* as *united* with the *Father* and the *Son*: And as He took the *Father* and *Son* for *real* Persons, He must of consequence think the same of the *Holy Spirit*; so that there is little or no Resemblance between the Two Notions. Besides that, if you had carefully observed the Passage on which you ground your Remark; you might have perceived that nothing more is meant, than that the *Spirit* was sometimes sent to the *Prophets*, and again returned to Him that sent Him. As to the Use of the word Ἀπόρροια, and the Doctrine of *Emanation*, it was neither simply approved, nor condemned in the Christian Church, but according as it was understood; just as προβολή, or *Prolatio*, was condemn'd by *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*, in one Sense, admitted in

\* Justin. M. Dial. pag. 102, 372. Jeb.

† Λόγῳ θεοποιηθήσεται, καὶ τῷ κατ' αὐτὸ πνεύματι συνέχεται τὰ πάντα. Athen. pag. 28.

Συναδέει δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα ——— καὶ τοι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐνεργῶν τοῖς ἐκφωῶσι προφητικῶς ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀπόρροιαν εἶναι φαρμέν τῷ θεῷ, ἀπορρέον, καὶ ἐπαιαφερόμενον ὡς ἀκτῖνα ἡλίου, pag. 40. Δεικνύοντας αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐνάσει δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν, pag. 40. Vid. pag. 46, 96.

Another: and as the Notion of a λόγος ἐνδιὰ θεῶν, or προφορικός, was either approved, or condemned, according to its various Construction and Acceptation; as I have remarked in my first *Sermon* \*. You find fault with my Construction of νοῦμεν γὰρ καὶ υἱὸν τῷ Θεῷ. For we understand, or tacitly include, *God's Son also*, in *God* before spoken of †. That This is the true meaning, I prove 1<sup>st</sup> from the Words immediately preceding. *Athenagoras* having declared, that the Christians could not be *Atheists*, because They acknowledged *one God*, who had made, adorned, and preserved the Universe by his *Logos*, or *Word*, immediately adds, νοῦμεν γὰρ καὶ υἱὸν τῷ Θεῷ, referring to the λόγος He had just before mentioned, as contained in *God*, that did all Things by Him.

2. This Sense is also confirmed by what follows; where He says, *Father and Son are one*; the *Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son, by the Unity and Power of the Spirit* ‡.

3. The same Thing is farther proved from *Athenagoras's* joining (when He is again answering the Charge of *Atheism*) *Father and Son together*: And as before He had the Phrase of θεὸν ἄγοντες, speaking of the *Father singly*, now He applies the same Phrase to *Both* ||.

4. I farther vindicated This Construction, in my *Defense*, (pag. 26.) by parallel Expressions of *Athanasius* and *Tertullian*: wherefore, I conceive, it may still stand.

\* *Sermon* 1. pag. 8.

† Ἰψὸς ἔγερθη τὸ πᾶν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου, καὶ διακρίσθηται, καὶ συγκρατεῖται, θεὸν ἄγοντες ἰκανῶς μοι δέδικται. νοῦμεν γὰρ καὶ υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. &c.

‡ Ἐνὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ. ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν πατρὶ, καὶ πατρός ἐν υἱῷ, ἐνότητι καὶ δυνάμει πνεύματος, pag. 38.

|| Οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἄθεοι, θεὸν ἄγοντες τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντός, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγον. θεὸν not θεῶν.

“ We are not Atheists, in as much as we receive the Maker of the World as God, and also his *Word*.”



But, tho' you seem to allow, that *Athenagoras* comprehends Both in *one God*, yet you say, He does *not so comprehend Both in the one God, as that one is as much the one supreme God as the other*: which I cannot make Sense of. Nor does He, say you, *any where suppose the Son, as such, but only the internal Reason of the Father to be ἀίδιου*, eternal. But if *Reason* or *Wisdom* be only a different Name of the same Person, the Person of the Son, considered in different Circumstances, and at different Times (as Bishop *Bull* has fully demonstrated) then the Son is ἀίδιου according to This Writer. On the contrary, you say, that *Athenagoras expressly affirms the unbegotten God alone to be eternal*. But the Reading there should be ἀγένησι, with single ν, as I shall shew hereafter, and in the one *unmade, or necessarily-existing God, is contained God the Word* \*.

You go on, (pag. 108.) to charge *Athenagoras* with the ridiculous Notion of the Son's being nothing (before his Generation) but the Father's *internal Reason*; that is nothing but an *Attribute*. I hope, you do not expect an answer to these Pretences, so long as Bishop *Bull's* Confutation of them stands untouch'd. The *English* Reader may see what is sufficient on That Head, in my *Defense* † and *Sermons* ‡. Bishop *Bull*, you say, acknowledges *Athenagoras* meant that the *Son is the same with respect to the Father, as the internal Reason is to the mind of Men*. Bishop *Bull* says no such thing. How shall we trust you in your Reports of the *Fathers*, when

\* Ὡς τὸν λέγοντα ἀγένητον, καὶ παντοκράτορα τὸν πατέρα. νοεῖν ἐν τῷ ἀγενήτῳ, καὶ τῷ παντοκράτορι, καὶ τὸν τέτατον λόγον καὶ σοφίαν, ἢ τις ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός. Athanas. Decret. Syn. Nic. pag. 236.

Ὁυ γὰρ τὸ ἔνομα τοῦτο παραιεῖ τὴν τοῦ λόγου φύσιν, ἐδὲ πάλιν τὸ ἀγένητον πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἔχει τὸ σημαίνονμενον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ γενόμενα. ibid. pag. 235.

† Defense, pag. 148, &c.

‡ Sermon 7. pag. 245.

you scruple not to misrepresent even a modern Author, which is in every body's Hands?

Bp. Bull only says \*, that *Athenagoras* meant that the Relation of *Thought* to *Mind* resembles the Relation of the Son to the Father in *several respects*, which He there mentions. I have said the same Thing, and explain'd the Resemblance at large elsewhere †. After some Pains taken to falsify and misrepresent *Athenagoras* (which Pains had been much better spent in replying to Bp. Bull) you come at length to charge me Home with running counter to *Athenagoras's* Notion, in *Two Fundamental Points*. I must give you the Hearing in Things more trifling than These; so let us enquire what They are.

1. You say, His Notion makes the Son's *Generation* an *Act*, which mine does not. If That will please you, I'll allow a *double Act* in the Son's *Generation*, according to *Athenagoras*. One of the *Father* in sending forth his Son, *Another* of the Son in going forth; *viz.* to *create*. Did I ever deny the *Procession* of the Son, which *Athenagoras* and several others intend by *Generation*? But, I assert *eternal Generation*, which *Athenagoras* does not: There, I suppose, is the main Difference. Yet *Athenagoras* acknowledges the  $\lambda\beta\gamma\delta$  to have been eternally *of*, and *in* the Father, and referred up to Him, as his *Head* and *Source*: which is acknowledging the self same Thing which other Catholicks intended by *eternal Generation*; so that the Difference lies only in *Words*, as I before intimated in my *Defense* ‡.

2. You say, that *Athenagoras's* Notion *never supposes Two Persons of equally supreme Authority and*

\* Ita ut Filius Dei intelligatur verbum Patris, quod nempe se habeat ad Patrem, ut ad mentem humanam Verbum ejus interius, quod & spiritale est, minimeque per se cadit in sensus; & in mente, unde procedit, manet, nec ab ea sejungitur, &c. Bull, pag. 203.

† Sermons, pag. 5, &c.

‡ Defense, pag. 157, &c.

*Worship*, but ascribes every Thing the Son does to the supreme Authority and Will of the Father. But where do you learn, that *Athenagoras* ever excludes the Son from supreme Authority (properly so called) or from supreme *Worship*? *Athenagoras* indeed is express, that there is a Difference of *Order* among the Divine Persons: But where do you find a Difference of *Dominion*, or *Worship*? You could not have chose an Author more directly opposite to your Sentiments, or more favourable to mine, in the very Point of *Dominion*; on which you are pleas'd to lay so much Strefs. For *Athenagoras*, addressing Himself to the Emperors *Marcus Antoninus*, and his Son *Lucius Commodus*, stiles them Both equally μέγιστοι Ἀυτοκράτορων, which I might translate *supreme Rulers*. And He observes, that all Things were under their common Rule and Dominion\*; and from thence draws his Comparifon for the Illustration of the one common Rule and Government of God the Father, and the Son; to whom, as being *inseparable*, all Things are subject. Is This making the Father *alone* supreme Governor? Or is it likely that a *Creator* and *Creature* should be thus familiar, and rule all Things equally and in *common*? Where were your Thoughts? To be short, all that you can possibly extract out of *Athenagoras*, is no more than a *Priority*

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\* Δέησομαι δὲ ὑμῶν, μέγιστοι Αυτοκράτορες, πρὸ τοῦ λόγου, ἀληθεῖς παρεχομένην τῶν λογισμῶν συγγνώμην. ἵχουτε ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἢ τὴν ἐπεράνιον βασιλείαν ἐξετάζετε. ὡς γὰρ ὑμῖν, πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ πάντα κεχρίραται, ἀνώθεν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκλήροσι. ἕτως ἐν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγῳ υἱῷ νοημένῳ ἀμερίσῳ, πάντα ὑποτέακται, pag. 64.

“ Before I enter upon Discourse, I beseech you, O ye greatest of  
 “ Emperors, to bear with me, while I offer true Reasonings —  
 “ From your own selves you may form a Notion of the *Heavenly*  
 “ *Empire*. For like as all things are in subjection to you, being  
 “ Father and Son (having received your Empire from above) so also  
 “ to the *one God* and to the *Word* who is with Him, considered as  
 “ a *Son inseparable*, are all Things subject.” *Vide Le Moyne Var. Sacr.*  
*Not. & Observ.* pag. 169.

of *Order*, as the Father is Head and Fountain to which the Son and Holy Ghost are referred. The *Dominion*, the *Authority* is equal, is *supreme* in all: only in the Father *primarily*, in the other two *derivatively*, the same Thing under a different *order* and *manner*. After you had endeavoured to puzzle and perplex *Athenagoras*, you go on (*pag.* 110.) to do the like with *Tatian*, *Theophilus*, and some others. I shall not attend you now, but proceed in my Method. If you have drop'd any thing that is worth the Notice, it shall be considered in a more proper Place, under *Query VIII.* which you have often robb'd to fill up This.

A. D. 187. IRENÆUS.

*Irenæus* is the next Author cited to prove that *The Father and the Son are one God*. He asserts it *in Sense*, and *indirectly* many ways; some of which have been hinted above; see also my *Sermons* \*. He does it also *in Terms*, more than once †. I must now at-

\* Sermon 8. pag. 303, &c.

† Ita ut is qui omnia fecerit, cum Verbo suo, iuste dicatur Deus & Dominus solus. Iren. pag. 183.

Qui igitur a Prophetis adorabatur Deus vivus, Hic est vivorum Deus, & Verbum ejus, qui & loquutus est Moyfi, &c.——Ipse igitur Christus cum Patre vivorum est Deus, qui loquutus est Moyfi, &c. pag. 232.

Propter hoc manifestissime Dominus ostendit se & Patrem quidem suis Discipulis, ne scilicet quærerent alterum Deum præter eum qui *plasmaverit* Hominem, pag. 311.

Quoniam autem in ventre *plasmatur* nos Verbum Dei, &c. p. 312.

“ He who made all Things, He alone with his *Word*, is justly styled God and Lord.

“ He who was adored as the *Living God* by the Prophets, He is the *God of the Living*, and his *Word*, who also spake to *Moses*, &c.——Christ therefore Himself, with the Father, is the *God of the Living* that spake to *Moses*.

“ For This reason our Lord manifested both *Himself* and the *Father* to his Disciples, that They might not look for any *other God* but Him that *formed* Man.——The *Word* of God *forms* us: in the Womb, &c.”

tend your exceptions to the Evidence. To what I had observed from *Irenæus*, in my *Defense*, (p. 92.) you say, *The Sense then of Irenæus according to you, is, The one and only God, the Father and Son, made all Things by his Word, or Son*: No; but, if you please to leave off this vein of Cavilling, (which is below the Character of a grave Writer) the Sense is not that the Son was included under the Term *Father*, which undoubtedly there stands for the *Person* of the *Father* singly, (and therefore the Son is *excluded* from being the *Person* of the *Father*) but that He is not excluded from doing what the *Father alone* is said to do, or from being *God*, tho the *Father alone* is said to be so; because the *exclusive* Terms are not intended in *opposition* to God the Son.

You are often imposing This kind of Sophistry upon us; wherefore I would once for all endeavour to shew you the weakness and absurdity of it. When our Saviour told his Disciples that They had left Him *alone*, He did not mean by This to *exclude* the *Father*, but *others*: Will you therefore say, that *Father* and *Son* Both are meant by the *Him* left alone? When our Saviour is said to have a Name given which no one knew but *Himself*, The *Father* is not *excluded* by the Term *ἐδούς*: will you therefore plead that He is included in the *Person* of the *Son*, and that Both are *one Person*? How ridiculous is it, that you cannot distinguish between being not excluded with respect to the *Predicate* of a Proposition, and being included in the *Subject* of it. In This Proposition, *The Father is the only God*; we say the *Son* is not *excluded*: How? not with respect to the *Predicate*; not from being *only God*, as well as the *Father*, because the *exclusive* Term affects Him not. But we do not therefore say that He is included in the *Subject* of the Proposition; or that *Father* means both *Father* and *Son*. So much in answer to this Cavil, which had deserved no notice, but for your so often repeating it. Now to return; you pretend  
it

it absurd that All Things should be made *By*, or *through* the one supreme God. But you have not shewn that all *Ministration* is inconsistent with any *Supremacy*, but a *Supremacy of Order or Office*; which I admit. What you add from *Irenæus*, about the Father's *commanding the Word*, I have answer'd in my *Sermons* \*, and shewn it to be, as understood by the *Antients*, directly opposite to your Principles. You are next labouring to take off the Force of what I had pleaded in respect of *Irenæus's* making the Son and Holy Ghost the *Self* of the Father. But This was too hard a Task: I will trust the Reader with what you have said, to compare it with mine; and to see if He can make sense of your *immediate* obedience: As if any *obedience*, mediate, or immediate, were a Reason sufficient for stiling the Person obeying, *one's Self*. You refer to *Irenæus* † saying, that *by the Son and Spirit*, (that is, *per semetipsum*, *by Himself*, as He says in the same Chapter) He made all things *freely*, and of *his own will*. And so He well might, when The *Son* and *Spirit* are so much his *self*, as to have but one and the *same Will* with Him. Others might have *contrary Wills*: They could not. You misconstrue his next immediate Words: He *produced*, you say, *the Substance of the Creatures from Himself*, i. e. *from his own original underived Power*. But *Himself* means there, the *Son and Spirit*; as is plain from *exemplum Factorum*; (which you took care to leave out:) God the Son being the *exemplar* by which Things were

\* Serm. 2. pag. 72, &c.

† Ipse est qui per semetipsum constituit, & elegit, & adornavit, & continet omnia——Adest enim ei semper verbum & sapientia, Filius & Spiritus per quos, & in quibus omnia libere & sponte fecit. Lib. 4. c. 20. p. 253. Vid. Bull. D. F. pag. 87.

Ad quos & loquitur dicens, *Faciamus Hominem ad Imaginem & Similitudinem nostram*; ipse a *semetipso* substantiam creaturarum, & exemplum factorum, & *Figuram in mundo ornamentorum* accipiens. Ibid, pag. 253.

formed\*. And *Tertullian* may serve to explain *Irenæus's* meaning in the other Article †.

You next tell us of his citing a remarkable Passage of *Hermas*: As if there were any thing so very remarkable, in respect to our present purpose, in *Hermas's* saying that there is but *one God*. But *Irenæus*, you observe, adds presently after, that the Son receives the Power of all Things from Him who is the one God the Father, &c. And what wonder if He receives all Things from Him, from whom He receives his *Essence*? We are not inquiring whence the Son's Power, or Dominion is, but what it is; and whether it be not of the same quality and extent with the Father's, the same being common to Both. But you say, *This Power and Dominion became plenary over all Things both in Heaven and Earth, when He had been incarnate*. Plenary, did you say? and over all Things? I think not; nor is even the Father's Dominion yet so plenary as This comes to. (See 1 Cor. 15. 28.) But what strange Things are you here discovering, that Christ became Lord in a sense which He was not before! So did the Father become Lord over the Jews in a sense He was not before, when He made Them his peculiar People. He became their Lord, first, when He created them, and again, in a more peculiar sense, when He chose more immediately to govern them. In like manner, Christ who was Lord of all Men in right of Creation, became Lord again, in a more special sense, in right

\* Vid. Iren. l. 5. c. 16. p. 313. comp. p. 163. and Clem. Alex. p. 78.

† Si necessaria est Deo materia ad Opera Mundi, ut *Hermogenes* existimavit, habuit Deus Materiam longe digniorem—Sophiam suam scilicet—Quis non Hanc potius omnium Fontem & Originem commendet, materiam vero materialium—quali Deus potuit eguisse, sui magis quam alieni egens? Tert. contr. Hermog. cap. 18.

of *Redemption* \*; and will be their Lord again, in a still more *plenary* sense, after the Day of Judgment; as will also God the Father. What Difficulty is there in these plain, common Things? But, I suppose, the Force of your Argument lies in the Words *accipiens potestatem, and tradita sunt* †. And yet you'll think it no Argument against the Father's Supremacy, that He is to *receive a Kingdom*, which is to be *delivered* to Him by the Son, 1 Cor. 15. 24. tho' I need not insist upon it here, being ready to admit, that while all Power and Authority is common to Both, yet it is primarily considered in the Father, and referred up to Him: And it was the more proper for our Saviour, during his State of Condescension and Humiliation here on Earth, to refer all to the Father; as *Irenæus* intimates in another Case, of his referring the *knowledge* of the Day of Judgment. I might farther observe to you, that tho' *Irenæus* sometimes represents the Power and Authority of the Son as descending from the Father, He at other Times represents the Son as *assuming it Himself*, and making *Himself* ‡ *the Head over the Church,*

\* See my Sermons, p. 175.

† No one ever better understood This matter than the great Athanasius, who wrote a Treatise on purpose to shew how all Things are said to have been delivered to God the Son. The Sum is, that when All things, in a manner, were lost and sunk, and no one ready at Hand to undertake their recovery and restitution, in This exigency, Christ stepp'd in to redeem Those whom He had at first created. To Him therefore were They delivered; into his Hands were They committed, who alone was both able and willing to recover and restore Them: and who accordingly took Flesh upon Him, and wrought their Redemption for Them.

Πάντα δίδωκεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. ἢ ὡς περ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα γέγονεν, ἕως ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ἀνακαινισθῆναι δυνατῆ. Athan. Vol. 1. pag. 104.

Eusebius's Account of the same Thing is not much different.

Ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἐδίδε, καὶ παρέδωκε ἐπὶ βελτιώσει, καὶ ὠφελείᾳ οἷα σωτῆρι καὶ ἰατρῷ, καὶ κυβερνήτῃ τῶν ὅλων, &c. Euseb. de Eccl. Theolog. l. 1. c. 19. p. 88.

‡ Uti sicut in supercaelestibus, & spiritualibus. & invisibilibus, princeps est Verbum Dei; sic & in visibilibus, & Corporalibus, principatum



Church, &c. which is also very true, and much in the same way, as He is sometimes said to have *raised Himself* from the Dead, and sometimes to have been *raised by the Father*: For, what one does Both do, diversely considered as to the *order* and *manner* of acting.

I had cited a plain Passage † or two, to prove that the Son is *the only God*, according to *Irenæus*, as well as the Father. You reply, that in the first Passage, *true and only God is evidently meant of the Father*, which I readily allow: And so you may see in *Clemens*, cited above, how He applies the like Title to the Father, and yet immediately, in the same Breath, makes Father and Son together the *only God*. The reason is, that neither He, nor *Irenæus*, nor indeed any of the Antients, ever had a Thought of excluding the *Son* by the Word *only*, or the like. How have you read the *Fathers*, not to see these plain Things? You go on, endeavouring to elude and perplex *Irenæus's* meaning: But your Attempts are so feeble, and your Efforts so weak, that I am almost ashamed to make any Reply to them. You would have it, that *Irenæus* does not call the Son God in the *supreme* and *absolute* Sense; tho' you can never shew that *Irenæus* had two Senses of the Word *God* as applied to Father and Son. The Son, you imagine, is not *God* in the *Absolute* Sense, but as being God's anointed, our Lord, and our God, (pag. 98.) I read of the Father's *anointing*, and the

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tum habeat, in semetipsum principatum assumens, & apponens semetipsum caput Ecclesiæ, univërfa attrahat ad semetipsum apto in Tempore: Iren. l. 3. c. 16. p. 206.

† Nunquam neque Prophetæ neque Apostoli alium Deum nominaverunt vel Dominum appellaverunt præter *Verum & Solum Deum*. Multo magis ipse Dominus qui & Cæsari quidem quæ Cæsaris sunt reddi jubet, & qui Dei sunt Deo. Iren. p. 182.

Neque igitur Dominus, neque Spiritus sanctus, neque Apostoli eum qui non esset Deus, definitive & absolute Deum nominassent aliquando, nisi esset *Vere Deus*, pag. 180.

Compare the following Words:

Utrosque *Dei* Appellatione Signavit *Spiritus*, & eum qui ungitur, *Filium*, & eum qui ungit Patrem, p. 180.

Son's being *anointed* (that is to his *Office*) but could you have shewn, that He was anointed to his *Godship*, (pardon the Oddness of the Word, it contains your Sense) That would have been a Discovery indeed. You refer to several Passages, (I could add many more) where the Father is stiled the *only God*. But to what Purpose is it? *Irenæus* never meant thereby to exclude the Son from being, with the alone Father, *Deus & Dominus* \*, *God and Lord*, or from being with the Father, *Vivorum Deus*, *God of the Living*, or from being the *Self* of the Father, or from being *Deus ipse* †, *God Himself*: Nor would he ever allow, that the Son was not God in the *Definitive*, or *absolute* Sense, or that He was *Another God*. What can you do with such a Man as *Irenæus*, all the Way contrary to your Principles, directly for mine? He stiles the Father *only God*, in Opposition to the *Valentinian Æons*, or other monstrous Deities; never, not once, in Opposition to God the Son.

After what hath been said, The Reader, I hope, will not be *surprized*, to find me quoting another Passage of *Irenæus* ‡ to the same Purpose as before. It

\* See above.

† Dei Verbum, imo magis ipse Deus, *Iren. p. 132.*

‡ Peccata igitur remittens, Hominem quidem curavit, semetipsum autem manifeste ostendit quis esset. Si enim nemo potest remittere peccata nisi solus Deus, remittebat autem hæc Dominus, & curabat Homines; manifestum est quoniam Ipse erat Verbum Dei, Filius Hominis factus, a Patre Potestatem remissionis Peccatorum accipiens, quoniam Homo & quoniam Deus: Ut quomodo Homo compassus est nobis, tanquam Deus misereatur nostri, & remittat nobis debita nostra, quæ Factori nostro debemus Deo. *Iren. p. 314.*

“Remitting Sins, He healed the Man, and at the same Time plainly shewed who Himself was. For, if none can *forgive Sins*, but God alone, and yet our Lord *forgave Sins*, and healed men; it is manifest that He was *The Word* of God, made Son of Man, receiving from the Father the Power of forgiving Sins, because *Man*, and because *God*: That as He suffered with us, being *Man*, so He might also have Mercy upon us as He is *God*, and might forgive us our Debts, which we owe to God our Maker.

is where He proves our Lord to be the *Word* of God, and *God*, from his *remitting* of Sins; upon the Strength of This Maxim, that none can forgive Sins but *God alone*. I take the Argument to lie thus: None can forgive Sins but the *God of Israel*, the true and only God (so the *Jews* understood and intended it) Christ forgave Sins; Therefore Christ is *God*, in the same Sense as intended, *i. e. God of Israel, &c.* I defy any Man to come at *Irenæus's* Conclusion from That Passage, any other Way: And tho' He words it *Verbum Dei*, it is plain from the following Words, that the Phrase is with him equivalent to *Deus*; the *Word* of God being necessarily *God*, or as He elsewhere expresses it, *Deus ipse*. What you have to object is, that *solus Deus* is there predicated of the Father; I grant it: And yet *Irenæus's* Argumentation necessarily infers, that Christ is *Deus* too, in the same Sense; and therefore with the Father, *Solus Deus*; the *only God* that can remit Sins: And He received This Power because He is *God of God*. *Irenæus* plainly enough intimates that if He had not been *God*, He could not have had the Power; which shews that He is speaking of such a Kind of Remission, by inherent Power and Right, as is proper to *God alone* \*; otherwise there is no Sense in the Argument.

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\* Bene igitur *Verbum* ejus ad Hominem dicit *Remittuntur tibi Peccata*; idem ille in Quem peccaveramus in initio, Remissionem Peccatorum in Fine donans. Aut si *Alterius* quidem transgressi sumus præceptum, *alius* autem erat qui dixit, *Remittuntur tibi Peccata tua*, neque bonus, neque verax, neque justus est ejusmodi. Quomodo enim bonus, qui non ex suis donat? Aut quomodo justus, qui aliena rapit? Quomodo autem vere remissa sunt peccata, nisi ille ipse in quem peccavimus donavit Remissionem? *Iren. p. 313. Vid. Grab. in Bull D. F. p. 85.*

“ Well therefore did his *Word* say to the Man, *Thy Sins are forgiven Thee*; He the same against whom we had sinned in the Beginning, in the End vouchsafes Remission of Sins. Otherwise had “ the Precept against which we transgressed come from *One*, and it “ had been *Another*, that said, *Thy Sins are forgiven Thee*, He could “ neither

You here (p. 101.) take Notice of Another Passage of *Irenæus*, which I incidentally brought in (p. 54<sup>th</sup> of my *Defense*) to prove that, according to *Irenæus*, none that has any *Superior*, any God above Him, can be justly stiled *God*\*. A famous Passage, and directly opposite to your Principles; while you pretend to ascribe Divinity to the Son, at the same Time subjecting Him to a *Superior God*, and putting Him *sub alterius Potestate*, under the Dominion and Power of Another. You do well to labour to take This off; but *how* we shall see presently. You pretend, that *Irenæus*, in *numberless other Passages*, expressly asserts the Superiority of the Father to the Son. I deny that He ever does it, so much as in any *single Passage*, in your Sense of *Superiority*. Nay, to see how consonant to Himself *Irenæus* is, I'll shew you where † He, by necessary Consequence, declares the Son to have *no Superior*.

“ The Argument will stand thus:

“ He that is the *God of the Living*, and who spake  
“ to *Moses* out of the Bush, has *no other God* above  
“ Him.

“ Christ is the *God of the Living*, and who spake  
“ to *Moses* out of the Bush.

“ Therefore

“ neither have been good, nor just, nor true in doing it. For, How  
“ can He be *good*, who gives what is none of his own? or How  
“ can He be *just* that assumes what belongs to Another? Or how  
“ could Sins be really forgiven, if He that forgave them were not  
“ the very same against whom we had sinned?

\* Qui super se habet aliquem superiorem, & sub Alterius Potestate est, Hic neque *Deus*, neque Rex magnus dici potest. *Iren* p. 229.

† Is qui de Rubo loquutus est *Moyse*, & manifestavit se esse Deum Patrum, Hic est Viventium Deus. Quis enim est *Vivorum Deus*, nisi qui est Deus *super quem alius non est Deus*? — Qui igitur adorabatur *Deus Vivus*, Hic est vivorum Deus, & Verbum ejus, qui loquutus est *Moyse*, qui & *Sadduceos* redarguit, &c. — Ipse igitur Christus cum Patre Vivorum est Deus, qui loquutus est *Moyse* — *Iren*. p. 232. Vide Bull, *Sect.* 2. c. 5.

“ He

“ Therefore Christ has *no other God above Him*.

The Premises are both of them *Irenæus's* own: And the Conclusion from them is evident. We see then, that *Irenæus* does not only lay down the *general* Maxim, that whoever is *God*, properly so called, can have no other *God* above Him: But in the *particular* Case of *God the Son*, He applies the very Maxim, and declares that there is no other *God* above Him. What will you say to these manifest Truths, which so directly strike at your whole *Hypothesis*? you endeavour to find some Shelter, by turning *Deus* into *Greek*, making it  $\delta \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ , which will not do, because it is frequent with *Irenæus* to give the *Son* the Title of  $\delta \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  \*. And if He did not, yet He never appears to lay any such Stress upon an *Article*. Nor will the Occasion of *Irenæus's* Maxim at all serve you. For tho' the Discourse there is of *God the Father*, yet his Reasoning, whereby He proves that the Person, there stiled  $\delta \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ , could have *no other God above Him*, will prove the same Thing of every other Person so stiled, or prove nothing. You produce some Citations from *Irenæus* to prove the *Father superior in Authority* (*Another God above Him*, you should have said, because you mean it) *to the Son*, and the *Son subject to Him*. None of them prove any thing like it, in your Meaning of *Superiority*, and *Subjection*.

The *Father commanded*, the *Son executed*. What then? I answer'd This above †. Another Pretence is from the Words, *conditionem simul, & Verbum suum portans*: Which I may leave as I find it, till you make out the Consequence: Or I may oppose to it,

“ He that spake to *Moses* out of the Bush, and manifested Himself  
 “ to be the *God of the Fathers*, He is the *God of the Living*. For  
 “ who else can be the *God of the Living*, but the *God* that has no  
 “ other *God* above Him? ——— Christ with the *Father* is the *God*  
 “ of the *Living*, who spake to *Moses*, &c.

\* Vid. *Iren.* p. 211. 215. 271. Ed. Bened.

† See also Bull. D. F. p. 80.

*Mensura enim Patris Filius, quoniam & capit eum.* Iren. p. 231. *Porto* may as well signify to bear, or contain, as *sustain*. Besides that the Creatures are said, in the very same Place, *portare eum; to sustain Him*, you'll say. And much will you make of it, that the Creator of them, *Mundi Factor* (*Irenæus* his own Words of God the Son, in the same Chapter) was *sustain'd* by his Creatures. You proceed to observe, that the Son *ministred* to the Father: You might have observed farther, that *He washed his Disciples Feet*. But see Bishop *Bull*, who had fully answered these Pretences, before you produced them. You farther take Notice out of *Irenæus*, that the *Word Incarnate hung upon the Cross*. Who doubts it? You should have took Notice likewise of what *Irenæus* says, in the very same Chapter, that This *Word* was really *Maker of the World*, and *containeth all Things* \*. But I am weary of pursuing Trifles. If *Irenæus* had had a Mind to express the *Subjection* of the Son, and superior *Dominion* of the Father, He knew how to do it. See how He expresses Himself, where He declares the *Subjection* of all Things to God the Son, and the *Holy Spirit* †, at the same Time speaking of their *Ministration* (not *Subjection*) to the Father: Which may be sufficient to shew you, how wild your *Hypothesis* is, and how little Countenance for it, you can reasonably hope to find among the *Antients*.

\* *Mundi enim Factor verè Verbum Dei est ——— & secundum invisibilitatem continet, quæ facta sunt omnia.* l. 5. c. 18. p. 315.

“ The *Word* of God is really *Maker of the World* ———, and in “ Respect of his Invisibilty (or *invisible Nature*,) contains all Things “ which are made.

† *Ministrat enim ei ad omnia, sua progenies, & Figuratio sua, id est Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus, Verbum & Sapientia, quibus servant, & subiecti sunt omnes Angeli.* Iren. p. 236. *Comp.* p. 183.

“ His own *Offspring*, and *Figure*, that is, the *Son* and *Holy-Ghost*; “ The *Word*, and *Wisdom*, to whom all the Angels are subject, and “ do Obedyance, *Minister* to Him (the Father) in all Things.

A. D. 192. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

I have already produced one plain and express Passage, wherein *Clemens* includes the Father and the Son in the *only God*. He has more to the same Purpose, where He says, *Both are one, namely, God* \*; and where He addresses Both as *one Lord* †, and the whole Trinity as *one* ‡. Which I took Notice of in my *eighth Sermon* §.

You are forced to confess, (p. 80.) that in *Clemens's* first Writings, there are *some sublime Expressions, which, if taken literally, would favour either my Notion, or the Sabellian*. A pretty fair Confession; but it would have been still fairer to have said, (which is what the Reader must see) *some Expressions, too plain and strong to admit of Any Evasion*. All you have to say is, that They are highly *Rhetorical*; which is saying nothing. You are next to oppose other Passages of *Clemens*, to take off their Force. Upon which, I may observe, by the Way, how disingenuous your Claim to the *Antients* is, in Comparison with ours. You think it sufficient if you can but find any Passages, which look at all favourable to your Scheme, however contradictory (as you understand them) to other clear and express Testimonies of the same Author. On the other Hand, we think our selves obliged to *reconcile* the seemingly opposite Passages, and to make an Author *consistent* with Himself: Which if we cannot do, we give Him up as *Neuter*, and make his Evidence *Null*; unless there be Reason to believe, that the Author, upon better Consideration, had changed his Mind, or that some Parts of his Works are more certainly genuine than others. But to proceed, you begin with attempting to deprave

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\* Ἐν γὰρ ἁμῶν, ὁ Θεός. Clem. Alex. p. 135.

† υἱὲ καὶ πατρὸς, ἐν ἁμῶν Κύριε, p. 311.

‡ Clem. Alex. p. 311.

§ Sermons, p. 305, &c.

the Sense of a celebrated Place in *Clemens*, which I shall transcribe into the Margin \*. In *English* it runs thus. "The divine Word, who is most manifestly true God, who is equalized with the Lord of the Universe, because He was his Son, and was the Word in God." This is a Passage very little favourable to your Invention of a superior Dominion of the Father, and a Subjection of the Son: For, the Son is here said to be equalized, that is, proclaim'd Equal to the Lord of the whole Universe. You say, equalized implies an Exaltation, a Delegation, &c. Ridiculous. Can any Thing, or Person, be made equal to God the Father, exalted to a Parity with Him? But a Person may be proclaim'd equal; which is only shewing what he was before. And *Clemens* assigns two substantial Reasons, why the Son was thus proclaim'd; it was his natural and essential Dignity that demanded it; For He was God's own Son †, of the same Nature with Him; and he was the Word that existed in God ‡ Himself; most manifestly therefore true God, and accordingly equalized with God, as He had a Right to be. You give us two or three Words of *Eusebius*, as expressing the Sense of *Clemens*. But let *Clemens* speak for Himself, who is a plainer Man, and a more consistent Writer, than *Eusebius*; and of whom it is easier to pass a certain Judgment.

\* Ο Θεῖος λόγος, ὁ φανερώτατος ὄντως Θεός, ὁ τῷ δεσπότητῶν ὄλων ἐξισωθεὶς· ὅτι ἦν υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ λόγος, ἦν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ. p. 86. Adm. ad Gent.

Vid. Bull. D. F. p. 88. Anim. in Giib. Clerke. p. 1010.

† υἱὸς τοῦ νῆ γνήσιος, ὁ Θεῖος λόγος, φωτὸς ἀρχέτυπον Φῶς. Clem. Admon. p. 78.

Τὸν λόγον τέλειον ἐκ τελείῃς φύσιν πατρὸς. Pædag. p. 113.

‡ Compare the following Passages of *Clemens*, explanatory of the Phrase, ἐν τῷ Θεῷ.

Ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ ὁ τοῦ τελείῃ παιδὶς, υἱὸς ἐν πατρὶ καὶ πατὴρ ἐν υἱῷ. Pæd. l. 1. c. 5. p. 112.

Τῶν συμπάντων Θεῶν ἕνα μόνον εἶναι, ἀγαθόν, δίκαιον, δημιουργόν, υἱὸν ἐν πατρὶ. Pædag. l. 1. c. 8. p. 142.

Ἐν γὰρ ἀρχῇ, ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι εἶπεν, ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. Clem. Alex. p. 135.



Suppose the Words in *Clemens* to signify equalized in Honour, or advanced to equal Honour and Glory: Still, would you have a Subject thus equalized with his Sovereign? If Christ was equalized in Honour and Glory, the Inference will reach to an Equality of Nature; which alone could be any sufficient Reason, or Foundation for honouring him so highly. You would have it only, receiving Dominion, (you do not care to say equal Dominion) from the Father. But This comes not up to *Clemens* his strong Expression of equalizing; nor to his Reasons assign'd for it; the very Reasons which He elsewhere gives, why the Father and Son are the one God, ὁ Θεός, absolutely so called, and jointly the one only God and Creator of all Things.

Next, you are to search out some other Expressions of *Clemens*, to be pleaded in the way of Abatement. *Clemens*, it seems, says in the same Page, that He sprung from the Will of the Father. But let the Reader see the whole Sentence, that He may be apprized of your unrighteous Method of citing Authors. "Being with utmost celerity diffused upon all Men, rising swifter than the Sun, out of the very Will (or Heart) of the Father, He most readily darted forth God upon us\*." Would you have your Reader here deceived into an Opinion that *Clemens* is speaking of the Son's existing by his Father's free choice and pleasure? No doubt but That is your meaning, or something very little better; tho' *Clemens* is only speaking of his Mission to mankind. Elsewhere, you say, He calls Him Inspector of our Hearts by the Will of the Almighty †. But you are as unfortunate in this Place as in the other; miscon-

\* Τάχιστα δὲ εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους διαδοθεὶς, ἤρπτον ἡλὶς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνατείλας τῆς πατρικῆς βελήσεως, ῥᾶσα ἡμῶν ἐπέλαμψε τὸν Θεόν. Clem. pag. 86.

† Τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν, τὸν τῷ παντοκρατορικῷ θελήματι ἐπίσκοπον τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν. pag. 611.

struing the Words, and perverting the Sense; as I have elsewhere \* shewn. Παντοκρατορικῶ Δεδήματι signifies by his own *Sovereign, all-containing Will*. That there is no impropriety in applying the Epithet παντοκρατορικὸς to *Will*, I proved by parallel Instances from other Authors; and shall now add one more, of the like kind †. You appear very unwilling to have the Dr.'s Criticisms on This Passage taken from you: And therefore you endeavour, feebly, to prop them up again, in a Note, pag. 227. You tell me, that the parallel Passages I alleged, do not signify that God is omnipresent or omniscient by his *Will*, but by his *Active governing Wisdom*. Be it so: Then let the same answer serve for the Expression of *Clemens*; and let Christ be *omniscient* by his *active governing Wisdom*, and now all is right again. I am not contending for *God's*, or *Christ's* knowing all things by his *Will*, in the Dr.'s Sense: But why must *Clemens* be tied up to the Dr's strict Sense of *Will*, in the Word Δεδήματι, more than other Authors, who have likewise used the Phrase of *all-containing Will*, as well as *Clemens*? The Doctor's fanciful Speculations against the Phrase (*Script. Doct. pag. 294.*) are of as much Weight against the Phrase in other Authors, as in *Clemens*; that is, of no Weight at all, but to shew the folly of interpreting Phrases by Speculation, and Fancy, instead of looking into Authors, to see how they have been used. You was to say something, it seems, however wide, rather than give up a favourite Criticism.

You say, *Clemens* calls the Son Δέλημα παντοκρατορικόν · which is true; but it does not there signify the same as πατρικόν Δέλημα, but *all-containing Wisdom*, or *Will* again; as is plain from the very place

\* *Defense*, pag. 110. Ed. 2. *Sermons*, pag. 266.

† Τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ παντοκρατορικοῦ, καὶ ἀλόγου, τῆς ἀγαστέτητος αὐτῆς, ἕως τῆς. Pseudo Dionys. Areop. de Divin. Nomin. c. 10. p. 829.

itself, where *Clemens* also stiles Him *δύναμις παγκρα-  
της*, *all-containing Power* \*. And it is the very rea-  
son given by *Clemens*, why He may be *known to all*,  
even to those that have not acknowledged Him ;  
He is *παγκρατής*, and *παντοκρατορικὸς*, *present to all*,  
or containing all. Had *Clemens* intended your Sense,  
He would rather have express'd it by *πατρικῶ Δελή-  
ματι*, as usual † ; or *Δελήματι τῷ πατρὸς* ††, or the like.  
Nor can you give any Instance out of *Clemens*, of  
*παντοκρατορικὸς*, but where it either must, or how-  
ever may, bear the Sense I have given. The  
Phrase *παντοκρατορικὸν βέλημα*, (pag. 857.) comes  
the nearest to the other. But it is there manifest,  
from the Context, that it ought to be interpreted  
in the same way as I have construed *Δέλημα παντο-  
κρατορικόν*. I much question whether *παντοκρατορι-  
κός* is ever used for *τῷ παντοκράτορι* §, in the way  
that *Dr. Clarke* contends for. It is certain, that the  
other which I contend for, is most proper, and is  
most usual and customary in *Greek Writers*. This,  
I hope, may be sufficient to put an end to a weak  
Criticism, which has nothing in it. Now let us go  
on.

As to the Son's *ministring*, I have before answer'd :  
And as to the Passages you have selected, one would  
think you had took Them out of *Bishop Bull* ; only  
leaving out the *Bishop's Solutions* ‡ : which is a very  
unfair way of protracting a Controversy.

As to *Second Cause*, you do not meet with it in  
*Clemens* ; *Δεύτερον αἴτιον* § signifies no more than *se-  
condary Causer*, *τάξει δεύτερον* §, second in Order in

\* Σοφία δὲ ἡ χρηστότης φανερωτάτη τοῦ Θεοῦ, δύναμις τε παγκρατής,  
καὶ τῷ ὄντι θεία · εἰδὲ ταῖς μὴ ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀκατανόητον, Δέλημα παντο-  
κρατορικόν. Clem. pag. 647.

† Vid. Clem. pag. 99, 150. Comp. pag. 86, 125.

‡ Vid. Clem. pag. 156, 710.

§ Vid. Bull. Def. F. pag. 90.

§ Clem. Alex. pag. 710.

causal Operations. Besides that if it strictly meant more, allowance must be made for *Clemens*, while He is adapting the *Platonick* to the Christian Trinity, if He uses the *Platonick* Terms; tho' They may not quadrate exactly.

You next cite *Clemens* for stiling the Father  $\mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu$   $\delta\upsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$ , and introducing the Son as joining in Hymns of Praise to him. As to  $\mu\acute{o}\nu\textcircled{\text{C}}$ , or other the like exclusive Terms, *Clemens* made no Account of Them, in exclusion to the Son, as before seen; besides that, the Son is not only  $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ , *truly God*, with *Clemens*, very frequently <sup>a</sup>, but even  $\mu\acute{o}\nu\textcircled{\text{C}}$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ , *only God* <sup>b</sup>, and *only Judge* <sup>c</sup>, and *only Master* <sup>d</sup>. All Authors I have met with, thus use *exclusive* Terms; it being a Rule of common Sense, and custom of Language, that such *exclusive* Terms are to be strained no farther than They are intended in opposition to such or such Things. As to the Son's joyning in *Hymns of Praise*, you should have told your Reader, that He is supposed by *Clemens*, in That very Place, to do it as in Capacity of *High-Priest* <sup>e</sup>. I can scarce without Indignation find such Things as These offered by Men pretending to *Letters*, or the least *Ingenuity*.

You run on, about *Clemens's* stiling the Father the *one God, Supreme over all*; tho' every body knows it never was intended in *opposition* to God the *Son*,

<sup>a</sup> Clem. Alex. pag. 86, 647, 690.

<sup>b</sup> Clem. Alex. p. 84, 142. See also another Passage of his *Pædagogoe*, where He seems to be speaking of God the Son: the Words are,  $\acute{o}$   $\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{o}$   $\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$   $\acute{o}$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{o}$   $\mu\acute{o}\nu\textcircled{\text{C}}$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ . p. 150. Compare a Passage of the *Stromata*, l. 4.  $\acute{\epsilon}$   $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\kappa\eta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon$   $\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\mu\acute{\iota}\rho\eta$   $\acute{o}$   $\nu\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ .

<sup>c</sup> Clem. pag. 99.

<sup>d</sup> Clem. pag. 309.

<sup>e</sup>  $\text{A}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\eta\eta\tau\omicron\nu$  (leg.  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\tau\omicron\nu$ )  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\theta\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$ ,  $\sigma\upsilon\mu\mu\eta\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\nu}\tau\textcircled{\text{C}}$   $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\upsilon$   $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\textcircled{\text{C}}$   $\omicron\upsilon\tau\textcircled{\text{C}}$ ,  $\text{I}\eta\sigma\omega\upsilon\varsigma$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{o}$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\mu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\upsilon$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$   $\text{A}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\upsilon$   $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\text{A}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ . Clem. Alex. pag. 92, 93.

but

but to *Pagan* Deities: As is plain from what hath been said. You next come to observe that *Clemens* styles the Son  $\pi\epsilon\omega\lambda\acute{o}\nu\iota\varsigma$  \* . This indeed was worth remarking, and a Thing fit to be offered in the way of Objection; tho' Bishop *Bull* had given a good Answer to it long ago †. It is an allusion to *Proverbs* 8. 22. where *Wisdom* is said to have been created, that is, appointed Head over the Works of God ‡; which I shall shew, in due Time and Place, to have been the ancient and Catholick Sense of That Text: Nor can any Ante-nicene Father be produced for the other Sense of *Creation*, in regard to That Text. The stale Pretence about *Photius* and the *Hypotyposes*, hath been answer'd over and over §. However, it is a meer fancy of your's, that *Photius's* Censure upon the *Hypotyposes*, was grounded upon a Passage found in his *Stromata*. I have now said enough in Vindication of *Clemens*; and He must be a very Orthodox Writer indeed, when in so large a Volume, and wrote before the *Arian* Controversy was started, He appears to have been so well guarded, as to leave room only for very frivolous exceptions; such, perhaps, as might most of them be found even in many of the *Post-Nicene* Writers, or in *Athanasius* himself.

What you say after in *pag.* 83. is worth the taking notice of, for the peculiar Turn of it; and because it may let the Reader into the true State of the Dispute between us. You tell me, I am forced into the absurd Inconsistency of confounding a priority of mere Order (which expresses a perfect Co-ordination of Persons equally Supreme in Authority) with a

\* Clem. pag. 699.

† Bull. D. F. pag. 90.

‡ Ουτ' ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, θελήματι τοῦ παντοκράτορος πατρός, αἰτί' ὁ υἱὸς καθίσταται, πρωτεργὸς κινήσεως, δύναμις ἄληπτος αἰσθήσει.

Clem. pag. 833.

§ Bull. Def. F. pag. 91. *Grabe* Instances of Defects, p. 13, &c.

*subordination of Authority and Dominion.* You are troubled, it seems, that I will not suffer Two of the Persons to be thought really *Subjects*, or *Servants*, that is, *Creatures of the First*. I am very earnest and serious in it; nor will I yield That momentous Point to you, till you are able to prove it. As to *Inconsistency*, you shall see that there is none of *mine*, it is all your *own*. I have sometimes wonder'd with myself, how I came to be charged by the *modest Pleader*, &c. with making a *Co-ordination* of the Persons; when I every where admit a *Priority of Order* in one, a *Subordination* in the other Two. But now the Secret is out: A *Co-ordination* is not a *Co-ordination*, and a *Subordination* is not a *Subordination*, if it be only of *Order*; tho' I was so weak as to think, that the Words *Co-ordination* and *Subordination*, strictly and properly, respected *Order*, and expressed an *equality* or *inequality* of *Order*. But you have a mind to use the Word *Co-ordination* for what an accurate Man would call *Co-equality*: And so I am charged with holding a *Co-ordination*. I confess the Charge: I always held a *Co-equality* of the Persons, tho' I never before knew that it must be called *Co-ordination*. And while I profess a *Subordination*, I as constantly declare against *Inequality*. If This does not content you, I cannot help it: It is not my fault, nor indeed yours (for you have done your utmost) that your Arguments demand no more. I will still maintain a *Priority of Order*, together with *Coequality*. And if you insist upon it, that *Priority of Order* is *no Priority of Order*, but a *Co-ordination*; every Reader, I suppose, may see whose is the *Inconsistency*, your's, or mine. Besides a *Subordination of Order*, which is *natural*, I have also allowed a *Subordination in Office*, which is *oconomical*. Is This also nothing more than a *meer Position and Order of Words*? True, it is not making the Father a *Sovereign* over the Son as his *natural Subject*, because I never intended it: Nor will you

ever be able to prove any thing like it. But let us proceed.

A. D. 206. TERTULLIAN.

*Tertullian* is so full and clear for all the Three Persons being *one God*, that I need not again \* produce Things so well known. You yourself have confessed it: But now you come in to plead for Abatements; which, if you have ever so good a right to them, will not, however, make *Tertullian* an Advocate on your side, but a *Neuter* at most, as being inconsistent, and of no credit. But let us see: Perhaps He may prove a consistent Evidence for us; tho it is utterly impossible He ever should for you. You remind me of his being a *Montanist*, when He wrote against *Praxeas*; which was scarce worth your observing, when you allow in the same Page that *Tertullian* makes Father and Son *one God*, even in his *Apology* †, wrote very probably before He was a *Montanist*: And I should be content to try the Merits of the Cause by That Treatise alone, which would furnish you with few, or no Pretences against his Orthodoxy in this Article. But to come to the Business.

You first fall upon Him for making the Son no more than a *small part of the Father's substance*. To which I answer, that if *Tertullian* indulged his fancy too far in explaining the Doctrine, yet He may be a good evidence of the Church's general Doctrine, that Father and Son are *one God*. However, I think this Objection has been well answer'd by Bishop Bull ‡,

\* See my Sermons, pag. 306.

Pater & Filius & Spiritus, Tres crediti, unum Deum sistant; *Tertull. contr. Prax. c. 31.*

† Quod de Deo profectum est Deus est & Dei Filius, & unus (suppl. *Deus*) ambo. *Apol. c. 21. p. 203.*

‡ Bull. D. F. p. 95.

and *Le Nourry* || ; whither I refer the Reader. All I shall add, is This, that if *Tertullian*, as I have shown above, sometimes used the Term *Father* in a large Sense, (as a *Head* of a *Family* sometimes stands for the whole *Family* together with their *Head*) then it is no wonder, if God the Son might be called *Portio totius*, being but one Person of the Trinity; not all; as He styles the Father, *unus omnia, dum ex uno omnia* \*. This might be illustrated from the Case of *Abraham*, considered as the *Father* of many Nations, and containing, in a certain Sense, all his Descendants. Thus was *Abraham Tota Familia*, and *Levi* only *Derivatio & Portio Totius*; that is, of *Abraham*, considered in capacity of *Head* and *Fountain*. I do not pretend to be confident, that *Tertullian* had This Thought in his Mind: But I propose it as a probable conjecture, to be farther enquired into, to make *Tertullian* appear the more reasonable and consistent; who was certainly no downright Idiot, such as your Representation would make of Him. Allowing such a Supposition as I have here offered, there will be no Difficulty in accounting for *Tertullian's* saying, that the Father is *major Filio, greater than the Son*, in the manner that He does. For it will amount only to This, that the *Head*, considered as such, is *major Singulis*, as containing all; tho' it cannot be said of any but the *Head*, because the rest are considered only as *single* Persons. In the other way, it is certainly downright *Nonsense* to suppose the Father in his own proper *personal* Capacity, to be the *whole*: For, however small a *Part* you suppose

|| *Nourrii* Appar. ad *Bibl. Max.* Vol. 2. pag. 1305.

\* *The like way of Speaking obtained among the Pagans, in respect of their Supreme Jupiter, Father of the other Gods.*

*Jupiter omnipotens regum rerumque Deumque*

*Progenitor, genitrixque Deum, Deus unus & omnis.*

*August. de C. D. l. 7. c. 9. p. 170.*



the Son to be, That *Part* must go in to make up the *whole*; and no *single Person*, barely considered as such, can be called the *whole*. But consider the *Father* in Capacity of *Head*, in the Sense before intimated, and then the Notion is just, and has nothing absurd, or strange in it. I may farther argue against *Tertullian's* making the Son a *small part*, as you say, of God's substance, from what He says of the *Omnipresence* of the Son, in as full and ample Terms as can be used of the *Omnipresence* of the Father Himself\*.

You go on, (*pag. 77.*) to speak of the Son's exercising the *Father's Power*: Right; because the Father's and his are one †. You add, *by the Father's Will*: yes, and by his *own* too, for Both are the same, because their Substance is one ‡. You say indeed

H 2

deed

\* Habes Filium in Terris, habes Patrem in cælis: non est separatio ista, sed dispositio divina; cæterum Scimus Deum etiam intra Abyssos esse, & ubique consistere, sed vi & Potestate: Filium quoque, ut individuum, cum ipso ubique. Tamen in ipsa Oeconomia, Pater voluit Filium in Terris haberi, se vero in cælis. Tertull. adv. Prax. c. 23. p. 514.

“ The Son you have upon *Earth*, and the Father you have in *Heaven*. This is no *Separation*, but a divine *Oeconomy*. Furthermore, we are certain that God is even in the *Abysses*, and present *every where*, but in *Virtue* and *Power*; the *Son* also as individual (or *undivided*) is with Him *every where*. But, according to the *Oeconomy*, the Father would so have it, that the Son should be considered as being upon *Earth*, and Himself as being in the *Heavens*.”

† *Omnia*, inquit, *Patris mea sunt*.—— Suo jure omnipotens, qua Sermo Dei omnipotentis, quaque omnium accepit potestatem. c. 17.

Pater omnia tradidit in manu ejus—— à primordio tradidit, ex quo a primordio Sermo erat apud Deum, & Deus erat Sermo, cui data est omnis Potestas in cælo & in Terra—— omnem enim dicens Potestatem—— & omnia tradita in manu ejus, nullam exceptionem Temporis permittit; quia omnia non erunt, si non omnis Temporis fuerint. cap. 16.

‡ Quale est ut Deus divisionem & dispersionem pati videatur in Filio & Spiritu Sancto—— tam consortibus substantia Patris, &c.——

Cæterum

deed in your Preface, pag. 6, 7. that *Tertullian* affirm'd the same Thing even of *Angels*, or *rational Souls*, that *They were generated from the Substance of the Father*: And to show that you really believe it, you quote (pag. 55.) Three Places of *Tertullian*, to prove it. Had This been the Case; I would have given you up *Tertullian* for a Madman. But it is your Misfortune, in two of the Places, very innocently to give us *Marcion's Tenet* for *Tertullian's* own. And as to the *third* Place, out of his Book against *Praxeas*, it is very wide of the Purpose; being no more than this, that God breathed into Man the Breath of Life, a peculiar Privilege of Man above all the animal Creation. See below <sup>a</sup> what He says of *Angels*.

But to proceed; You talk of the Son's *Subjection*, as from *Tertullian*: concealing from your Reader that it is of a *subjection* posterior to the Incarnation, an *Oeconomical* subjection: and that *Tertullian* denies any *subjection*, such as you are aiming at, in full and express Terms\*. You add, upon *This disparity of the Son to the Father*, (*directly contrary to your Notion of an equality in Supreme Authority*) as well as upon his *Notion of Consubstantiality*, does He ground his denial of *Two Gods*. False every Word: How can you let your Pen loose, to write at This Rate? *Tertullian's* Notion of *one common supreme Authority*, is exactly the same with mine †: that the Three Persons are of *one State, one Substance, one Divinity, one supreme*

Cæterum, qui Filium non aliunde deduco, sed De Substantia Patris, nihil facientem sine patris voluntate, omnem a Patre consecutum Potestatem, &c. Adv. Prax. c. 3, 4.

<sup>a</sup> Angelorum — alienorum a substantia patris. Contr. Prax. c. 3.

<sup>•</sup> Sophiam — non sibi subditam, non Status diversam, &c. Tert. contr. Hermog. c. 18.

† Tres autem non Statu sed gradu, nec Substantia sed forma, nec Potestate sed specie: Unius autem Substantie, & unius Status, & unius Potestatis, quia unus Deus. Contr. Prax. c. 2.

Trinitas, unius Divinitatis, Pater, Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus. De Pudicit. c. 21.

Power and Authority, as being *one God*. When *Tertullian* says, *non Statu sed gradu*: by *Gradus* He means *Order*, as *Bishop Bull* hath observed. *D. F.* pag. 96.

And where does *Tertullian* found his Denial of *two Gods* upon the *Disparity* of Father and Son? Or where does He resolve the *Unity*, as you do, into the *Father alone*, casting out God the Son from the *one Godhead*? His constant way is to take in *Both*, and thus He makes of *Both* but *one God*. What you cite from his 13<sup>th</sup> Chapter is not at all to your purpose. He plays a while with *Praxeas*, telling Him, that if He would be so *hard*, as to insist upon it that Father and Son must be *two Gods*, on the *Catholick Scheme*, then let them be so; and let Him at least grant, that Father and Son may be *two Gods*, the Son having certainly as good, or much better right to be called *God*, than many others whom *Scripture* has so stiled. But after He had thus argued a while *ad Hominem*, and *ex Hypothesi*, He returns to his Position, that they are not *two Gods*\*, but *one God*, because of *Unity of Substance*, and *Original*. His Reasoning, in short, comes to This, that if the *Catholick Doctrine*, as *Praxeas* insisted, must be *Ditheism*, then let it be so; so long as it is *Scripture-Ditheism*, and the *Doctrine* certainly true,

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\* Duos tamen Deos & duos Dominos nunquam ex ore nostro proferimus.——Nam etsi Duos soles non faciam, tamen & solem & Radios ejus, tam duas res & duas species unius indivise substantie numerabo, quam Deum & sermonem ejus, quam Patrem & Filium. *Tert. contr. Prax. c. 13.*

Si Filium nolunt *Secundum* a Patre reputari, ne *secundus* duos faciat Deos dici, ostendimus etiam duos Deos in *Scriptura* relatos, & duos Dominos; & tamen ne de isto scandalizentur, rationem reddidimus; qua Dei non duo dicantur, nec Domini, sed qua Pater, & Filius, duo: Et hoc non ex *separatione substantie*, sed ex *dispositione*, cum *individuum* & inseparatum Filium a Patre pronuntiamus, nec statu sed gradu alium; qui etsi Deus dicatur quando nominatur singularis, non ideo duos Deos faciat sed unum, hoc ipso, quod & *Deus ex Ugitate Patris Vocari* habeat. cap. 19.

whatever *Name* it be called by: But still a very good Reason may and has been assigned why it is not, and therefore ought not to be called *Ditheism*; because Father and Son are really *one God*, as being of *one substance*, and the Son referred up to the Father as his *Head* and *Source*. This is the sum of *Tertullian's* Thoughts on that Head; which are as contrary to your's, as Light to Darknes.

You have another little Shift grounded upon *Tertullian's* blaming *Praxeas* for making the Father incarnate, whom He there calls *ipse Deus*, and *Domini- nus omnipotens*; as if *Tertullian* might not emphatically stile the Father *God*, without denying it of the Son. Those Phrases there are nothing but so many *Periphrases* for God the Father, and do not at all relate to your Purpose: Unless denying the Father to be *incarnate*, be denying *Christ's* *supreme Divinity*; where I see nothing like a Consequence.

As to *Tertullian's* asserting a *Temporary Generation*, it is common to Him and many *Catholic* Writers, both *Antenicene*, and *Postnicene* \*; and has no Difficulty in it, when rightly understood. What you add from *Tertullian's* Tract against *Hermogenes*, is indeed of some Weight, and the most material Objection that his Works can furnish you with. Yet you should not have conceal'd from your Reader, that Bishop *Bull* † has spent a large Chapter particularly in Answer to it: And it must appear very strange, that *Tertullian*, who, at other Times speaks so highly of God the Son, should designedly contradict so many clear and plain Passages of his Works,

\* Hilarius in Matt. p. 742.

Zeno Veron. ap Bull. p. 200.

Phæbadius. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 4.

Prudentius. Hymn. 11. p. 44.

Rupertus Tuitiensis.

Pseud-Ambros. de Fid. Orthod. c. 2. p. 349.

† Bull. D. F. Sect. 3. c. 10.

by denying the *Coeternity* of the Son, and reducing Him to a *Creature*. Is the *Divinity*, subsisting in *Three*, *Similar* with it self, *one only*, and capable of no *Degrees* (the express Doctrine of this Writer) and yet made up of *Eternal* and *Temporary*, *Creator* and *Creature*, differing *infinitely*? Is *Eternity*, and *Immutability* contain'd in the Name and Notion of *God*, and particularly as applicable to God the Son \*, and yet the Son have neither *Eternity*, nor *Immutability*? In a Word, can *Tertullian* pretend, that an *inferior* God is Non-sense and Contradiction †, and at the same Time assert a *Creature*, a Being of Yesterday, to be *God*, nay, and *one God* with the Father? These are such glaring and palpable Absurdities, that a Man of any tolerable Capacity, or Thought (and *Tertullian* was a Man of no mean Abilities) could scarce have been capable of admitting Them. Wherefore They are to be commended, who have endeavour'd to bring *Tertullian* out of These Difficulties, and to reconcile, if possible, the seeming Repugnancies. There was one Way left for it, which the excellent Bishop *Bull*, and after Him the learned *Le Nourry* has taken. *Tertullian* is known to have distinguished between *Ratio*, and *Sermo*, Both of them Names of the self-same λόγος, considered at different Times, under different Capacities; first as *silent*, and unoperating, alone with

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\* Deum immutabilem & informabilem credi necesse est, ut æternum. Transfiguratio autem interemptio est Pristinæ. Omne enim quodcunque transfiguratur in aliud, desinit esse quod fuerat, & incipit esse, quod non erat. Deus autem neque desinit esse, neque aliud potest esse. *Sermo* autem *Deus*; & *Sermo* Domini manet in ævum, perseverando scilicet in sua Forma, *Adv. Prax. c. 27.* Vid. *Bull. p. 245.*

† Neque enim proximi erimus Opinionibus Nationum, quæ si quando coguntur Deum confiteri, tamen & Alios infra illum volunt. Divinitas autem gradum non habet, utpote unica. *Contr. Hermog. c. 7.* Deus non erit dicendus, quia nec credendus, nisi Summum magnum. Nega Deum quem dicis deteriorem. *Contr. Marc. l. 1. c. 6.*

the Father, afterwards *proceeding*, or going forth from the Father; to *operate* in the Creation. With this *Procession* He supposes (as do many others) the *Sonship* properly to commence. So that tho' the *Logos* had always existed, yet He became a *Son* in Time; And in this Sense there was a Time, when the *Father* had no *Son*. He had his  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\textcircled{C}$ , his living substantial *Logos*, his  $\sigma\phi\iota\alpha$ , with whom He conversed, as his *Counsellor*: But the *Logos* was not yet a *Son*, till he came out to create. This Notion of a temporal Sonship, was what *Tertullian* endeavour'd to make some Use of in his Dispute with *Hermogenes*, who asserted Matter to be *eternal, unmade, and unbegotten*; in short, *Self-existent* in the highest Sense. *Tertullian* thought it might be an Argument *ad Hominem*, against *Hermogenes*, that He hereby made Matter in some Sense higher than even God the Son; while he supposed it absolutely *underived*, and in no Sense *derived*, or *begotten* at all; which was more than could be said of God the Son, who was *begotten*, and *proceeded* of the Father. This appears to have been *Tertullian's* real and full Meaning, however He happen'd, in the Prosecution of the Argument, to run some Expressions rather too far; as is often seen in the Heat of Dispute, in very good Writers. Allowing Him only the Favour of a candid Construction, He may at length be made consistent; and his other Expressions stand without Contradiction: And He has the greater Right to it, upon the Principles of common Equity; since one *obscure* Passage ought never to be set against *many*, and *plain* ones.

You proceed to obviate a Passage which we are wont to cite for the *Equality*. I have cited others stronger and fuller, which you have not took Notice of. Your Correction of *Patrem* for *Parem*, is what I had met with before; and it seems to me very just. But your Quotation from his Book *de Jejuniis*, to take off the Force of the Words, *æquat & jungit*, does not so well satisfy me: Because there is a great deal

of Difference betwixt *æquat* when used absolutely, and when only in a certain respect. However, as I never insisted upon the Force of the Word *æquat* in that Place, nor have any Occasion for it, after so many other more certain, and less exceptionable Evidences of *Tertullian's* making Father and Son *one God supreme*; so I shall not be at the Trouble to inquire farther about it.

Our next Author is,

A. D. 240. HIPPOLYTUS.

This Writer you bear somewhat hard upon: *Spurious*, and *Interpolated* are the Names you give Him. I must first see upon what Grounds; and then proceed with Him, if we find Him genuine. In a Note to p. 39, you are pleased to favour me with your Reasons. We need say nothing of *Dr. Mills*, who I presume had never seen the *Greek* of *Hippolytus* against *Noctus*. Neither need we lay any great Stress upon *Photius's* calling the whole Piece against Heresies, *βιβλίον ἄγιον*, a *little Book*, as you say, since we know not by what Rules and Measures *Photius* judged of the Greatness or Littleness of a Book, or to what Kind of Tracts He confined the Name of *βιβλίον ἄγιον*. These Things are slight, and such as *Criticks* would scarce mention. I find that some very good Judges, as *Tillemont* and *Fabricius* (I do not know how many more) take the Piece to be genuine: And no Body can doubt but it is at least so in Part; as one may perceive by what is borrowed from it by *Ephiphanius*. The only Question is about *Interpolations*. *Mr. Whiston* was so sanguine, as to say, He had *evidently demonstrated*\*, that it was one half of it *interpolated*, and by an *Athanasian*; because *Theodorit* and *Pope Gelasius* had Both of them quoted a Passage out of it, which appears much shorter there than in *Hip-*

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\* *Mr. Whiston's Answer to Lord Nottingham*, p. 10.

*polytus*, as now published. You are so wise as to drop *Theodorit*, being apprized, perhaps, that *Theodorit's* Quotation was not from This Treatise against *Noetus*, but out of another Work of *Hippolytus*, upon the *second Psalm* \* : And what great Wonder is it, if an Author, in Two distinct Tracts, borrows from Himself; expressing the same Thought here more briefly, there more at large? *Gelasius*, indeed, refers to the *Memoria Hæresium*: But as his Quotation is exactly the same with *Theodorit's*, and probably taken from Him, at second Hand; *Theodorit* is the more to be depended on, as being the *elder*, and as being a *Greek* Writer, and noted for his Accuracy; and his Works preserved with greater Care than *Gelasius's*. Whether the Mistake of *Memoria Hæresium*, was *Gelasius's* own, or his *Transcriber's*, an easy Account may be given of it; since *Hippolytus's* Piece against *Heresies*, was the most noted of Any, and was preserved entire for a long Season, and besides really had in it a Passage very like That other out of his Comments on the *Psalms*; And it might seem no great Matter, which of the Pieces they referred to. These Considerations show how little your critical Censure of a Book is to be depended on: I will therefore still continue to quote *Hippolytus*, as genuine, till I see some better Reasons against it than you have here offered. What you hint of its being changed into *Homily* in latter Times, is sufficiently answered by *Fabricius*, vol. 2. p. 6. Let us now see what *Hippolytus* has to offer in relation to our main Dispute.

I produced the Passages, which I most insist upon (to prove that Father and Son are *one God*) in my *Defense*, first briefly, (p. 22) and afterwards more at large in my *Sermons*, p. 307 &c. whither, to save myself the Trouble of repeating, I beg Leave to refer

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\* Τῆ ἀγίῃ Ἰησοῦτε, ἐν τῆς ἱερωνείας τῆ Β. ψαλμοῦ. Theod. Dial. 2. p. 167.



the Reader. You have some pretended *Counter-Evidence* to produce, as usual, in order to evade the Force of what I offered. You say (p. 90.) that *tho' He seems to aim at including the Son and Spirit; in some Sense in the one God* (it is well however that he does not aim at *excluding* Them, having quite other Intentions than you have) *yet He expressly ascribes to the Father, not a Priority of Order only, but a real Supremacy of Authority and Dominion.* Where are your Proofs? The first is, that He talks of the Father's *commanding*, the Son *obeying*: So did *Athanasius, Basil, Cyril, Hilary, Marius Victorinus*, and others \*, who notwithstanding would have detested your Notion: For They never suspected any Thing of *Subjection*, or *Servility* in it, but only a different *Order* or *Manner* of operating, so far as concerns the *Work of Creation*; and a voluntary *Condescension*, or *οἰκονομία*, as to other Matters. But *Hippolytus* says, by This *Trinity* the Father is *glorified*. No doubt of it, since nothing can be more for his *Glory*, than to have two such divine and glorious Persons proceeding from Him, and ever abiding with Him: And they that lessen this *Glory*, lessen Him; who in a certain Sense, is the *τόπᾶν*. You add, as from *Hippolytus*, that the Father *begat the Son* (that is, sent or shewed Him to the World, which is *Hippolytus's* Meaning †) *when He willed, and as He willed.* Undoubtedly, in *Hippolytus's* Sense, just as He sent Him to be incarnate of the Blessed Virgin, *when He willed, and as He willed.* All you have farther material, I have answered above. You will never be able to shew, that either *Subordination*, or *Ministration*, or the Son's condescending to become Man, and in that Capacity

\* See my Sermons, p. 72.

Or Bull. D. F. p. 80. & alibi.

Or Petavius de Trin. l. 2. c. 7.

† ὅτε ἠθέλησεν, καθὼς ἠθέλησεν, ἔδειξε τὸν λόγον αὐτῷ — λόγον ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ἀορατὸν τε ὄντα τῷ κτισμένῳ κόσμῳ, ὁρατὸν ποιεῖ — φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς γενῶν προῆκει τῇ κτίσει κύριον, τὸν ἰδίον γέν, αὐτῷ μόνῳ πρότερον ὁρατὸν ὑπάρχοντα, &c. Hipp. contr. Noet. p. 13.

a *Servant* to the Father, is at all inconsistent with the Notion of Both the Persons being one *God supreme*. You make a Show of producing the *Antients* against me; whereas, in Reality, you can pick nothing from them more than I am ready to allow, as well as They: And you endeavour to turn what They and I agree equally in, against Them, as well as Me, by the imaginary Strength of two or three false Maxims, which you have laid down to your self, as so many Principles of Reason. It might be pleasant to observe, what a Dance you are leading us through *Scripture* and *Fathers*, and all for Amusement; while the true Secret of the Business is kept behind the Scenes.

The Case lies here. *Scripture* and *Fathers* agree in these Three Things, as I also do. 1. That the Son from the Time of his Incarnation, was really *subject* in one Capacity or other, to God. 2. That before his Incarnation He *ministred* to the Father; as well in the Creation, as in all Transactions between God and Man. 3. That, as a Son, He is *subordinate* to the Father, referred to Him as his *Head*. Now your Way is to take one, or more of these Three Premises, and from thence to draw your *Inference* against the Son's being *God supreme*. This *Inference* you draw from these *Premises*, first, as found in *Scripture*. The same *Inference* you draw from the same *Premises*, as found perhaps in *Justin Martyr*; the same *Inference* again from the same *Premises*, as found in *Irenæus*; and so quite through the *Fathers*. But a Man may ask, since the *Premises* are taken for granted on both Sides, might it not be a much shorter, and clearer Way, to wave farther Proof of the *Premises* from *Scripture* and *Fathers*, and to lay all the Stress upon making out the *Inference*, in a set *Dissertation* to that Purpose? Right: But then every Body would see (what is not to be told) that it is not *Scripture* or *Fathers* you depend on, but *Philosophy*; which, while you mix it all the Way with *Scripture* and *Antiquity*, is not thought

thought to be, what it really is, the true source and spring of the Opposition you make to us; and which, while it is behind the Curtain unperceived, is yet the only Thing that raises all the Disturbance. But to proceed.

## A. D. 249. ORIGEN.

*Origen*, one of the most learned and considerable Writers of his Age, was Another Voucher I had produced for the Truth of the Doctrine that Father and Son are *one God*\*. I have before vindicated the true Construction of the Passage †, and have observed, from the Circumstances, of what Moment such a Resolution as that of *Origen*, in so critical and nice a Point (on which depended the grand Question of *Polytheism* between Christians and Pagans) is and ought to be, when duly considered. You pretend, p. 83. it is *not clear* that *Origen's* Words must bear my Sense. I do not wonder at your holding out, in such a Place as This: It must trouble you to find yourselves condemned in the most important Article of all; and that by *Origen* too, whom you would have to be a *Favourer* of you, as He is much a *Favourite* with you. But as to the Sense of his Words, it is so exceeding *clear*, from the whole Scope and Context, that nothing can be more so. See what I have said above. What then must be done next? Still you say, admitting my Construction, it is *not to my purpose*. What? not to my purpose that Father and Son are *one God*; which is what I quoted it for? And if They are *one God*, They are one *God Supreme*. You add, that *Origen*, in That very Place, *explains at large*, how the *Father and Son* are One, and also what sort of worship is to be paid the Son.

\* Ένα ἓν θεόν, ὡς ἀποδοξάκαμεν, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν θεραπίευσαι.

Orig. Contr. Cels. p. 386.

“ We therefore, as we have shewn, worship one God, the Father and the Son.

† See what I have said above; And compare my Sermons, p. 309.

The Sense, you pretend, is, *that Christians still worshipped but one God* (The Father I suppose you mean) *because they worshipped the Father by or through the Son.* Ridiculous: For, so *Celsus* and all the wiser *Pagans* worshipped but one God; because they worshipped the *one Supreme*, by and through all their other *Deities*. How then did This Answer clear the *Christians* from the worship of *Se'ss*, Gods, more than the *Pagans*? Was *Origen* no wiser than to expose Himself and his Cause to ridicule, by so weak a Reply? The Strength of his Solution rests intirely upon this; that Father and Son are but *one God*; and therefore the *Christians* worshipped not *many*: He takes in *Both*, to make the  $\epsilon\nu$  the *unum*, the *one Thing* worshipped: Otherwise there was no Occasion for saying, that They were *one*; *One in nature* (as I understand by his Instance of *Believers*, who were all of the *same nature*, and as such *equal*) and *One* also in *Concord*, *Agreement*, and *Sameness of Will*: which is the very Account which *Post-nicene* Fathers also give of the *Unity*; as *Hilary*, *Epiphanius*, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, *Gregory Nyssen*, and *Austin*, referred to in my *Defense* \*. I shall here only cite the last of them †, who may speak for all the rest. I shall have occasion hereafter to discourse you fully upon the

\* *Defense*, pag. 363, &c.

† *Hi Tres, quia unus substantiæ sunt, unum sunt; & summe unum ubi nulla Naturarum, nulla est diversitas Voluntatum. Si autem natura unum essent, & Consensione non essent; non summe unum essent: Si vero natura dispares essent, unum non essent.* Augustin. contr. Max. l. 2. pag. 698.

*Etiam nos quippe incomparabilem Consensum Voluntatis, atque individux Caritatis, Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti, Confitemur; propter quod dicimus, Hæc Trinitas unus est Deus.* August. contr. Max. l. 2. p. 720. See my *Defense*, pag. 366, 367.

*To the same purpose speaks Theodorit, or Maximus.*

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  Θεός, ἔχ' ὡς τριώνυμος, ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ ἐν χριστῷ κατηρτισμένοι, αἵ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς συμφωνίας, καὶ τῆς φύσεως. Theod. Dial. IV. adv. Maced. Tom. 5. pag. 373.

Head of *Worship*, and to vindicate *Origen* from your Misrepresentations. It may suffice, for the present, to say, that the considering the Two Persons under *distinct Offices*, (a good Rule for the regulating the *direction* of our Prayers) is no Argument either against the Son's being *supreme God* (which is no word of *Office*) or for *two Worships*, *Sovereign* and *Inferior*, which you contend for.

The other Passages of *Origen* which you refer me to (in Pages 4, 5, 10, 23, 28, 31, 49, 56, 70) are most of them taken from *Origen's* less accurate, or interpolated Writings; which are of no weight, any farther than they agree with his Piece against *Celsus*. And what you have out of That very Piece, has been mostly answered by Bishop *Bull*, and is not to your purpose.

The Passage you quote, (*pag.* 10.) shews one Advantage the Christians had, that they could plead a *Command* for the worship of Christ, which the *Pagans* could not for their *Deities*: not that This was all they had to say, but it was *something*, and too considerable to be omitted. What you cite *pag.* 24, I answered in my *Defense*, (*pag.* 260.) referring also, in my later Editions, to Bishop *Bull*, and Mr. *Bingham*\*. What you have *pag.* 28, is only that God the Son was *sent*. Your Citation, *pag.* 31. is answered by Bishop *Bull* †. What you have, *pag.* 49. is full for a *perfect equality* of all essential *Greatness* ‡, and therefore is directly against you. And I must charge it on you, as a very false and groundless Report of *Origen*, when you say (*pag.* 83.) that He is one who in his whole Works does *most fully, clearly, and expressly insist on the direct contrary to my No-*

\* Bull Def. F. p. 121.

Bingham Orig. Eccl. l. 13. c. 2. p. 45.

† Bull. Def. F. p. 262.

‡ See Above, p. 45.

tion. So far from it, that in his latest, best, and most certainly genuine Work, He is all the way directly contrary to *your* Notion, and conformable to mine; as Bishop *Bull* has abundantly demonstrated: Nor have you so much as pretended to confute what the Bishop has said.

A. D. 256. CYPRIAN.

I cited *Cyprian* in my *Sermons* \*, in Proof of the three Persons being *one God*. He does not use the very Words, but he sufficiently intimates the Thing. I shall not here repeat what I said, but refer the Reader to it.

A. D. 260. DIONYSIUS of Rome, with his Clergy.

This Author I also cited in my *Sermons* †. We have but a small Fragment of Him, preserved by *Athanasius*: But it is of admirable use for shewing the Doctrine of the *Trinity*, as professed by the Church of Christ at That Time. *Sabellius*, who had started up but a few Years before, gave occasion to the Church to re-consider, and to clear This Article.

One may see from *Dionysius*, not only what Speculations some at That Time had, but also what were approved, and what not. We have no less than four *Hypotheses* there intimated; and all condemned but the one only true one.

1. One was the *Sabellian*, making the Son the Father, and the Father the Son ‡; which *Dionysius* condemns.

2. A second was of Those who, in their extreme opposition to *Sabellianism*, made *τρεις ἀρχάς* Three Principles, and, of consequence, *τρεις ὑποστάσεις* ζήνας

\* Sermon 8. p. 311.

† Sermon 8. p. 313.

‡ Ὁ μὲν γὰρ (Σαβέλλιος) βλασφημεῖ, αὐτὸν τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι λέγων τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἐμπάλιν. p. 231.

ἀλλήλων πανλίπασι κεχωρισμένας : *Three independent separate Hypostases, unallied to each other, and not united in one Head.* This is condemned as *Tritheism*; and as being near a-kin to the *Marcionite Doctrine of three Principles*; (against which I presume the *Canon* that goes under the Name of *Apostolical* \*, was first made) and which *Dionysius* censures as *diabolical* † *Doctrine*. Here it is observable, that we meet with *Three Hypostases*, first introduced in the third Century, in opposition to the *Noetian* and *Sabellian Doctrine* of one *Hypostasis*, and thought very proper to express the Sense of the Church; provided the *Hypostases* were not made *separate*, as so many *Heads*, or *Principles*. For, the Church has always condemned the Notion of τρεῖς ἀρχικαὶ ὑποστάσεις ‡. *Origen* is, I think, the first Writer now extant that makes mention of two, or more *Hypostases* in the *Trinity*.

3. A third Opinion which some were likewise apt to fall into, in opposition to *Sabellius*, was to make the Father only the *one God*; reducing the *Son*, and, of consequence, the *Holy Ghost*, to the Condition of *precarious Beings*, or *Creatures*. But This also is condemned by *Dionysius*, in smart Terms, as *Blasphemy* || in a very high Degree.

4. After rejecting the former Three false and heretical Tenets, He at length gives us the true Faith of the Church, to This purpose. “ Therefore it concerns us by all means, not to divide the Venerable Divine Unity (or *Monad*) into *Three Dei-*

\* *Apost. Can. 49. ubi damnatur quisquis baptizaverit in τρεῖς ἀνάρχους.*

† *Μαρκιανῶν ἡ γὰρ τοῦ ματαιόφρονος διδασκαλία, εἰς τρεῖς ἀρχὰς τῆς μοναρχίας τομὴν καὶ διαίρεσιν, παιδευμα ὄν διαβολικόν, &c. Dionys. pag. 231.*

‡ See *Basil de Sp. S. pag. 130.*

|| *Βλάσφημον οὖν, ἔ τὸ τυχεῖν, μέγιστον μὲν οὖν, χειροπύητον, τρόπον τινὰ, λέγειν τὸν κύριον. εἰ γὰρ γέγονεν υἱός, ἢν ὅτι ἐκ ἡν ἀποπάτατος ἐστὶ τοῦτο. Dionys. p. 232.*

“*ties*, nor to lessen the superlative Majesty and  
 “ Greatness of our Lord by making Him a *Crea-*  
 “ *ture*; but to believe in God the Father Almighty,  
 “ and in Christ Jesus his Son, and in the Holy  
 “ Ghost; and that the *Word* is united with the God  
 “ over all: For, he says, *I and my Father are one*;  
 “ and I am *in the Father* and *the Father in me*. So  
 “ shall the Divine *Trinity*, as also the sacred Doc-  
 “ trine of the *Unity* be preserved\*.” This was his  
 Decision of that important Article; which He had  
 also expressed before in Words to the same Effect,  
 which may here also be cited. “The divine Word  
 “ must of Necessity be united with the God of the  
 “ Universe, and the *Holy Ghost* abide and dwell in  
 “ God; and the *divine Trinity* be gathered together  
 “ and united into *one*, as into a certain *Head*, I  
 “ mean the God of the Universe, the Almighty †.”

You will observe, how the *Unity* is solved by *Dionysius*, not by making the *Son* and *Holy-Ghost* *sub-*  
*ject* to the Father, but by *including them in the Fa-*  
*ther*; not by the Father’s *Governing* Them, but by  
 his *containing* and *comprehending* Them. And tho’  
*Dionysius* styles the Father the God of the Universe,  
 and emphatically παντοκράτωρ, He at the same time  
 declares the Son to be strictly *God*, or no *Creature*:  
 And He does not afterwards weakly retract what He  
 had said of the Son, by throwing Him again out of  
 the *one Godhead*; but wisely and consistently takes

\* “Οὐτ’ ἐν καταμερίζειν χρὴ εἰς τρεῖς θεότητας τὴν θουμασίην ἢ θεῖαν μονάδα· οὕτε ποιήσει καλύειν τὸ ἀξίωμα, ἢ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος τοῦ κυρίου· ἀλλὰ πεπιστευμένοι εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἠνωσθαι δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὅλων τὸν λόγον· ἐγὼ γάρ, φησι, καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ἐν ἑσμεν· καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἐμοί· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἡ θεῖα τριάς, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον κήρυγμα τῆς μοναρχίας διασώζοιτο. Dionys. p. 232.

† Ἠνωσθαι γὰρ ἀνάγκη τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὅλων τὸν θεῖον λόγον· ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐνδαιτυῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· ἤδη καὶ τὴν θεῖαν τριάδα εἰς ἓνα ὡς πρὸς εἰς κορυφὴν τινα, τὸν θεὸν τῶν ὅλων τὸν παντοκράτορα λέγω, συγκεφαλαιωσθαι τε πρὸς συνήγεσθαι πάντα ἀνάγκη, pag. 231. Athan. Vol. I.



Him in, as *one with the Father*, included in Him, and reckoned to Him. These were true and Catholick Principles 60 Years before *Arius* was heard of; and They will be such, while the World stands.

I might here add the other *Dionysius* of the same Age, and witness of the same Faith. But, having produced Him twice before, once in my *Sermons* †, and again in These Papers ‖, I shall here pass Him over.

A. D. 318. LACTANTIUS.

I had barely referred to This Author, as an evidence of the Church's Faith, that Father and Son are *one God*, and that the Son is not excluded by the Texts of the Unity: And of This He is as full and plain an Evidence as it is possible for a Man to be; however He may differ in other Points; as I never pretended to say He did not. But here you exclaim, (pag. 83.) of the *strange Abuse made of Quotations, and second-hand Representations*. One would think you had had some such Book as *Scripture-Doctrine*, before you; which would indeed have furnished you with *Variety of strange Abuses* \*: And had you found one, by chance, in me, you might have spared the Exclamation for the Doctor's sake. But to proceed: We may learn This from *Lactantius*, that the common way of answering the Charge of *Tritheism* was, not by excluding the Son from being *one God* with the Father, but by *including* Both in the *one God* †. We learn farther, that They are *consub-*  
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*stantial*

† *Sermon* 8. pag. 314.

‖ Pag. 46.

\* See the Doctor's manner of quoting exposed in my *Defense*, pag. 443.

† Cum dicimus Deum Patrem, & Deum Filium, non diversum dicimus, nec utrumque fecernimus, quia nec Pater esse sine Filio potest, nec Filius à Patre fecerni: siquidem nec Pater sine Filio nuncupari, nec Filius potest sine Patre generari. Cum igitur & Pater  
Filius

*stantial* to each other, and to be *adored together* as one God. Nevertheless, since *Lactantius* had elsewhere drop'd some Expressions which appeared hardly, if at all defensible, I never laid much Stress upon *Lactantius's* Authority, as to the main question: tho I might with a much better right have done it, than you generally lay claim to *Fathers*, while you think it sufficient if you can but cite a Passage or two which you imagine to be on your side; never regarding how to reconcile many other much stronger ones against you. I am persuaded, if I have been to blame, it has been on the *modest* side; not insisting so far upon *Lactantius*, as I might justly have done. I shall now examine whether you have not claimed a great deal too much, and I too little, in respect of this Author.

It is certain, you can never make Him a *consistent* Evidence on your side. You can never reconcile his *Consubstantiality*, and his Doctrine of the Two Persons being *one God*, to your Principles; so that you have little reason to boast of an Evidence which at best is not for you, but either against you, or else *null*, and *none*: And could you have been content to have had Him set aside, without insulting me upon it, I might perhaps have let you pass. But now I

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Filium faciat, & Filius Patrem, *una* utrique mens, unus Spiritus, & *una Substantia* est. Sed Ille quasi exuberans Fons est, Hic tanquam defluens ab eo Rivus; ille tanquam Sol, Hic tanquam Radius a sole porrectus: Qui quoniam summo Patri & fidelis & Charus est, non *separatur*, sicut nec Rivus a Fonte, nec Radius a sole, quia & *Aqua Fontis in Rivo est*, & *Solis Lumen in Radio*: æque nec Vox ab ore sejungit, nec *Virtus aut manus a Corpore Divelli* potest. Cum igitur a Prophetis Idem *Manus Dei*, & *Virtus*, & *Sermo* dicatur, utique nulla discretio est: quia & lingua sermonis ministra est, & *Manus* in qua est *Virtus*, *individua* sunt Corporis *portiones*. Lact. l. 4. c. 29.

Filius & Pater, qui unanimes incolunt mundum, *Deus unus est*; quia & unus tanquam Duo, & Duo tanquam unus.—*Unum Deum* esse tam Patrem quam Filium *Esaias* ostendit, &c. Ad utramque personam referens, intulit, *præter me non est Deus*, cum posset dicere *præter nos*—merito *unus Deus* uterque appellatur, quia quicquid est in Patre ad Filium transfuit, & quicquid est in Filio, a Patre descendit. Lib. 4. cap. 29.

shall examine what right you have to Him. You say, (*pag. 55.*) and again, *pag. 86.* that his Sense of *Una Substantia* is not clear, and that it might not perhaps be taken in the *metaphysical* Sense. But nothing can be clearer than his Sense of *una substantia*, both from his *Similitudes*, (as that of the *same Water* in *Fountain* and *Streams*, and the *same Light* in the *Sun* and its *Rays*) as also from the Name of *Manus* given to the Son of God, and his observing that the Hands are *individuae Corporis Portiones, undivided Parcels of the same Body*. Where, tho the Comparison be gross, and the Explication favouring too much of corporeal Imaginations; yet the meaning is evident, that He intended the self-same Substance, both in *kind*, and in *number*, to belong to Father and Son; as much as you design the *same Substance* in *kind*, and in *number*, of any two *Parts* of the one extended Divine substance. You observe also (*pag. 55.*) that *Lactantius* makes *Angels* to be from the *Substance of God*. If He did, He has disparaged a *certain Truth*, relating to the *Son of God*, by mixing with it a foolish *Manichæan Error* about *Angels*; having been imposed upon by some *Heretical Books*. Yet *Lactantius* has no where said what you affirm of Him. He has no where said that *Angels* are of *God's substance*, as He has said plainly of God the Son. You can only collect it from obscure Hints, and dark Innuendo's. He uses some coarse Comparisons about God's *breathing out* *Angels*, and *speaking out* his Son. But He never pretends that *Angels*, are *one Substance*, or *one God* with the Father. He says of the Son, that He was conceived in the *Mind* of the Father (*mente conceperat*) which He never says of *Angels*. He says of *Angels* that They were *created for Service*: Of the Son, He only says, that He *proceeded\**. In a word, allowing

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\* Ad ministerium Dei creabantur. Ille vero, cum sit & ipse spiritus, tamen cum Voce & sono ex Dei ore processit, &c. Lib. 4. c. 8. Comp. c. 6.

only for his including the *Son* and *Angels* together under the general Name of *Breathings*, which may mean no more than *Productions*, and differing infinitely in kind, tho' agreeing in the common Name, (as  $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\eta\tau\alpha$  likewise is a Name comprehending Things that proceed by *Creation* or *Generation*, in time or eternally) I say, allowing only This, there appears nothing in *Lactantius* but what may fairly stand with his other Principles, above recited\*. For if, according to *Lactantius*, God *Breathed*, that is, *produced* his *Son* from his *own Substance*, but *Breathed*, or produced *Angels* not from his *own Substance*, but *from nothing*, as he *breathed* into Man a Soul †, (*Gen. ii. 7.*) then there is no farther ground for your Censure upon Him. That This was really his meaning, and all his meaning, I incline to think, as for several Reasons before hinted, so also for This, that in the very Chapter of the *Epitome* (cap. 42.) you refer to ‡, He makes a manifest Difference between the production of the *Son* and of *Angels*. The *Son* was *de æternitatis sue Fonte*, and *de Spiritu suo*. There was not only *Breathing*, but breathing from the very *Fountain of his eternity*, that is, from his *own Substance*: whereas *Angels* are only said to be *de suis Spiritibus*, from his *Breathings*. So He makes it the peculiar Privilege of God the *Son*, that He was *breathed out*, *tanquam Rivus de Fonte*, and *ex Deo Deus* ||: which He never says of *Angels*, any more than of

\* *Vid.* Nourrium, Appar. ad Bibl. Vol. 2. pag. 798.

† *Vid.* Lactant. lib. 2. c. 13.

‡ Deus in principio, antequam mundum institueret, de æternitatis sue Fonte, deque divino ac perenni spiritu suo, filium sibi progenit, incorruptum, fidelem, virtuti ac majestati patriæ respondentem  
Denique ex omnibus Angelis quos Idem Deus de suis spiritibus figuravit, Solus in Consortium summæ potestatis adscitus est, solus Deus nuncupatus. Lactant. Epit. c. 42. p. 104, 105.

|| Lactant. Instit. l. 4. c. 8.

Quoniam pleni & consummati Boni Fons in ipso erat, sicut est Semper, ut ab eo Bono tanquam Rivus oriretur, longeque proflueret, produxit similem sui spiritum, qui esset Viribus Patris præditus, l. 2. c. 9.

*Human Souls*; which He also derives *de vitali Fonte perennis Spiritus* \*, from the *Fountain* of his *Breathings*, but not from his *Substance*; as I have also remark'd of *Tertullian* above. Indeed most of the *Fathers* laid great *Stress* upon the *Text* in *Genesis* ii. 7. *God's breathing* into *Man's Nostrils* the *Breath of Life*; A *Privilege* peculiar to *Man* above the *Animal Creation* †: Something of *God's own infusing* and *inspiring*, something of a purer and diviner *Substance*, *Spiritual*, and *enduring*; The *Breath* of the *Almighty*, a *Resemblance*, a *Shadow*, an *imperfect Copy* of the *Divinity* it self. Thus far the *Fathers* carried the *Notion*: And you seem to have mistaken it for the *Marcionite* and *Manichæan* *Notion* of *Souls* being the very *Substance* of *God*: A *Notion* which the *Fathers* detested; and I doubt not, *Lactantius* among the rest.

\* *Ibid.* l. 2. c. 12. p. 182.

† Τα μὲν ἄλλα κελύων μόνον πεποίηκεν, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον δι' αὐτῆς ἐχειροῦργησεν, καί τι αὐτῷ ἰδίον ἐπιφύσησεν ——— ὅπερ ἐμφύσημα λέγεται Θεῷ. *Clem. Alex.* p. 101.

Ὅς γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἐμφυσήματος ἐν τῇ γένεσιν μεταλαβεῖν ἀναγέγραπται, καθαρωτέρας ἑστίας παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα μεταχρών. *Clem. Alex.* p. 698.

*Incorporales Animæ*, quantum ad *Comparisonem Mortalium Corporum*. *Insuflavit enim in Faciem Hominis Deus Flatum Vitæ* ———. *Flatus autem Vitæ incorporalis*. Sed ne mortalem quidem possunt dicere ipsum, *Flatum Vitæ* existentem. *Irenæus* p. 300.

*Animæ suæ umbram*, *Spiritus sui auram*, *oris sui operam*. *Tertull.* de *Resurr. Carn.* c. 7.

Intellige *Afflatum* minorem *Spiritu* esse; etsi de *Spiritu* accedit, ut *aurulam* ejus, non tamen *Spiritum* ——— capit etiam *Imaginem* *Spiritûs* dicere *Flatum*, nam & ideo *Homo Imago Dei*, id est *Spiritûs*. *Deus enim Spiritus* ———. In hoc erit *Imago minor veritate*, & *Afflatus Spiritu inferior*, habens illas utique *lineas Dei*, qua *immortalis Anima*, qua *libera* & *sui arbitrii*, &c. tamen in his *Imago*, & non usque ad *ipsam Vim divinitatis*. *Tert. contr. Marc.* l. 2. c. 9.

Your next Objection against *Lactantius*, is, that He supposed the Son to be only *mentally contain'd* in God, and afterwards begotten into a Person. You ground your Conjecture upon a Passage, which you cite p. 88, and again p. 120. I have certainly a better Right here to say, that the *Sense is not clear*, than you had with Relation to *una Substantia*: And the Liberty you take of translating, *comprehendit in Effigiem* (or *ad Effigiem*, as some Editions have it) *formed into a real Person*, is pretty extraordinary. The learned *Le Nourry* gives a quite different Construction of That obscure Passage: And which to me appears more probable than your's. But supposing The Author to have expressed Himself somewhat *crudely* in This Place, in Relation to the Son's Generation, (which He at the same Time professes to be inexplicable) you very well know that the same Author elsewhere speaks as *crudely* even of the *Father* Himself; whom he supposes to have had a *Beginning*, and to have *made Himself*. His Words are, " Since it " cannot otherwise be, but that whatever exists *must* " *have sometime begun to be*, it follows, that since " nothing was before Him, He must have sprung " from Himself, *Deus ipse se fecit*, God made Him- " self. *Lactant. l. 1. c. 7.*

This is strange Divinity. But the Author was a Novice; and He at other Times talks in a soberer Manner. He ought therefore to be interpreted with Candor, and with some Grains of Allowance. If You take Advantage of every obscure or uncautious Expression, you will make Him as Heterodox in respect of the real Divinity of the Father, as you suppose Him to be with Regard to the Son. But if you please to interpret Him with Candor, and to explain any obscure or incidental Passage, by what is *plain*, and is expressed more at large; He may then perhaps be found, upon the whole, sound and orthodox in Relation both to the Father and Son. You next speak (p. 89.) of the Son's entire Subjection and Obedience

to the *Will* and *Commands* of the Father: Yet taking no Notice of *Lactantius* vindicating to Both the same *inseparable Honour*, as being *one God*\*. The *Subjection* you mention is intended only of what was since the *Incarnation*, and therefore nothing to the Purpose. And as to Christ's not setting Himself up for *Another God* (which appears to be *Lactantius's* real and full Meaning in the Passage you cite †) I suppose it may be admitted without any Scruple. Or at most, it can amount to no more than 'This, that in the Opinion of *Lactantius*, Christ (during his State of Humiliation) never called Himself *God*, lest He should thereby give Offence, and be misconstrued as preaching up *Another God*. How otherwise shall the Apostles, or *Lactantius* Himself be justified (by that Way of Reasoning) in giving the Title and Character of *God* to Christ?

I conclude with repeating what I before said, that admitting some Things in *Lactantius* (a *Catechumen* only, and not fully instructed) to be such as do not perfectly agree with *Catholic* Principles; yet on the other Hand, it must be confessed, that there are many other Things taught by Him, which can never be tolerably reconciled with yours ‡: So that you have the less Reason to boast on that Head. You are pleased to observe, (p. 120) that Bishop *Bull* gives up *This Author*

\* Duo esse dicentur, in quibus *Substantia*, & *Voluntas*, & *Fides una* est. Ergo & Filius per Patrem, & Pater per Filium. *Unus est Honor* utrique tribuendus, tanquam *uni Deo*, & ita dividendus est per duos cultus ut divisio ipsa *Compagne inseparabili* vinciat; neutrum sibi relinquit, qui aut Patrem a Filio, aut Filium a Patre secernit. *Lactant. Epit. c. 49. p. 140, 141.*

† Fuisset enim hoc non *ejus* qui miserat, sed *suum proprium negotium* gerere, ac se ab eo, quem illustratum venerat, *separare*. *Lactant. l. 4. p. 354.*

Vid. *Nourrii Apparatus. Vol. 2. p. 799.*

‡ Solus habet rerum omnium cum Filio suo potestatem: Nec in Angelis quicquam nisi parendi necessitas. *Lact. Inst. l. 2. c. 16. p. 197.*

*Author as not reconcilable to his Opinion*: You should have said, not reconcilable, upon the whole. For the Bishop suspected some Passages to have been foisted in, being not reconcilable with others; or else that the Author Himself, being a very raw *Divine*, had fallen into gross *Contradictions*. But Bishop Bull insisted upon it, that some Passages of *Lactantius* were directly opposite to the Men of your Principles, and not reconcilable with *Arianism*: As they certainly are not.

A. D. 335. EUSEBIUS.

We now come to a Man that lived after the Rise of the *Arian* Heresy; and who is supposed by all Sides and Parties, to have had a Tincture of it more or less; and especially in his Writings before the Council of *Nice*. A Testimony therefore from Him in Proof of the Father and Son being *one God* is the more considerable; since nothing could extort it from Him, but either the *Force of Truth*, or the Strength of *Tradition*, or the *Currency and Prevalence* of That Perswasion in his Time. And which soever of These it were, it is very much to my purpose, tho' *Eusebius* might at other Times contradict it. I cited *Socrates*\* for the Truth of the Fact, that *Eusebius* Himself confessed *one God* in Three *Hypostases*: Nor do I see any Reason to suspect his Credit. He had his Account, as He declares, from original Letters, which passed at That Time. And whatever *Eusebius* might privately write, He might not have Assurance enough, in *public* Debate, to gain-say a Thing which all Catholics allowed. Any one may see, by *Eusebius's* O-

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\* *The Father alone, with his Son, has Dominion over all: Nor doth any thing belong to the Angels, but the Necessity of Obeying.*

Here *Lactantius* plainly ascribes one common Dominion to the Father and the Son: And intimates, that God the Son is exempt from any Necessity of Obedience, by the Opposition made between Him and Angels.

\* *Socrat. Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 23.*



ration before *Constantine*, how tender He was of dropping Any thing like *Arianism* in the Face of the *Catholics*, who, He knew, would not bear it. He there speaks as orthodoxly of the Blessed Trinity as a Man can reasonably desire. His Words are: “ The Ternary Number first showed Justice, teaching *Equality*; having *equal* Beginning, Middle, and End: And These are a Representation of the mystical, most holy, and Majestic Trinity; which compacted of a Nature that had no Beginning, and is uncreated, contains in it the Seeds, Reasons, and Causes of all Things that have been made. And the Power or Number *Three* is rightly stiled the ἀρχή, the Source of All Things\*.

Thus far *Eusebius*: And He that could say This, (which is really stronger) may very well be supposed to say the other, which *Socrates* reports of Him. Now, either *Eusebius* was *sincere* in what He has here said, or He was not. If He was, then He is an Evidence on my Side, and I have a Right to claim Him as such: If He was not, still it shows what the *prevailing Doctrine* was, and which *Eusebius* durst not but comply with, in his *public* Speech; And This is an additional Confirmation of *Socrates*'s Report, which relates to what *Eusebius* acknowledged in *Public Conferences*. The same also is confirm'd by his subscribing the *Nicene Faith*, drawn up upon the same Principles which I am here defending.

Let This suffice in Proof of my Third Article, that the *Antients* have all along believed and taught, that

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\* Πρώτη ἢ τριάς δικαιοσύνη ἀνέδειξεν, ἰσότητος καθηγησαμένη ὡς ἀν ἀρχήν, καὶ μεσότητα, καὶ τελευταίην ἰσὴν ἀπολαβοῦσα· εἰκὼν ἢ ταῦτα μουσικῆς, καὶ πανουργίας, καὶ βασιλικῆς τριάδος· ἢ τῆς ἀναρχε καὶ ἀγενέτε φύσεως ἡρημένη, τῆς τῶν γενητῶν ἀπάλλων ἕστιας τὰ σπέρματα, καὶ τοὺς λόγους, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀπέειλε· καὶ τριάδος μὲν δύναμις εἰκότως ἀν ἀρχῆς παντὸς ἀρχὴ νομισθεῖν. *Euseb. Orat. Paneg. c. 6. p. 730.*

*Conf. Jobium, apud Photium. Cod. 223. p. 605, 612.*

Τῆς τῶ ὀρθογωνίῳ τριγώνῳ δυνάμει, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν ὄλων γενέσεως. *Phil. de Vit. Contempl. p. 899.*

Father and Son are *one God*; and therefore God the Son was never thought to be *excluded* from the *one God-head* by the Texts which concern the *Unity*. I have waved all disputable Authorities: But because there are some considerable Testimonies in *Ruinart's* select Acts of *Martyrs*, which tho' not so certainly *genuine*, as Those before given, have yet no certain Mark of *Spuriousness*, I may throw them into the Margin \* for the Reader to judge of as He sees Cause. There can hardly be any clearer, or less contested Point than This I have been mentioning. It runs, in a Manner, quite through the Fathers down to the Times of *Arius*. The only Writer I have met with, within this Compass, that can with any Show of Reason be thought to make an Exception, is *Novatian*, Presbyter of *Rome*, who, with *Novatus* of *Carthage* in the Year 251, began the Schism, called after his Name; and in the Year 257, or thereabout, (it could not well be sooner by his mentioning *Sabelius*) wrote a Tract upon The *Trinity*, still extant. That He was in the main, Orthodox, as to the Point of the Trinity, I think plain enough from the Tract it self; as has been shown also by *Le Moyne*, *Gardiner*, *Bull*, and other great Men. But his Way of resolving the Unity of *God-head* into the Father alone, (not very consistently with his Comment on *John* xvii. 3. if it is to be made Sense of) appears to me somewhat particular, and not very agreeable to the *Catholics* of

\* Christum cum Patre & Spiritu sancto, Deum esse confiteor. *Act. Epipodii Mart. A. D. 178. Ruin. p. 76.*

Dominum enim Christum confiteor, Filium Altissimi Patris, unici unicum. Ipsum cum Patre & Spiritu sancto, Unum solum Deum esse profiteor. *Act. Vincentii Mart. A. D. 304. apud Ruinart. p. 369.*

Patrem & Filium & Spiritum sanctum adoro: Sanctam Trinitatem adoro, præterquam non est Deus. *Acta Eupli Mart. A. D. 304. apud Ruin. p. 407.*

Adorem Trinitatem inseparabilem, quæ Trinitas Unitas Deitatis est. *Id. p. 408.*

That

That Time. He seems to me (which I speak however with Submission to better Judgments) to have taken much such a Method, in explaining the Doctrine of the Trinity, as some very worthy Men \* amongst our selves did, about thirty Years ago, when the Controversy was rise in *England*. It was to admit of a *higher* and a *lower* Sense of the Word *God*; the higher supposed to have nothing above the other but *Self-existence*, or *Unoriginateness*: The Father then was supposed to be God in the highest Sense as *unoriginate*, but still the Son and Holy Ghost each God in a Sense infinitely higher than any *Creature* can be; being *necessarily-existing*, and wanting nothing but *Unoriginateness*. This, I say, was the Scheme which some worthy Men amongst us at That Time took into; and which Dr. *Clarke* has endeavour'd to make some Advantage of, as falling *partly* in with his Scheme; tho' differing in the main Point of all, the *necessary Existence*. This Method of solving the *Unity* was thought the more plausible, as most easily accounting for the Father's being so often stiled the *one*, or *only God*: And there was This Thing farther to recommend it, that it seem'd very happily to stand clear of the most considerable Difficulties raised about *one* being *Three*, and *Three one*. The main Charge it lay liable to, was that of *Tritheism*: Which yet neither *Arians*, nor *Socinians* could with Any Face object to it; their respective Schemes being equally liable to the like Charge; And whatever Evasions They should contrive, The *same* would, with a very small Change, serve as well This, or better. But after all, to say the Truth, This Scheme can never be perfectly clear'd. *Tritheism* may be retorted upon an *Arian*, as *Ditheism* upon a *Socinian*, and so they may throw the Charge back, one upon another; while a *Sabellian*, a *Jew*, or a

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\* Bp. *Fowler* and others.

*Pagan* might maintain the Charge against them all. Nor is there any Way of avoiding it, but the same which the antient Church, in general, went into, *viz.* The including all the Three Persons in the *one God*. I have shown however, what may be justly pleaded for *Novatian's* Orthodoxy, in the main Point, the *Essential Divinity* of all the Three Persons; tho' He otherwise took a Way somewhat peculiar, and almost drop'd the *Unity*: *Unity of Godhead*, I mean; for as to *Unity of Substance*, He is clear enough for it: And therefore He seems to have supposed Father and Son to be *two Gods in one Substance*; tho' He never so called Them, but endeavour'd, in his Way, to fence off the Charge as well as He could, not very judiciously nor consistently. Upon the same Scheme perhaps, *Eusebius's* Orthodoxy so far, may possibly be defended, especially as to God the Son; notwithstanding what the learned *Montfaucon* has objected, in a Dissertation to That Purpose. But This by the Way only; I shall have another Opportunity, lower down, of saying more of *Eusebius*. Having clear'd Three of the Points, which I undertook, *viz.* that The Antients in general, never thought the exclusive Terms to affect the Son, never admitted *Another God*, or *Two Gods*; but constantly supposed Father and Son together *one God*; there remains now only my fourth Article, to compleat the Demonstration of what I intend; namely,

4. That the Antients applied such Texts of the Old Testament as undoubtedly belong to the *one God supreme*, to God the *Son*; considered in his own *Person*, and as really being all that Those Texts in their fullest Sense imply. The Authors by me cited for This purpose, in my *Defense*, pag. 28, &c. are *Justin Martyr*, *Theophilus*, *Irenæus*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Hippolytus*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, *Novatian*, The *Antiochian Fathers*, *Lactantius*, and *Eusebius*. Most of These have been before considered under the former Article, but must now be traversed

versed over again upon This Article also, distinct from the other.

Before you come directly to attack the general Argument, you have some previous Considerations thrown in to prejudice the Reader against it: These I must take some short notice of, in the entrance, following your Method.

1. You say, my asserting Father and Son to be the *one supreme God, not one in Person but in Substance, is directly affirming Two Supreme Gods in Person, tho' subsisting in one undivided Substance*, pag. 126. To which I answer, that This is directly begging the Question. *One Substance, with one Head*, cannot make *two Gods*, upon the Principles of the primitive Churches: Nor are your *Metaphysicks* strong enough to bear up against their united Testimonies, with *Scripture* at the Head of them.

2. You ask, *How comes it to pass, that the Antients never say, that Christ is the one, or only God?*

*Ans.* They do say it *sometimes* of Christ singly\*, *often* of Christ with the Father; as hath been shown under the last Article: Besides that the making Christ the *God of Israel*, &c. is saying the same Thing; unless there be *Two Gods of Israel*.

3. You ask, *Why do They expressly condemn the applying the Title of the one supreme God (God over all you mean) to Christ?*

*Ans.* They never do condemn the applying the Title of *God over all* to Christ, but the applying it in a *wrong* Sense, and under a *false* Meaning †, as some *Hereticks* applied it. Your References I have answered above.

4. You object, that *all the Texts, I alledge, style the Son, Angel, or Messenger*. Right: And so the *Antients* came to know that the Texts were not

\* See my Sermons, pag. 141.

† See my Answer to Dr. Whitby, pag. 23, 24.

meant of God the Father. The Son is an *Angel*, and *Messenger*; not by *Nature* \*, but by *Office*, and voluntary Condescension.

5. You object, that the Antients thought it *absurd and blasphemous to suppose that the supreme God should appear, be stiled an Angel, &c.*

*Ans.* Blasphemous only for the supreme Father to appear; who could not submit to an *inferior Office* (as they thought) without inverting the *Order of the Persons*. See my Answer to Dr. *Whitby*, pag. 73. And I may observe, that the *Post-nicene* writers, who undoubtedly believed the essential Divinity of Christ, yet talked the same way, upon That Head †. I may farther take notice to you, that the Catholicks in their Charge of *Blasphemy* upon the *Sabellians*, did not go upon any such Principle as you imagine, that the Difference of the *Natures* of Father and Son made it *Blasphemy* to ascribe That to *one*, which might be innocently ascribed to the other, but upon quite another Foundation; namely, that They thought it *Blasphemy* to ascribe any thing to the Father, seemingly derogatory, or

\* Dicitur est quidem *Magni Consilii Angelus*, id est Nuntius; *Officii*, non *natura* vocabulo.—Non ideo tamen sic *Angelus* intelligendus ut Aliquis *Gabriel*, aut *Michael*. Nam & *Filius* a Domino Vineæ mittitur ad Cultores, sicut & *Famuli*, de Fructibus petitem. Sed non propterea *unus ex Famulis* deputabitur *Filius*, quia *Famulorum* succedit *Officio*. Tertull. de Carn. Christ. cap. 14.

“ He is called, indeed, The *Angel of the great Counsel*; That is, “ The *Messenger*; which is a Name of *Office*, not of *Nature*—He “ is not therefore to be thought an *Angel*, like any *Gabriel*, or *Michael*. For, even the *Son* is sent to the Husbandmen by the Lord “ of the Vineyard, as the Servants are, to gather the Fruits. But “ we must not therefore reckon the *Son* as one of the *Servants*, because of his succeeding to their *Office*.”

† Pater non dicitur *missus*; non enim habet *de quo fit*, aut *ex quo* procedat.—Si voluisset Deus Pater per subjectam creaturam, visibiliter apparere, *absurdissime* tamen aut a Filio quem genuit, aut a Spiritu Sancto qui de illo procedit, *missus* diceretur. Aug. de Trin. l. 4. c. 28, 32.

Vid. Prudentium, pag. 165, 168.

lessening to his *Majesty*, beyond what *Scripture* had warranted. And as to their ascribing some *inferior* Offices and Services to the Son, They did not justify it by alledging the *inferiority* of his Nature, or Person, but by showing that *Scripture* had ascrib'd those Things to Him, and without *blaspheming*. For the Truth of what I say, I appeal to *Tertullian* in the Margin\*; who was one of Those that argued in the manner you mention: And his answer to *Praxeas*, in relation to This very Charge of *Blasphemy*, in a similar Case, plainly and evidently discovers what was meant by it; and how little there was of what you suspect in it. For when *Praxeas*, replying to the Charge of *Blasphemy*, had said that there was no *Blasphemy* in supposing the Father to *Suffer*, on his *Hypothesis*, any more than it was *Blasphemy* to make the Son suffer, on the other *Hypothesis*, since neither of them imagined the *Divine* Nature to suffer but the *Human* only; how does *Tertullian* answer? Not by telling *Praxeas* of the great *Disparity* between Father and Son; not by insisting upon any *inequality*; but only by alledging that *Scripture* warranted their ascribing *Sufferings* to the Son, and did not warrant their ascribing any such to the Father.

6. You add, that the *Absurdity of the Supposition* (in the manner the *Antients* express it) evidently arises

\* Ergo, inquis, & nos eadem ratione *Patrem mortuum* dicentes; qua vos *Filium, non blasphemamus* in Dominum Deum: non enim ex divina, sed ex humana substantia, mortuum dicimus. To which *Tertullian* thus answers.

Atquin *blasphematis*, non tantum quia *mortuum* dicitis *Patrem*, sed & quia *crucifixum*. Maledictione enim crucifixi quæ ex Lege in *Filium* competit (quia *Christus* pro nobis *maledictio* factus est non *pater*) *Christum* in *Patrem* convertentes, in *Patrem blasphematis*. Nos autem dicentes *Christum crucifixum*, non maledicimus illum, sed *maledictum legis referimus*; quia nec *Apostolus* hæc dicens *blasphemavit*. Sicut autem, de quo quid capit dici, sine *Blasphemia* dicitur; ita quod non capit, *Blasphemia* est, si dicatur. *Tertull. contr. Prax. c. 29.*

*always not from the Consideration of Paternity, but of the Father's Supremacy, his being the one supreme, self-existent, independent God of the Universe, (pag. 128.)*

*Answer.* This being a *secret* piece of History which will want Proof, we may pass it over: You have told us what *you* would have said in such a Case; but the *Antients*, I think, had *not so learned Christ*. Let us now proceed to see what Those good Men say; and how handsomely They can plead for the *Divinity* of their blessed Lord.

A. D. 145. JUSTIN MARTYR.

My Argument, from *Justin*, stands thus. (*See my Defense, pag. 29.*) The *Jehovah* mentioned *Gen. xviii. 1, 13.* and *Gen. xix. 24, 27.* The God (ὁ Θεός) Speaking, *Gen. xxi. 12.* The Lord God of *Abraham*, and God of *Isaac* spoken of, *Gen. xxviii. 13.* The God of *Bethel* (*Gen. xxxi. 13.*) God (ὁ Θεός) absolutely so called, *Gen. xxxv. 1.* God calling out of the Bush, and saying I am the God of *Abraham*, &c. *Exod. iii. 4, 6.* and I AM THAT I AM, The Lord God, &c. *Exod. iii. 14, 15.* God Almighty mentioned, *Exod. vi. 3.* Lord of *Hosts*, *Psal. xxiv. 8, 10.* The *Jehovah* spoken of, *Psal. xlvii. 5.* The God mentioned, *Psal. lxxxii. 2.* and *xcix. 1.* is the one true God, the one eternal God of the Universe, supreme. But, according to *Justin Martyr*, our Blessed Lord is what hath been said, and all that hath been said, in his *own Person*. Therefore, &c.

Now let us consider what you can have to except against this plain and evident Demonstration. I have indeed already answered, or obviated all you have to say, in another Place\*. And therefore shall be so much the shorter now.

You plead, that according to *Justin*, it were *presumption* to say, that the *Maker and Father of the Universe left the Super-celestial Mansions, and ap-*

\* *Answer to Dr. Whitby, pag. 55, &c.*



peared here in a little part of the Earth. Right; because the *Father*, upon their Principles, was never to be *sent*, or to act a *ministerial* part, any more than He was to be *incarnate*; so that the Appearing, even by *visible Symbols*, (which was the only kind of appearing They ascribed to God the Son) was not thought suitable to the *First* Person of the Trinity; who, as He is *from none*, could not without inverting the *Order* of Persons, be *sent* by Any. It was therefore proper, in That *Oeconomy*, to assign *Heaven* as the Seat of Residence to the *Father*, tho' filling all Things, and the *Earth* to the Son, tho' at the same time filling all Things as well as the *Father* \*.

I must farther remind the Reader, that you have not a Syllable here to plead beyond what Bishop *Bull* had fully and compleatly answered long ago †. And therefore the fair way would have been, not to bring up again those obsolete, and now stale Things, fit only to be offered to very ignorant Readers, but to have set your self to answer what the Bishop has said; which might have been an Employment worthy of a Scholar.

You pretend it to be undeniably certain, from *Justin*, that *the Divine Person* appearing was not the *supreme God*, &c. whereas it is undeniably certain, that He was the *supreme God*, only not the *supreme Father*; Another Person from Him, not *Another God*, but the same God. See above.

You bid me take Notice, (*pag.* 134.) that *the Beginning and Conclusion of every Argument is to show that Christ is not* [ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, ὁ κύριος τῶν ἔλων, ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ἔλων] *but always subordinately Θεός καὶ κύριος, γεγραμμένος Θεός, Ἄγγελος καὶ Θεός, καὶ Θεός καὶ κύριος.* You may fancy there is something

\* See Tertullian above, p. 99.

† Bull D. F. Sect. 4. c. 3. p. 267, &c.

of Weight in what you say : But all that know any thing of *Justin*, know there is nothing in it. *Justin* uses the several Phrases you have mentioned to denote the *Person* of the Father ; and They amount to no more than if He had said  $\delta$  πατήρ; only there was a Cause, a very just one, as I have elsewhere \* intimated, why he chose the other generally, rather than that of  $\delta$  πατήρ.

There was therefore good Reason for *Justin's* forming his Conclusion in the Terms He did : And it had been ridiculous to do otherwise. Yet, you will find that the *Titles* given to God the Son in Those *Texts* which *Justin* cites, are as high and strong as the highest you have mentioned, and are indeed the very same, many of them, by which Scripture sets forth the supreme Majesty, Dignity, and Perfections of God the Father.

What you say of the Title of κύριος δυνάμεων, *Lord of Hosts*, applied to Christ in *Psal.* xxiv. by *Justin*, is rightly observed. And therefore I have hinted above, that the Title is understood by *Justin*, as a Name of *Office*; not of *Nature*, as in the *Hebrew* Original: And so we cannot draw so cogent an Argument from that Title, considered by *Justin*, as we may from the same Title as it signifies in the *Hebrew*. This I allow, and also that every *Office* is justly referred to the *Father*, as being first in order, and therefore first considered in every *Oeconomy* and *Dispensation*.

You farther argue, that Christ was *made* παθητός, *passible*, by the *Will* of God, for our sakes. Very true, because He was *made* Man for our sakes: not that his *Divine* Nature was *passible*, any more than the *Father's*. Such is *Justin's* own Account of it, *passible* as Man †. None of the *Fathers* ever thought Him

\* Answer to Dr. Whitby, pag. 51.

† Σαρκοποιηθείς, καὶ ἀνθρώπου ἕνεκεν, ἄτιμῳ, καὶ παθητὸς ὑπέμεινε γένεσθαι. Just. Dial. p. 255. Sylburg.

*passible* any otherwise. But I am ashamed to remind a Scholar of those *known* Things.

You come next to misreport Bp. Bull. You say, (pag. 135.) that *to all the Places in Justin's unquestionably genuine Writings*, which thus declare the Word to be *the Minister of God's Will, the learned Bishop Bull opposes one single Passage out of an Epistle to Diognetus judged to be spurious*. Who would not from hence imagine that the whole Cause, in a manner, depended on a single Passage, of a *spurious* Epistle? But This is a most unjust Representation. Let that Passage, or That Epistle be *spurious*, tho' if it be not *Justin's*, yet it is certainly very antient, and about the same Age with *Justin*; and you your self have quoted it, without Scruple, as *Justin's* own, (p. 27.) The Cause stands very safe without it: And Bp. Bull has defended *Justin* admirably, and unanswerably from his other certainly *genuine* Pieces\*. All the service that Passage does, is only to show, that *Justin* once expressly denies the Son to be ὑπηρέτης. And has He not done the same Thing twenty Times over, and more, by making Him the *Jehovah*, and God of *Israel*, *God Almighty*, &c? But still he allows Him to be ὑπηρέτης, as He does Ἄγγελος, a *Minister*, and *Angel* by Office, which has nothing absurd or improper in it; since He condescended much lower, even to become Man.

You next give us a long Passage of Bishop Bull, which shows the great *Ingenuity* of that excellent Prelate. You produce the *Objection* which the Bishop frankly proposed, at length; but you mangle and misrepresent his Solution of it. You say, *He thinks, They meant no more than, &c.* Thinks? He has *demonstrated* that They meant no more. Bishop Bull's own last Account of this Matter, in answer to *Gilbert Clerke*, is as follows.

\* See Bull D. F. p. 269.

“ The Sum of my Answer is This. Those Doc-  
 “ tors of the Church who wrote before the Rise  
 “ of *Arius's* Herefy, as oft as They reason Thus:  
 “ It was not God the Father but the Son that ap-  
 “ peared under the Old Testament, and became in-  
 “ carnate in the Fulness of Time; the Father is in-  
 “ finite, and cannot be included in a Place, is invi-  
 “ sible and cannot be seen by Any; They did not in-  
 “ tend to deny the Son of God to be immense, and  
 “ invisible as well as the Father, but only signified  
 “ barely that both all those Appearances of God,  
 “ and even the Incarnation itself had relation to the  
 “ Oeconomy which the Son of God had taken upon  
 “ Him; which Oeconomy could no way suit with  
 “ the Father because of his having no Principle  
 “ from whence He is, nor deriving his Authority  
 “ from any besides Himself. That This was the  
 “ certain Intent and Opinion of Those Antients, I  
 “ have made appear upon these two Accounts. 1.  
 “ Because, upon other Occasions, They in many Pla-  
 “ ces all confess God the Son to be, as well as the  
 “ Father, in his own Nature, immense, omnipresent,  
 “ and invisible. 2. And again, because some of them  
 “ do Themselves expressly interpret these their Say-  
 “ ings, of the Oeconomy. What therefore has Mr.  
 “ Clerke to say to This\*?”

The short of the Matter then is, that it did not  
 suit with the Father to act a ministerial part, or to be  
 subject to Any, (as Bp. Bull expresses it elsewhere,  
 meaning the same Thing) because He is from none,  
 and therefore sent from none; lest it should be invert-  
 ing the Order of the Persons.

To This you object, (pag. 139.) *The impossibility of  
 the Father's being a visible Messenger is not founded up-  
 on his Paternity, but upon his absolute Supremacy, upon  
 his being subject to none, which is inseparable from his*

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\* Bull Op. Posth. pag. 972, &c.

being the unoriginate Author. But why do you change the Terms? Who ever said that it was absolutely, or physically impossible for the Father to act as the Son did? All that is said is, that He could not do it suitably, as not being consistent with That Priority of Order which as Father He is possessed of. And it is ridiculous of you to found his being *subject to none*, upon his being *subject to none*, which is *Idem per Idem*. But his being *subject to none*, that is, his never acting a ministerial part, is founded upon This, that He is Father, first Person, Head, from whom every Thing descends; which Order would be inverted, if the Son were to be at the Head, and the Father minister to Him. Such Ministration therefore is a Contradiction to his Paternity, but to nothing else.

You add, *Nor do the primitive Writers ever lay the Stress of This Argument upon the Relation of Paternity, but upon the Supremacy.* That is to say, They do not lay it upon the Paternity, but upon the Paternity: For laying it upon the Supremacy of Order, which He is possess'd of as Father, and no otherwise, is laying it, I think, upon the Paternity. And when you add (pag. 140.) that the Fathers, in ascribing Omnipresence to the Son, did not intend thereby to infer any equality of supreme independent Authority; you only show how much you are at a loss to make any thing like an Answer to Bp. Bull's Solution of the main Difficulty. For so long as the Son's Omnipresence is secured, (which seem'd most to be affected by That Argument) the rest is all taken off at once, by allowing a Supremacy of Order, or if you will, a Paternal Authority; which comes to the same, and is no way inconsistent with the Son's equality, either of Nature, or Dominion.

Your Quotation out of *Clemens*, in These Words; (*This is the greatest excellency of the Son, that He orders all Things according to the Will of the Father*) is contrived, as your Custom is, in a way very proper for the Deception of a thoughtless, or ignorant Reader.

Who would not imagine from the Words, as you cite them, that the *highest Honour* of the Son is only to be *obedient*, and to *serve*? The Reader will be surprized to find how very different the *Thought* is, from what *Clemens* is there upon. His Words run thus :

“ The most *Perfect*, most *Holy*, most *Lordly*, most  
 “ *Princely*, most *Kingly*, and most *Beneficent*, is the  
 “ Nature of the Son, which is most intimately allied  
 “ to the alone Almighty. This is That greatest Ex-  
 “ cellency which orders all Things according to the  
 “ Will of the Father, and steers the Universe in the  
 “ best manner, and worketh all Things by his inde-  
 “ fatigable, unexhausted Power, &c.\*”

Does not the Reader see, by this Time, what a Cheat you would have put upon him, under the Name of *Clemens*? I mention not, that the *Greek* will not bear your Construction: or if it would, the whole Context serves to discover your Fraud in it. But perhaps you did not look into the Author.

#### A. D. 181. THEOPHILUS.

*Theophilus*, in his little Piece, afforded me but one Text, (*Gen.iii. 8, 9.*) where God the Son is, (according to Him) twice stiled *The Lord God*; that is, as I understand it, the one *true God*, the Creator of Man, (κύριος ὁ Θεός) God absolutely so called, the *Jehovah*.

You cite, (*pag. 142.*) a Passage of *Theophilus*, which you say (according to your usual Style) is *directly contrary to what I refer to Him for*. I humbly conceive not. But let us see: *Theophilus* argues after the same way with other Antients; that the *Lord God* there

\* Τελειωτάτη ἐστὶν, καὶ ἀγιωτάτη, καὶ κυριωτάτη, καὶ ἡγεμονικατάτη, καὶ βασιλικατάτη, καὶ ενεργητικατάτη ἢ υἱοῦ φύσις, ἢ τῶ μόνῳ παντοκράτορι προσεχιστάτη. αὐτὴ ἢ μωλύση ὑπεροχῆ, ἢ τὰ πάντα διατάσσεται κατὰ τὸ θελημα τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἕκαστα διακίβηται, ἀκαμάτω, καὶ ἀετρώτῳ ἐνέκωμι πάντα ἡμετέροισιν, &c. Clem. Strom. 7. Sect. 2. p. 831.

spoken of could not be the *Father*; who never *appears* because never *sent*, and is never *sent* because He has no *Father* to *send Him*: Which is the sum of what all the Antients thought in That matter. The *Father* was not to be in a *Place*, even by *visible Symbols*; which yet the *Son* might be, because a *Son*.

You observe, that *Theophilus* speaks of the *Father*, not under the Character of *Father of Christ*, but as being  $\acute{\omicron}$  Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τῶν ὄλων, *the God and Father of all Things*. Right; because He was talking to a *Pagan*; to whom therefore He adapted his *Style*, calling the *Father* by such a Name as *Pagans* gave to their *supreme Father of Gods and Men*. So *Justin Martyr* in his *Apology*, written to the *Pagans*, gives the *Father* That Title; but in his *Dialogue* he generally gives Him Another, more proper to the *Jews*, because He had then to deal with *Jews*: And it would not have been proper to give Him the Name of *Father*, in the *Christian Sense*, while disputing against Those, who would not yet own Him a *Father* in That Sense; for it would have been begging the *Question*\*. You have therefore drawn strange Consequences from an *Imagination* of your own, which never entred into the *Head* of *Theophilus*.

But you observe farther, that the *Son* (according to *Theophilus*) *assumed the Person* (not of the *Father merely*) but of  $\tau\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\varsigma}$  Θεῶν *God absolutely*. That is again not of the *Father*, but of the *Father*: for it is the *Father* he means, the *Person* of the *Father*, by  $\tau\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\varsigma}$  Θεῶν, the same whom he had just before called the *Father and God of the Universe*, in compliance with the *Pagan Style*. And what cuts off all your *Criticisms* at once, *Theophilus* observes there, that the *Son* being *God* † as *God's Son*, appeared to *Adam*: As much as to say, that if the *Son* had not been *God*, He

\* See my Answer to Dr. Whitby, pag. 51.

† Θεὸς οὖν ἂν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἐκ Θεῶν πεφυκώς, ὁπότε ἂν βέλεται ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὄλων, πέμπει αὐτὸν εἰς τινὰ τόπον, &c. Theoph. p. 130.

could not pretend to assert, that He was the Person stiled in *Genesis*, κύριος ὁ Θεός, *The Lord God*. But being really *God*, as *God's Son*, there was nothing in That Title, but what very well suited his Person; And so it was right to interpret *Gen. iii. 8.* of Him. This is evidently the Train and Course of *Theophilus's* Thoughts in that Place; gradually to introduce *Autolycus* to admit *God's Son*; and therewith the *Christian Religion*. This may farther show, that when *Theophilus* speaks of the *Logos's* assuming the *Person of God*, He means This, and only This; that He acted in the Character and Capacity of the *eternal God*: which He might very well do, being Himself *very God*, as well as that other Person, his Father, called *God and Father of the Universe*: And it was under this very Character, He appear'd to *Adam*, as his *Creator*, that is, as *God and Father of all Things*; which is not a stronger Expression than κύριος ὁ Θεός, the *Lord God* applied to Him by *Theophilus*. I shall only add, that *Theophilus* certainly never intended to assert *Two Lord Gods*, as your Hypothesis requires, but one only, The Father with the *Logos*: And so all concludes in *one God supreme* \*; agreeably to my Principles.

#### A. D. 187. IRENÆUS.

My Argument from *Irenæus* runs thus. *Jehovah* that rain'd upon *Sodom* (*Gen. xix. 24.*) *God* calling at the Bush, and saying, I am the *God of Abraham*, &c. (*Exod. iii. 4. 6.*) The *mighty God* spoken of, *Pf. l.* The *God* known in *Judah*, (*Pf. lxxvi. 1.*) ὁ

\* *Theophilus* speaking of *Woman* being made from the Rib of the *Man*, represents it as an Emblem of the divine Unity, in these Words.

Ὅτι μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν δεξιὴν τὸ μυστήριον τῆς μοναρχίας, τῆς κατὰ τὸν Θεὸν ἅμα δ' ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἴσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. *Theophil. p. 145.*

“ To signify the Mystery of the *Unity* (or *Monarchy*) of *God*, He  
“ made for Him a *Wife*, (saying) and *They Two* shall be *one Flesh*.”



θεός absolutely; God (ὁ θεός) standing in the Congregation (*Pf. lxxxii. 1.*) The *Jehovah* reigning. *Pf. xcix. 1.* the God and *Jehovah* mention'd: *Is. xii. 2.* — *xxxv. 4.* *Joel. iii. 16.* *Amos i. 2.* God, who has none like Him. *Mich. vii. 18.* God (ὁ θεός) that came from *Teman*, *Hab. iii. 3.* He that is all This, is the *one God supreme*: But such is Christ, according to *Irenæus*. Therefore, &c.

You have little here but Repetition of the same Thread-bare Things: That Christ was not the one supreme God, that is, not the one supreme Father, which you constantly confound with the other; that He ministered, which I do not dispute, for He died too; That He fulfilled the Father's Commands, which I never question'd; that the Son is never called by *Irenæus*, The one God, which I much question, and have proved to be false tho' the Point is not material; That the Son receiv'd Power to judge, that is, from whom He receiv'd his Essence. What Force is there in These Trite Things? You add (*p. 141.*) that *Exod. iii. 4. 8.* is applied by *Irenæus* to the Father only. I know not where; but I am sure that He applies Verse the 8<sup>th</sup> to the Son Thrice\*. And if He has any where applied it to the Father also, the Reason may be, that since Both are the same God, the Application may be proper to either; which may be likewise answer sufficient to what you observe of *Ex. iii. 14, 15.* As to what you have farther, *p. 142.* I refer to what hath been said under a former Article, to prove that Father and Son are, (according to *Irenæus*) Both together one God.

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\* Loquente Filio ad Moysen, Descendi, inquit, eripere Populum Hunc. Ipse enim est qui descendit, &c. *Iren. p. 180.*

Nescientes eum qui Figura loquutus est humana ad Abraham, & iterum ad Moysen, dicentem Videns vidi Vexationem, &c. Hæc enim Filius, qui est Verbum Dei, ab initio præstruebat. *p. 236.*

Ipse est qui dicit Moysi, Videns vidi, &c. ab initio assuetus Verbum Dei ascendere & descendere, *p. 241.*

A. D. 192. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

My Argument from *Clemens* is to This Effect.

He who is *Jehovah, Almighty God* (*Gen. xvii. 1. 2.*) *Lord God of Abraham* (*Gen. xxviii. 13.*) *God of Bethel*, ὁ Θεός (*Gen. xxxi. 13.*) and *Lord God* (*Exod. xx. 2.*) is the *one God supreme*. But such is Christ according to *Clemens*. Therefore, &c.

Here you tell me (p. 144.) of the *Pædagogus* being a *Juvenile Piece* (which is more than you know\*) or if it be, it is of never the less Authority, if not contradicted by his riper Thoughts, as it is not. You refer to what you had said above; and I refer to what I have said in Answer above. But you farther take me to Task, for what I had said in my *Defense*, p. 34. that Christ spoke the Words, *I am the Lord thy God, Exod. xx. 2.* in his own Person, according to *Clemens* †. This Observation, which, it seems tenderly affects you, you call *absurd*, and *perfectly ridiculous*. It is easy to give hard Names; let us hear your Arguments. All you have to plead is This, that *Christ is there observed to speak in his own Person, not in Opposition to his being the Representative of the Person of the Father, but in Opposition to his being elsewhere spoken of in the Third Person*. Now, I grant it was not intended in Opposition to an Opinion which no Body at That Time was wild enough to hold: But while He is aiming at another Thing, He might accidentally drop a Sentence, which quite overthrows That Opinion; which is the Truth of the Case. For what can be plainer than the Words, *διὰ ἑαυτοῦ προσώπῳ* in his own Person, and *ἑαυτὸν ὁμολογεῖ* He professes Himself to be *παιδαγωγόν*, the *Leader forth*, because of his Saying, *I am the Lord thy God, who led forth Thee out of the Land of Egypt?*

\* See Grabe's *Instances of Defects*, p. 10.

† Πάλιν δὲ ὅταν λέγῃ διὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ προσώπῳ, ἑαυτὸν ὁμολογεῖ παιδαγωγόν· ἐγὼ κῆρυξ· ὁ Θεός σε, ὁ ἔξαγαγόν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. Clem. p. 131.

I translate, *Leader forth*, to make the *English* answer, as the *Greek* παιδαγωγὸν and ἑξαγαγὼν do. Is there any Sense in what *Clemens* says, if the Person there speaking was the Person of the *Father*, or any other Person but the *Son*? But you was to say something to *amuse*, and was to fill up the rest with hard Words. The *Opposition* you have took Notice of, does not at all alter the Case. For whether the Scripture speaks of the *Son* in the *Third*, or He of *Himself* in the *first* Person, it is still the *Person* of *Christ*.

## A. D. 206. TERTULLIAN.

My Argument from *Tertullian* stands Thus.

The Lord God mention'd *Gen.* iii. 8, 9. *Jehovah's* appearing to Abraham: *Gen.* xviii. 1. 13. and xix. 24. The God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, *Exod.* iii. 4, 6. The I AM, *Ex.* iii. 14. The God spoken of, *Is.* xxxv. 4. The God, besides whom there is no God (*Is.* xlv. 14, 15.) He is the one true God supreme. But This is *Christ*, according to *Tertullian*: Therefore, &c.

You have here (*p.* 145.) Two or Three little Cavils, which I have answer'd above. You next tell me, that *Tertullian* always declares *Christ* to have appear'd not in his own Name, but in the Name of the one supreme God. But where does *Tertullian* say, that He appear'd not, or conversed not in his own Name? He appear'd indeed in the *Father's* Name, but in his own Name too, the Name and Nature of either being common to Both \*. He took no Name but what He had a Right to: Nor said any thing of *Himself*, but what was true of *Himself*. And therefore He never said *I am the Father*, tho' He often said *I am God*, or *Lord*, or *Almighty*: Which deserves your special Notice. I allow that He acted in the *Father's* Name,

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\* *Omnia, inquit Patris mea sunt: cur non & Nomina?* *Tertull.* contr. *Prax.* c. 17. See my *Defense*, *p.* 42, &c.

coming with all the Authority of the *Godhead*, common to *Both*, unoriginately in the Father, derivative-ly in the Son. This is coming in the Father's Name, and with his Authority, to exhibit in, and through Himself, all the *Majesty* and *Dignity*, and *Perfections* of the *Godhead*: Being Himself a full, perfect, and adequate Transcript or Image of all that the Father is.

You would have it thought that the Father was *absolutely invisible* (according to *Tertullian*) on Account of his *supreme Majesty*, but the Son *visible*, as a *comprehensible Part*; And yet you very well know, that *Tertullian* did not allow even the Son to be *visible* in his *divine Nature*\*, but only by *visible Symbols* voluntarily chosen. And all the peculiar Majesty of the Father lay only in This, that He was not to be *visible* in any Way at all; because He was not to *minister*, or to be *incarnate*. But will you persist in offering the most palpable Abuses upon your Readers?

A. D. 240. HIPPOLYTUS.

*Hippolytus* I had cited for one Text only, his applying the Words, *That stretcheth out the Heavens like a Curtain* (*Is. xl. 22.*) to Christ. Whoever looks into That Chapter, will see that the Person, of whom those Words were spoken, is described all the Way in Characters peculiar to the *one true God*. That Person therefore being Christ, according to *Hippolytus*, the Consequence is evident. You have little to say

\* Dicimus enim & Filium suo nomine eatenus *invisibilem*, qua *Sermo*, & *Spiritus Dei*: ex *Substantiæ* conditione, jam nunc, & qua *Deus*, & *Sermo*, & *Spiritus*. *Visibilem* autem fuisse ante *Carnem* eo modo quo dicit, &c. *Tertull. contr. Prax. c. 14.*

“ For we say, that the Son also, in his own Person, was *invisible*, so far as He was *The Word*, and *Spirit of God*: And He is so also now, as *God*, and the *Word*, and *Spirit*: The *Condition* (or *Quality*) of his *Substance* requiring it. But He was *visible* before his *Incarnation*, in such a Way, as He says, &c.

*Vid. Bull. D. F. p. 88. Nourrii App. vol. 2. p. 1310.*

in Answer, but what has been abundantly replied to, or obviated before. So I pass on.

*A. D. 237.—244. ORIGEN.*

I cited *Origen*, but for Two Texts, *Exod. iii. 4, 6. Psalm xxiv. 8, 10.* According to Him therefore Christ is God of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; Jehovah, and King of Glory.* You see not, it seems, how *This proves, that Origen thought Christ to be the one supreme God.* It either proves That, or else that *Origen* thought there were *two Gods of Abraham, Two Lords of Hosts:* Which yet *Origen*, as we have before seen, absolutely denies. So much for *Origen.*

*A. D. 256. CYPRIAN.*

My Argument from *Cyprian* runs thus.

He that is God of Bethel, *Gen. xxxv. 1. The Lord strong and mighty, Lord of Hosts. Psal. xxiv. 8. 10.* He that said, *I am God (Psal. xlv. 10.)* and who is called *mighty God and our God, Psal. l. 1, 3. The God arising, Ps. lxxviii. 1. God standing in the Congregation, Ps. lxxxii. 1. The God beside whom there is none else, Is. xlv. 14, 15.* He that said, *I am God, not Man: Hos. xi. 9. The Jehovah spoken of, Zech. x. 12. The God in Comparison of whom, none other shall be accounted of. Baruch iii. 35.* He that is all This, is the *one true God supreme.* But such is Christ, according to *Cyprian.* Therefore, &c.

In Answer hereto you tell me (p. 146.) that *Cyprian has not one Word to my Purpose.* But let the Reader judge as He finds, and not give too hasty Credit to your blunt Sayings. You tell me of *Cyprian's* styling the Father *The one God, who is Lord of all, of unequalled Majesty and Power:* But you have not shown, that This was said in Opposition to, or exclusive of, God the Son. Nay, it is certain, it was not, because *Cyprian*, in his Application of the Texts above cited to Christ, has really said as high, and as great Things of Him. What can run higher, than that of *Baruch?*

*This*

*This is our God, and there shall none other be accounted of, in Comparison of Him.* You have nothing farther to say, but that *Christ*, (*i. e.* during his Humiliation here on Earth) *called the Father his Lord and God*, by Him *prayed to be glorified*, and the like. Sure, you do not expect an Answer, as often as you bring up Those poor Things.

A. D. 270. ANTIOCHIAN Fathers.

The Texts which These Fathers apply to Christ, are *Gen. xviii. 1, 13. Gen. xxxi. 13. Exod. iii. 4, 6. Isa. xxxv. 4. — xlv. 14, 15. Hof. xi. 9.*

The Argument from Them will be much the same as That of others before recited. You plead, that These Bishops *are so far from declaring the Son to be the one supreme God, that They expressly, on the contrary, say, that He fulfilled the Will of the Father in the Creation of All Things.* Wonderful! So far from declaring it, that they say nothing but what is very consistent with it, or what serves to confirm it. For, what is there *contrary*, in his *fulfilling the Will of the Father in the Creation*? Or what *Creature* could ever be able to execute so high a Charge †? But here again, you discover what it is you rely on; not *Scripture*, or *Fathers*, but two or three *Fancies* of your own, among which This is one: That the Doctrine of the *Unity*, as held by the Church, is not consistent with a Distinction of *Persons, Order, and Offices.* Might you not therefore better plainly own to the World, that there lies all the Difficulty, rather than amuse them with *Scripture* and *Fathers*, only to draw such Premises as are readily granted; at least by me, who dispute only your Conclusion? You repeat some Things about the *Absurdity* of the Father's appearing, the Son's being an *Angel*, and the

\* Labbè Tom. 1. p. 845.

† See my Sermons, p. 73, &c.

like; which have been before answered, and need not any farther Notice.

A. D. 257. NOVATIAN.

This Author, according to Order of Time, should have come in before: But I was willing to postpone Him, as you had done; because I take Him to be somewhat particular, and therefore of distinct Consideration; as before hinted.

My Argument, from this Writer, will stand thus.

The *Jehovab* appearing to *Abraham* (*Gen. xviii.*) and raining upon *Sodom* (*Gen. xix.*) The God speaking to *Abraham* (*Gen. xxi.*) *The God of Bethel* (*Gen. xxxi.*) The God standing in the Congregation (*Pf. lxxxii.*) The God mention'd, *Is. xxxv. 4.* The *Jehovab* from *Sion* (*Joel. iii. Am. i.*) He is the *one true God*. But such is Christ, according to *Novatian*: Therefore, &c.

I have intimated my Doubts of *Novatian* before, as to his Way of solving the *Unity*: In which He appears to be various, and not very consistent with his own Principles; tho' Orthodox in the main, as to the Son's *essential* Divinity. The *Sabellian* Abuse of the Phrase *one God*, I suppose, might make Him the more scrupulous. I have sometimes wonder'd at it, considering the *known* Principles of That Age, appearing in the Authors above mention'd. But He was none of the most *judicious*, nor without his *Singularities*; as is plain from the *Schism* begun by Him. I shall now see what you have to say to this Writer. You bring up (p. 148.) the old Pretence of God the Father being *immense*, and *contain'd in no Place*, whereas the Son might be *contain'd*, &c. A general Answer has been already given to this out of Bishop *Bull*; which Answer is so full and certain, that you know not how to gain-say it. The Meaning of the Fathers was no more than This, That God the Father never appear'd in a *Place*, no, not by *visible Symbols*, which yet the Son did: And it was by such *visible Symbols* only, that the Son

was contain'd in a Place, and not in his *divine Nature*. *Novatian* Himself is a Proof of this Matter; for, He exprefly asserts the *Omniprefence*, or *Immenfity* of God the Son\*. Your other Objection is, that *Novatian* fpeaks of the Son as being *ſubditus*, *ſubject* to the Father; which is meant only of the Son's *miniſtring* to the Father by voluntary Condeſcenſion, according to the *Oeconomy* entred into from the Creation: So that This is far from proving the *Subjection* which you are aiming at, *viz.* a natural, and neceſſary Subjection of a *precarious Being* to his God and Creator. *Novatian* would have abhorrd the Thought.

He reſerves to the Father ſolely, and excluſively, the Title of the *one God*, on Account of his *Supremacy of Order*, and *Office* (which I think a falſe Way of ſpeaking) at the ſame Time allowing the Son to be of the *ſame Nature*, and *Subſtance*; which is plainly making the Son *God ſupreme*, and God in the *ſtrict* Senſe, according to juſt Propriety of Speech. In *Words* then, He may ſeem in ſome Meaſure to agree with you: But in *Reality*, He agrees more with me; differing only *loquendi modo*, or *citra Myſterii Subſtantiam*, from the Catholic Doctrinè, as *Petavius* Himſelf confeſſes of Him. *Pref. in T. 2. c. 5.*

#### A. D. 318. LACTANTIUS.

There are only Three Texts cited from this Author: *Iſa. xlv. 6. Iſa. xlv. 14, 15. Baruch. iii. 35.* But They are wonderful ſtrong, and expreſſive. *I am the firſt and I am the laſt, and beſides me there is no God:* This He underſtands of the Father and Son together. *Surely God is in Thee, and there is not another God beſides Thee* (ſo He expreſſes it in his *Epitome*)

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\* Si Homo tantummodo Chriſtus, quomodo adefſe ubique invocatus; cum Hæc Hominis Natura non ſit ſed Dei, ut adefſe omni loco poſſit? *Novat. c. 14.*

“ If Chriſt be only a Man, How comes He to be preſent as invoked every where; when it is not the Nature of Man but of God, to be preſent to all Places?



This He understands of *Christ*. And the other Text, out of *Baruch*, is as full and strong\*. One Thing is evident, that *Lactantius* never dream'd of that strict Force of *exclusive* Terms, which you are used to insist upon. For, if He had, He must have excluded the *Father* Himself from being God, in Virtue of The Text of *Baruch*.

You have nothing of Moment to say to *Lactantius's* Citations, which are directly opposite to your Principles: But with your usual Air, when you are entirely at a Loss, you would seem to contemn, what you cannot answer. All you can pretend is, that *Lactantius* styles the Father *Deus summus* †, *God supreme*:

\* Unum esse Deum tam Patrem quam Filium, *Esaias* in illo exemplo quod superius posuimus, ostendit cum diceret: *Adorabunt Te, & Te deprecabuntur, quoniam in Te Deus est, & non est alius prater Te*, *Lact. Inst. l. 4. c. 29. Epitom. c. 44.*

Sed & alio loco similiter ait. *Sic dicit Deus Rex Israel, & qui eruit eum Deus aternus: Ego primus & ego novissimus & prater me non est Deus.* Cum duas personas proposuisset Dei Regis, id est Christi, & Dei Patris ——— ad utramque personam referens, intulit, & *prater me non est Deus*, cum posset dicere *prater nos*: Sed Fas non erat plurali numero Separationem tantæ necessitudinis fieri. *l. 4. c. 29.*

Item *Jeremias*. *Hic Deus noster est, & non deputabitur alius absque illo, &c.* *Lactant. Epit. c. 44. p. 116.*

† Unus est enim solus liber Deus, summus, carens Origine; quia ipse est Origo rerum, & in eo simul & Filius & omnia continentur. Quapropter cum Mens & Voluntas alterius in altero sit; vel potius in utroque una, merito unus Deus uterque appellatur: quia quicquid est in Patre ad Filium transfuit, & quicquid est in Filio a Patre descendit.

*The Words, & omnia, here seem to come in very strangely. Lactantius must think the omnia to be contained in the Father much otherwise than the Son is: Else how should He prove the Son one God with the Father, without proving the same of every Thing else, as well as of Him, by the same Argument? Qu. Whether Rerum, and Omnia, may not be understood of Things divine? All that is divine or adorable, in such a Sense as Tertullian speaks:*

Unus omnia, dum ex uno omnia, per Substantiæ scilicet unitatem.

Here, omnia stands only for the divine Persons. *Arnobius says, In Hoc omne quod Colendum est Colimus.*

And yet it is certain, that He supposes the Son to have the same *Nature* and *Substance* with the Father, and to be *one God* with Him; which is what I call making the Son *God supreme*: And the Author cannot be more plainly opposite to my Principles in the *former Part*, than He is to *your's* in the *latter*. If the Parts are not reconcilable, his Evidence is *null*, and of no Account on either Side. But I conceive, the Author may be reconciled by a candid Construction of *Deus summus*; either consider'd as opposed only to *Pagan Deities*, or as being an inaccurate Expression for *summi Patris*, the *supreme Father*, by which the Author Himself interprets it, and meaning no more than that He is supreme in *Order*, or *Office*; which I allow. See *Le Nourry Apparat*. Vol. 2. p. 353.

A. D. 335. EUSEBIUS.

What you were deficient with respect to *Laëtantius*, you endeavour to make up, in regard to *Eusebius*. Here you insult unmercifully: A plain Sign that your forbearing to do the like, upon other *Writers*, is not owing to your Civility or Modesty, but to something else. The *Learned World* must be call'd in, and stand *amazed* at my *Presumption*: As if none of the learned World had ever taken *Eusebius* to have any thing *Orthodox* upon the *Trinity*. I gave a Caution at the Bottom of the thirty first Page of my *Defense*, in Regard to *Eusebius*: And it so stood in Three Editions before you published your Piece. This was on purpose to intimate, that I did not pretend to claim *Eusebius* as entirely on my Side; but only *so far*. And with the like Moderation, I have always spoke of *Eusebius*, in my *Sermons*, and elsewhere; because I would not deceive my Reader, nor be confident where a Point is disputable. Learned Men know, how both Antients and Moderns have differ'd in their Opinions of This Man. *Hilary*, *Jerom*, *Photius*, Two *Nicephorus's*, The 2<sup>d</sup> Council of *Nice*, *Baronius*, *Perron*, *Petavius*, *Noris*, *Sandius*, *Le Clerc*, and others; and  
at

at length *Montfaucon*, have charged Him with *Arianism*: On the other Hand, *Socrates*, *Theodorit*, *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, *Camerarius*, *Chamier*, *Calovius*, *Peter du Moulin*, *Florentinus*, *Valesius*, *Bull*, *Cave*, *Fabricius* \* defend, or at least excuse Him. *Athanasius* † seems to have thought that He was once an *Arian*, but at length came over to the Catholic Side. *Epiphanius* says, He was *too much inclin'd* to the *Arian Way*; And the learned *Pagi* (as an ingenious Gentleman ‡, from whom I have borrowed Part of This Account, has observed) *confesses He knows not what to make of Him*. Now, in such Cases as these, however firmly persuaded a Man may be, on This, or That Side; yet in pure Modesty and Deference to Men of Name and Character in the learned World, one would speak with Caution and Reserve: And there cannot be a surer Argument of a little Mind, than to be insulting, and confident on such Occasions. After all, the main Question is very little concerned in This other about *Eusebius*; who cannot justly be reckon'd among the *Ante-nicene* Writers (to whose *indifferent* Judgment we appeal) as living, and writing after the Time that *Arius* had broached his *Heresy*, and raised a Faction against the Church; to which *Eusebius*, by *Affinity*, and *Party* (and perhaps upon *Principle* too) appears to have leaned. He may however be a good Evidence of what the Church taught, in Those very Points which He endeavour'd, by a novel Turn, or by some private Constructions of his own, to warp from their antient Intendment and Significancy. And tho' I cannot pretend to say, that He comes entirely into That Scheme which I defend, yet sure I am that He can never be reconciled, upon the whole, to yours.

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\* Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. vol. 6. p. 32.

† Vid. Athanas. Ep. ad Afros, p. 896.

‡ Mr. Thirlby Answer to Mr. Whiston, p. 70.

It would be tedious to run thro' all you have cited from Him: It might fill a Volume to discuss This single Question about *Eusebius*. I shall content my self therefore with a few Strictures, just to abate your excessive Confidence. I have admitted, that *Eusebius* did (as some other very worthy Men have also done) magnify the Glory of *unoriginateness* rather too far; as if it were a distinct *Perfection*, and not a Relation only, or *mode of existence*, as the *Catholicks* taught: Yet you will not find that *Eusebius* denies the *necessary existence*, or *eternity* of the Son; however not after the *Nicene Council*. If you have a mind to gain *Eusebius* to your side, do not endeavour it by *false Reports*, and manifest *Untruths*; lest the Reader suspect you even in what you may *justly* plead from Him. You scruple not to say (p. 150.) as from *Eusebius*, that the Son is *stiled God and Lord on account of his having received all Power and Authority from the Father, and Ministering to all his commands*: which, in effect, is making a *Photinian*, or *Samosatenian* of Him. He no where, that I know of, says any such Thing: Nor do the Places you refer to, prove any thing like it; unless saying that Christ is *God*, as being our *Creator*\* be the same as saying *He is God* on account of *receiving Authority*, &c. *Eusebius's* constant way of accounting for the Son's being *God*, is by resolving it into his being *God's Son* †, and his thereby copying out a *perfect* Resemblance of the Father: And he makes Him *by Nature great God* ‡ on that very account. In one place more besides That beforemen-

\* Ὅτι δὲ τῶν πάντων ἀπάντων καθηγείται τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ γεννημένον, ὡς ἂν ἀπάντων ὑπάρχον σατιρ, καὶ κίριον καὶ ἰσχυρόν — τῆνικαῦτα, καὶ θεός, καὶ ἀποστός, καὶ σατῆς, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀναγενοῖτο ἂν. *Euseb. Eccl. Theol. l. 2. p. 111.*

† *Euseb. Dem. Evan. p. 146, 213, 227.*

*Contra Marc. p. 7, 62, 68, 69, 72, 111, 123, 127.*

*Comm. in Psalm. p. 534, 634.*

‡ Ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἂν θεός, καὶ ἡμεῖς τῆνικαῦτα βασιλεὺς, ὅτι μονογενὴς ἂν τοῦ θεοῦ ὄντας. *Euseb. in Psalm. p. 629.*

tioned, he calls Him *God*, as being our *Creator*, or *Maker*\*: unless it be there meant of the *Father*; which if it be, it shows that *Eusebius's* looking upon Christ as *God* because *Creator*, was no lessening Consideration. The Reader may well wonder, after This, what could move you to make so strange and false a Representation of an Author. I may farther hint, that, according to *Eusebius*, the Son could not be *God*, if He were produced ἐξ ἑν ὄντων, *from nothing*, or did not participate of the Father's *Divinity*†. How does this suit with your Notion of his *Godship* being owing to his receiving of Authority? You next produce a Passage where *Eusebius* is arguing that the Father, or *God over all*, could not have appeared, because it is *impious to say God was changed*: and This you leave with your Reader. You add another Passage of like kind to it: *It can no way be said that the unbegotten and immutable essence of God supreme was changed into the Form of a Man*. This also you leave for any simple Reader to imagine, that Christ, who took upon Him human Form, is not, according to *Eusebius*, of *immutable essence*, but subject to *change*. Yet *Eusebius* certainly meant no more than that it was not so suitable to the Majesty of the First Person, (whom He calls indeed *supreme God*, in contradistinction to the Son) to submit to take upon Him any *visible Symbols*, or to be *incarnate*. As to the *Nature and Essence* of the Son, He believed it to be absolutely *immutable* ‡, and liable

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\* Κύριος ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ὡς ὄψων, καὶ Θεὸς ὡς πλάσσης. Euseb. Com. in Psal. p. 645.

† Euseb. Eccl. Th. p. 69. See below, p. 156.

‡ Μένων αὐτὸς πάλιν αὐλὸς οἴος καὶ πρὸ τέττε παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ἦν· οὔτε μεταβαλὼν τὴν οὐσίαν. — οὐδὲ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔπαρχεν ὁ ἀπαθής, &c. Euseb. Orat. Paneg. c. 14. p. 761.

Σχήματι εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἀνθρώπος ἀλλοίωσιν οὐ τὴν τυχεῖσαν ἔδοξεν ὑπομένειν, ἀναλλοίωτος ἂν καὶ ἀτρεπτος ὡς Θεός. Euseb. in Psal. p. 185.

ble to *no change*, as well as the Father's. Wherefore tho' *Eusebius* does insist on the *Supremacy* of the Father, more than other Writers before Him (which might bring Him under the Suspicion of *Arianizing*) This is in a manner all He can be said to agree with you in, being directly opposite to you in the main Points of your Scheme. Such Men as *Dr. Cudworth*, *Bp. Fowler*, and Others, amongst us, might perhaps have claimed *Eusebius* as their own: You and your Friends are quite of Another Stamp; tho' you are willing to seek some Cover and Countenance from the *Few Things* wherein They agreed with you. The next Passage you cite (*pag. 152.*) proves no more than that *Eusebius* strained the Point of the Father's Supremacy too high, in calling the Son a *Second Lord*; which *Second* however was in his Opinion, in a manner infinitely *higher* and more excellent than your Scheme makes Him by depriving Him of *necessary existence*, and reducing Him thereby to a *Creature*, which *Eusebius* declares against more than once. And tho' I will not undertake to clear *Eusebius* of *Tritheism*, or *Ditheism*; yet it appears plainly enough to me, that He was very far from *Arianism*; at least, after the *Nicene Council*.

As to the next Text, about which I appeal, you pretend that *Eusebius* is expressly against me. Why? because He says that the Son is not  $\delta \epsilon \pi \iota \pi \alpha \nu \tau \omega \nu$ . That is, He is not the *supreme Father*: which is all you could make of many the like Places in *Eusebius*; were there not others still stronger elsewhere. I could show you where *Eusebius* styles the Son  $\theta \epsilon \delta \varsigma$ .

“ He performed all Things by the Man He had assumed——  
 “ Continuing immaterial in Himself, such as He had been before  
 “ This, with the Father, without any change of his Substance.  
 “ Nor did he suffer any thing in respect of his Substance, being  
 “ impassible.

“ Being found in Fashion as a Man, He might seem to undergo  
 “ no small change, tho' *unchangeable* and *invariable* as God.

τῶν ὀλῶν\*, and ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ὀλῶν †, and might translate *supreme God*, as you do ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων, were there nothing else to be considered in This Matter. But I will not deceive my Readers. Nor is there any such peculiar Force in the Words ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, that *Eusebius* might not, as well as the *Phrygian* Martyrs, apply them to the Son ‡. But I attend to the Sense, not to the Phrase. To proceed;

You grow bolder in your next Page (154.) pretending to tell me, from a Passage in *Eusebius*, that *the Antient Church worshipped Christ, not as being the one supreme God, but to the Glory of the Father who dwelt in Him, and from whom, says Eusebius, He received the Honour of being worshipped as God.*

The Reader will easily see the Drift and Purport of These rash Words; for which you have not one syllable of Proof. Whatever may be thought of *Eusebius*, the *Antient Church* stands perfectly clear; as shall be shown in due Time and Place. As to your Cavil upon the Words of *Eusebius* (*Eccl. H. l. i. c. 3.*) I refer to *Valesius's* Notes for an Answer. Nothing more certain, than that *Eusebius* ordinarily founds the worship of the Son upon his being naturally *Son of God*, or *very God* §. If he contradicts This in his Comment on *Isa. xlv. 15.* He is the less to be regarded, as being inconsistent: And it is one great Prejudice against the Notion, that among fifteen Christian Writers who have considered and

\* Euseb. contr. Marc. pag. 67, 70.

† Euseb. Dem. Evang. pag. 11.

‡ Τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν χρεῖσιν ἐπιθεωμένους. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 11.

§ Ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων, ἢ διὰ πάντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ὁραμένοις τε καὶ ἀθανάτων, ἐπιπορευόμενος τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος. Euseb. Orat. Panegyri. cap. 1. pag. 719.

§ Οἷα τοῦ καθόλου Θεοῦ παῖδα γνήσιον, καὶ αὐτόθεν προσκυνεῖσθαι. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 10. pag. 468.

Vid. Eccl. Theolog. pag. 69, 111.

quoted that Text <sup>a</sup>, he is the only one that ever drew so wild a Consequence from it. But the Truth is, *Eusebius* never had a Thought of what your Words insinuate of Him. Let Him but explain Himself, and all will be very right. It depends upon *Eusebius's* Notion of the Father's *Inhabitation*; which he fully lays open in another Place <sup>b</sup>: where he tells us, that the Father in the *Generation* of the Son communicated of his Fullness, the Fullness of his *Godhead*, without division or separation; and it is in This respect that in Him *dwelleth all the Fullness of the Godhead*: So that the worshipping of Christ as having the Father *dwelling* in Him, comes to the same with worshipping Him as being *God of God, eternally begotten* <sup>c</sup> of the Father; which is *Eusebius's* Doctrine. And thus *Eusebius* agrees well with *Hilary* <sup>d</sup>, and other Catholick Fathers.

You go in Triumph, (*pag.* 155.) in the most extraordinary manner; imputing to me whatever first comes into your Head. All I was to prove from *Eusebius* was, that the Texts there cited were applied to Christ; *determining nothing of his other Principles*, as I expressly noted at the Bottom of the Page. Yet neither you, nor any Man else, can ever clear *Eusebius* of the Charge of *Polytheism*, and *Self-contradiction*, if, notwithstanding the applying These

<sup>a</sup> Hippolytus contr. Noet. c. 4. p. 8. Cyprian adv. Jud. l. 2. c. 6.

Tertullian contr. Prax. c. 13. Patres Antiocheni, p. 845.

Lactantius Epit. & Institut. Hilarius, p. 849.

Cyrilli Catech. p. 156. Athanasius 491. 686.

Hieronimus in Loc. Epiphanius Vol. 1. p. 486.

Ambros. de Fid. l. 1. c. 2. Marius Victorin. l. 1. p. 261.

Gregor. Nazianz. p. 733. Zeno Veronens. de Nativ. Christi. 1250.

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. contr. Marcell. l. 1. c. 2. p. 62.

<sup>c</sup> Τῆς ἀνάγκης γενήσεως. Euseb. in Psal. p. 15.

ἀίδιον γενήσιν. Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 73.

<sup>d</sup> Deus enim in eo est: & in quo est Deus, Deus est. Non enim Deus in diversæ atque alienæ a se naturæ Habitaculo est, sed in suo, atque ex se genito manet, Deus in Deo, quia ex Deo Deus est. Hilar. de Trin. l. 5. c. 40. p. 851.



Texts to Christ, He did not think Him the *one true God*. And if He had learn'd of the *Arians* a *Novel* way of eluding an Argument which the *Catholicks* before Him knew nothing of, nor ever used; He is still a witness of the Church's *Application* of Those *Texts*, (which is what I cited Him for) tho' it be against his own Principles. But I am not yet satisfied that *Eusebius* differed in any main Doctrine, except it were in the manner of expressing the *Unity*; still believing the essential *Divinity* of God the Son. You cite *Montfaucon* as charging *Eusebius* with *Arianism*; at the same Time telling us, that he erroneously calls it *Arianism*. But if That learned Man did not know what *Arianism* is, he might more easily mistake in determining of *Eusebius's* Doctrine; which is a much more intricate Business. The Truth is, That learned and judicious Man understood very well what *Arianism* is, and is guilty of no Error, in That respect: But as to his Judgment of *Eusebius*, it is not so intirely to be depended on. After he has given us a Sketch of *Eusebius's* Doctrine, as being *Arian*, he does not yet pretend to reconcile all *Eusebius's* Doctrine to that Scheme, to make him, in the whole, a *consistent* Writer: But He still seems to suspect that he may be found various, and repugnant; which at last is rather making him a *Neutral*, than clear for any side\*. Nor do I think it would be difficult to acquit *Eusebius* of the Charge of *Arianism*, at least from the Time of the *Nicene Council*.

It is plain enough that He does not *ordinarily* (for I must except a Passage before cited) make Father and Son *one Principle*, or *one God*; upon which chiefly *Montfaucon* founds his Charge of *Arianism*. He did not consider that a Man might assert the *eternity*, and *necessary existence* of the Son, and yet throw the *Supremacy* and *Unity of Godhead* upon the Father

\* Quod si in His *Eusebius* secum pugnareprehenditur; id sane proprium Erroris est, ut consistere non valeat, sibi que ipsi adverteatur. *Pralim. in Euseb.* p. 28.

alone, as *self-existent* and God in a *higher* Sense; which Others have done besides *Eusebius*; tho', I think, not very judiciously, or consistently. *Montfaucon* takes too much Advantage of *Eusebius's Demonstratio Evangelica*, or other Pieces, wrote before the Council of *Nice*, and contradicted or corrected in several Points afterwards by the same *Eusebius*. I will give two or three Examples. In his *Demonstratio*, he makes the Son to be  $\delta\eta\mu\iota\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\eta\mu\alpha$ <sup>b</sup>. In his Dispute with *Marcellus* he plainly retracts and contradicts it<sup>c</sup>. In his *Demonstratio*<sup>d</sup>, he pretends that nothing can be properly said to be  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\xi\ \epsilon\kappa\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ , without doubt to gratify the *Arians*, that They might in a certain Sense deny the Son to be  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\xi\ \epsilon\kappa\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ . But in his Piece against *Marcellus*, he asserts plainly that Creatures are  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\xi\ \epsilon\kappa\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ <sup>e</sup>, meaning that They come from *non-existence* into *existence* (which is the true Signification of the Phrase) at the same Time denying that the Son is  $\epsilon\kappa\ \mu\eta\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ <sup>f</sup>, in the same Sense of the Phrase<sup>g</sup>. Wherefore the learned *Montfaucon* does not do justice to *Eusebius*, when He imputes to Him the Opinion of the *Arians*, that the Son pass'd

<sup>b</sup> Τέλειον τελείῃς δημιέργημα. Demonstr. l. 4. c. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Τῆ δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ φύστος υἱὸς ἐκ ἀν δημιεργὸς λεχθείη. Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 68.

<sup>d</sup> Μακρῆτι εὐλόγως φάναι δεῖν ἐξ ἐκ ὄντων εἶναι τὶ τῶν ὄντων. Euseb. Dem. l. 4. c. 1. p. 145.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. contr. Marcel. p. 68, 152, 150, 166.

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. contr. Marc. pag. 67, 68, 69, 150.

I shall here cite one Passage, being a pretty remarkable one.

Οἱ δὲ δύο ὄντες ὑποστάσεις, τὴν μὲν ἀγέννητον, τὴν δ' ἐξ ἐκ ὄντων κτισθεῖσαν, ἓνα μὲν θεὸν ὑφίστανται. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς οὐκ ἐστ' αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ μονογενὴς ἔσται, οὐδὲ μὲν κύριος, οὐδὲ θεός, μηδὲν μὲν ἐπικοινωνῶν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς θεότητι, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς κτίσμασι, καθ' ὃ ἐξ ἐκ ὄντων ὑπέστη, παρασάλλόμενος. Eccl. Theol. l. 1. c. 10.

“ They that admit two *Hypostases*, one unbegotten, and the other created from nothing, do indeed make *one God*; but in their Scheme, The Son will be no *Son*, nor *Only-begotten*, no nor *Lord*, nor *God*, having no communion of the Father's Godhead, but being liken'd to the rest of the Creatures, as having existed from nothing.

from *non-existence* to *existence*: For *Eusebius* plainly denies the Son to be ἐκ τῆς μὴ ὄντος, in the same Sense that he affirms it of Creatures; and therefore must deny his passing out of *non-existence* to *existence*, unless He were the greatest Prevaricator and Shuffler imaginable. If it be said, that He intended that Creatures were not made *out of any thing pre-existing*, he must then affirm that the Son was *out of something pre-existing*: And then let any Man tell me, what he could mean by it; except it were that He *existed before his Generation*, having been eternally in, and with the Father, of the same Homogeneous divine Substance that the Father is. But my Persuasion is, that *Eusebius* believed *eternal Generation*; and if so, it is plain enough what He meant by denying the Son to be ἐκ μὴ ὄντος. It does not appear to me, that *Eusebius* denied the Son to be ἀϊδι, tho' I know *Montfaucon* charges Him with it; and there are more Passages than one \* that say something very like it. *Eusebius* was very earnest in his Charge against *Marcellus*, and was ready to put any the most invidious Construction upon his Words. As often therefore as *Marcellus* had made the Son ἀϊδι, *Eusebius* construes it ἀγέννητος, that he might reduce Him to an absurdity; and believing perhaps that ἀϊδι and ἀγέννητος, upon *Marcellus's* Hypothesis, went together and resolved into one. In this Sense only, I conceive, *Eusebius* to have denied the Son to be ἀϊδι. And if any one narrowly examines the Passages, he may find good reason to believe that This is real Fact.

It may be questioned, whether ever *Marcellus* asserted the Son to be ἀγέννητος. But *Eusebius* charged it upon him as a Consequence of his Hypothesis; and laid hold of ἀϊδι, as implying it, and meaning as much with *Marcellus*, who denied any *antemundane*

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\* Euseb. contr. Marcell. 35, 106, 119.

Generation. But to return. To show me how low an Opinion *Eusebius* had of God the Son, you quote part of his Comment on *Psalms* cix. (which I cannot find there) intimating that *by the Laws of Nature, the Father of every Son is his Lord*; and therefore God the *Father* is *Lord* and God of the Son. Admitting this Rule, I suppose *by the same Laws of Nature, every Son is of the same Nature with his Father, and as such equal*; and so let the Similitude serve equally, if you please, for Both. But since you produce one Testimony, as you say, from *That Book*, (from *Eusebius* on the *Psalms*) give me leave, in my Turn, to produce some few of a very contrary Strain to what you would wish.

1. I shall first remind you of *Eusebius's* accounting for Christ's *praying*, praying as *Man* for Things which Himself could bestow, or dispose of as *God*\*. This seems to run cross to *Two* of your Principles. One of which is, that Christ being a *Subject* is to refer all *Grants* intirely to his *Sovereign*: The other is, that the speaking of Christ in *Two distinct* Capacities, in the manner *Eusebius* does, you would call absurd, (as in *pag. 233.*) as if *Part* of Christ prayed, and another *Part* did not pray; which is your prophane way of ridiculing a Distinction universally made use of by the Primitive Churches, and held Sacred amongst them.

2. I must next observe to you, that, according to *Eusebius*, Christ is the *Creator of all Things* (ὁ πάντων δημιουργὸς †) not only so but ὁ ποιητῆς † also, and  
He

\* Αἰτεῖ μὲν γὰρ ὡς Ἴνθρωπος, δίδωσι δὲ τὴν αἰτήσιν ὡς θεός· εὐδοκῶντος δαλονότι καὶ συνεργούντος τοῦ οἰκείου πατρὸς. Euseb. in Psal. p. 53. Vid. p. 142, 366, 698.

† Ὁ πάντων δημιουργὸς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ υἱός. Euseb. in Psal. p. 89. Vid. p. 90, 125, 634.

‡ Τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἰδία τυγχάνει. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ ποιητῆς αὐτῶν. Euseb. in Ps. p. 63e.

He created all Things by his *own Power* \*. This is a Step beyond what Dr. Clarke is yet advanced to; who often talks of the Son's creating by the *Power* of the Father, and interprets *Hebr. i. 3. the upholding all Things by the Word of his Power*, of the Father's Power; but is not yet come to say, that it is by the Son's *own Power*. If He does not here contradict *Eusebius*, He is however vastly short of him; and has not yet discovered any such honourable Thoughts of God the Son, as *Eusebius* has done.

3. *Eusebius* does not scruple to give the Son the Title of *only God* †, believing it to have been Him that so called Himself, in opposition to *strange Gods*, and challenging the *Jewish* worship as his own due, upon That very Score. How does This suit with your Doctrine about the *exclusive* Terms, and the Texts running *personally, I, Thou, He*? By which Doctrine, upon *Eusebius's* Principles, you must exclude the *Father*. I do not therefore cite These and the like Passages of *Eusebius*, to prove that Father and Son are *one God*; but to show that there is no force (according to Him) in your Argument drawn from the *personal* and *exclusive* Terms.

4. *Eusebius*, in This same Book, fully and significantly expresses the immutable *eternity* ‡ of God the

\* 'Ο τάδε καὶ τάδε τῆσ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει μεγαλεργήσας, &c. Euseb. in Psal. p. 318. Vid. p. 616.

† Λέγω δὲ τὸ μὴ εἰδωλολατρεῖν· ἐμὲ δὲ μόνον θεὸν εἰδῆναι παρακελευσάμεν· οὗτος ἐπιλέγει· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐμὶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς σε, παριστὰς ἑαυτὸν ὡς ξένον, ὅτε ἀλλότριον, ὅτε προσφάτον ὄντι θεόν. ἦν γὰρ εἰς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, καὶ ὁ πάλαι διαφέρως τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρηματίζαν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἰακῶβ ἑπικληκλήμενος· διόπερ παρακελεύεται λέγων· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐμὶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς σε, &c. Euseb. in Psal. p. 503, 504. Vid. p. 533.

‡ Ὅτως γὰρ ἦν ἑτοιμος ὁ θρόνος σε, ἐφ' ᾧ σὺν αὐτῷ καθέζεσθαι ὁ γεννήσας σε πατὴρ παρακελεύετο. Καὶ ἑτοιμος ἦν ἀπὸ τότε, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος σὺ εἶ. ἀλλ' ἐκ ἧς, φησιν, ἀλλ' εἶ. μόνον γὰρ αὐτῷ, σὺ εἶ, λέγεσθαι ἀρμόττει. διὸ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις εἴρηται· σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σε ἐκ ἐκλείψουσι· ἦν μὲν οὖν ἑτοιμος ὁ θρόνος σε ἀπὸ τότε, ἀφ' οὗ θλαδὴ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ἧς, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος σὺ εἶ.

Son. For applying the Words of the xcii<sup>d</sup> (*alias* xciii<sup>d</sup>) *Pſalm*. *Thy Throne is eſtabliſhed of old, Thou art from everlaſting*, to our Saviour Chriſt, he takes particular Notice of the Force of *Thou art*,  $\sigma\upsilon\ \epsilon\grave{\iota}$ , as denoting *immutable exiſtence*; agreeably to his explanation of the ſame Phraſe elſewhere\*.

5. I have above took notice of *Eusebius's* ſtiling God the Son, *great God by Nature*, which is a very high and ſtrong Expreſſion. I ſhall here farther obſerve, how He interprets the Name of *Hand of God*, given to the Son. Not after a low diſparaging manner, as you are uſed to interpret it, but as Chriſt is the *all-creative Power of God* †.

6. I may add a few more Obſervations from *Eusebius's* Commentary on *Iſaiab*. His Comment on *Iſa*. xlii. 8. is pretty remarkable ‡. *I will not give my Glory to Another*. Where he takes notice, that it is not ſaid, that *I will give my Glory to no one*, (for the Son, ſays he, has the *Father's Glory*) but that it will not be given to *Another*. Now, tho' *Eusebius* here comes not intirely into the common and Catholick way of Conſtruction, yet, he differs very much from you in ſeveral Particulars, as that the *Father's Glory is alſo the Son's Glory*, and that the *excluſive* Terms do not affect God the Son. I may alſo take notice how magnificently *Eusebius* ſets forth the Son's *Omnipreſence*, both here ||, and in his Comment upon the *Pſalms* §, in Words as expreſſive and full as any can be. Here alſo *Eusebius* keeps cloſer to the Senſe and Language of the Church, in relation to the *one Godhead*, than He has at other Times been obſerved to

\* Vid. p. 584.

† Χείρ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡ ποιητικὴ ἀπάντων δύναμις αὐτοῦ. ἐκ ἑτέρας ἔσαι τοῦ δι' ἃ γέγονε τὰ πάντα τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος. Euseb. in Pſal. p. 701.

‡ Ἐπισηῆσαι ἀξίον ὡς ἐκ ἑρηται τὴν δόξαν μὲ ἐδενὶ δόσω· δάινυται γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχων τὴν δόξαν· &c. Euseb. Com. in Iſa. p. 520.

|| Euseb. Com. in Iſa. p. 428.

§ Euseb. Com. in Pſal. p. 707, 708.

do; except in his Oration before *Constantine*, taken notice of above. His Words are\*: “There being  
“but *one Head*, there will be no more than *one God-  
“head*, with which is taken in what concerns the  
“Divinity of his only begotten.” It is much to  
the same purpose with what He elsewhere says, † that  
the Son is *partaker* of the Father’s *Godhead*, and is, as  
it were, to be reckon’d to Him.

Upon the whole, you will find *Eusebius* much more favouring my Principles than your’s; tho’ not fully coming in to Either: And you ought hereafter either to reconcile such Things as I have here cited out of Him, besides many others, to your *Hypothesis* (which can never be done) or to leave off boasting on That Head. It should be considered that *Eusebius* lived and wrote at a Time when the *Arian* Pretences, being mostly *new* and *untried*, appeared therefore the more specious and plausible: And his familiar Acquaintance and Friendship with the Heads of the Party, contributed to give them the greater Force with Him. They received an additional Strength from the injudicious Solutions which had been offered by *Marcellus*, and other weak Defenders of the *Homoousian* Doctrine. *Athanasius*, *Hilary*, and other judicious Advocates of the Catholick Faith, had not then wrote their Immortal Pieces, to clear the Doctrine from Misrepresentation, to set it in a due Light, and to unravel the main Objections brought against it. No wonder if, in These Circumstances, *Eusebius* might incline too much towards the *Arian* Cause, and give too far into it. Yet, even under These Disadvantages, He kept himself free from the grosser Tenets of the *Arians*; and He re-

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\* Ἐγὼ ὁ Θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πάρεξ ἐμοῦ σάωζον. μίᾳς γὰρ ἔστις ἀρχὴς, μία εἴη ἂν ἡ θεότης ἢ συμπαραλαμβάνεται καὶ ἡ τοῦ μονογενῆς αὐτοῦ θεολογία. Euseb. in Isa. p. 524.

† Τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς θεότητος κοινωνός, &c. Euseb. in Psal. p. 534.

tain'd so much of *Catholick* Principles, that had He but attended to the true and certain Consequences of many of his own Positions, in that behalf, He could not have failed of being entirely Orthodox, and *Catholick*. He had not so clear a Judgment as *Athanasius*, *Hilary*, *Basil*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and other eminent Defenders of the *Nicene* Faith: Nor did He live to see how easily the *Arian* Sophistry was defeated and baffled, after it had pass'd the Scrutiny of such masterly Hands. In the mean while, He seems to have had no *consistent* Set of Principles, but a confused mixture of *Catholick* and *Arian* Tenets\*, such as could not stand with each other in true and just Reasoning.

You have certainly no right to claim Him as your's.

If you would look among the *Antients* for your Scheme, it must not be in *Eusebius*, nor in any *Ante-nicene* Father, or *Post-nicene*; but in such Fathers as *Arius*, *Actius*, *Eunomius*, or *Philostorgius*: And yet you shorn even of Them in some Points; particularly in the part you assign the Son in the Creation of all Things by the *Father's* Power; (you do not yet say by his *Own*, which several of the antient *Arians* would never have scrupled) and in the Account you give of Christ's being appointed *God over all*, after his Resurrection; and your resolving his *Worship* into the Power then given Him: Doctrines proper only to a *Samosatenian* †, or *Socinian*.

Having shewn, from Father to Father, down to the *Arian* Times, that our Lord Jesus Christ was supposed by Them to be the *Jehovah*, the *Almighty*, the *one true God*, God of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, acknowledged as the *one true God*, and worshipped by the Patriarchs as such; Having proved This to have been the antient *Catholick* Doctrine of the Church,

\* See my Sermons, p. 109.

† See my Defense, p. 275, &c.



without any exception; unless of *Novatian*, who yet differs not from it in the main, but in Expression rather; not in the Doctrine of the Son's *real* and *essential* Divinity: This Foundation being laid, it remains now only to take off some Pretences you have offered to invalidate the Force of the Evidence.

Your Pretence is, that tho' God the Son was *God of Abraham, God of Israel, &c.* yet He was such only in a *subordinate Sense*, because He was *Representative* of God the Father, *pag. 159.* To which I answer, that had the Antients supposed Him to be stiled *God, and Lord*, purely in Virtue of such *Representation*, there would then be some Force in your reasoning: But that They did not, will appear most evidently from the following Considerations.

1. None of the Fathers ever put the *Godhead* of the Son upon That Foot; They never say, nor insinuate, that He is *God* on the Account of any such *Representation*.

2. They are so far from doing it, that their whole Drift and Method of arguing supposes and implies the utmost Contradiction to it. For, if the Son were supposed to be *God* on the Score of the *Representation*, then Any *Angel* might be *God* also on account of such *Representation*; and then it could never be proved (in the way that the Fathers took \*) that there was any *God the Son* at all; but the whole Force of their reasoning would be vacated and null. On the contrary, They presumed that none could either *represent God, or personate God, or use the Style of God*, that was not really *God*: And upon This presumption, Their whole reasoning turns. If therefore They are any where to be understood of a *Representation*, They must mean a full and adequate Representation, such as none could exhibit, or sustain, who was not Himself every Thing that He re-

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\* See my Defense, p. 38, 39, 432.

presents. For as nothing but *Man* can fully and adequately represent *Man*: So nothing but *God* can perfectly and suitably represent *God*.

3. Add to This, the antient Fathers always suppose the Son to be *God* antecedently to The supposed *Representation*; which is decisive in the Case. They suppose Him *God* as being *God's Son*, of the same Nature and Substance with *God*. This is what all the Fathers *expressly*, or in Words equivalent, resolve the Son's *Divinity* into: Which Consideration cuts off all your Pretences at once; as I before intimated \*, and you take no Notice of it. The Reason why you did not, must be visible to the meanest Reader.

In Proof of the Fact, that the Fathers did so resolve the *Divinity* of Christ (tho' it be what no Scholar can be ignorant of) I shall for the Sake of common Readers, here recite their Testimonies.

*Justin Martyr*, in his first *Apology*, says of *God the Son*: *Who being the Word, God's first begotten, is also God* †. In his *Dialogue*, He often repeats the same Thing. He is *God, on Account of his being his Son begotten before all Creatures* ‡. In another Place, *Had you but understood what is said by the Prophets, you could not have denied Him to be God, being the Son of the only, the uncreated, the ineffable God* ||.

To

\* *Defense*, p. 46.

† ὁσ καὶ λόγος πρωτότοκος ἂν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ θεὸς ὑπάρχει. *Apol.* τ. p. 123. *Or.*

‡ Θεῷ ᾧ ἐκ τοῦ εἶναι τέκνον πρωτότοκον τῶν ὅλων κτισμάτων. *Just. Dial.* p. 364.

|| Ἐπινεύκατε τὰ εἰρημέσα ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἐξηρῆσθε αὐτὸν εἶναι θεόν, τοῦ μόνου, καὶ ἀγένετος, καὶ ἀρρήτου θεοῦ υἱόν. *Dial.* p. 366. *N. E.* I read ἀγένετος with single ν, for a Reason which will appear more fully afterward: And I understand μόνου in Opposition to *Creatures* only, or *false Gods*, not to the Son who is always to be tacitly understood to belong to, and to be included in the *alone God*. And I take This of *Justin* to be nearly equivalent to These other of *Philo*, and *Cyril of Alexandria*.

To the same Purpose, He elsewhere stiles Him *God*; immediately adding, *as being Son of God* \*. And *Justin* is known to represent the Son as begotten *from*, or *out of God* † (ἐκ Θεοῦ and ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ) without *Abscission* or *Division* ‡, as one Fire from another, and as being *strictly and properly* || (ιδίως, and κυρίως) Son of God. All which together expresses the *Consubstantiality*, Sameness of *Nature*, and most intire and perfect *Unity* imaginable. Such is *Justin Martyr's* Account of Christ's *Divinity*; never speaking of his being *appointed* God, or being God by I know not what *Representation*; but of his being *God*, by partaking of the one true Godhead, naturally Son of God.

The same Account, but more briefly, we have from *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, a little lower in the same Century; Who speaks of Christ *being God*, as *God's Son* <sup>a</sup>. The same we have also from *Clemens of Alexandria*, in a very remarkable Passage above cited. The same also from *Tertullian*, who says, *That which is derived from God is God, and Son of God, and Both one God* <sup>b</sup>. *Novatian* speaks as plain, in These Words; *As Nature it self has made it a Rule, that He must be accounted Man, who is Man: So the same Rule of Nature prescribes, that He must be accounted God, who is of God* <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Ὁς τοῦ αἰδίου λόγος ἦν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἀφθάρος. Phil. de Conf. Ling. p. 326.

<sup>b</sup> Ὅπερ ἂν ἐξ ἀγενήτης κ' ἀφθάτης γενένηται, τούτο πάντως ἀφθάρην κ' ἀγένητον. Cyril. Thesaur. p. 34.

\* Θεὸν ὄντα, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. p. 170. Θεός, Θεοῦ υἱὸς ὑπάρχων. p. 171.

† Just. Dial. p. 183. Apol. p. 49.

‡ Justin. Dial. p. 183, 373. Paræn. p. 127.

|| Just. Apol. 1. p. 45, 46. Apol. 2. p. 13.

<sup>a</sup> Θεὸς οὖν ἂν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ πεφυκώς, &c. Theoph. p. 130. Ox.

<sup>b</sup> Quod de Deo Profectum est Deus est, & Dei Filius, & unus (Suppl. Deus) Ambo. Tertull. Apol. c. 21.

<sup>c</sup> Ut enim præscripsit ipsa Natura *Hominem* credendum esse qui ex *Homine* fit: Ita eadem Natura præscribit & Deum credendum esse qui ex *Deo* fit, *Novat. c. 11.*

I forbear to cite more. It is a Ruled Case in Antiquity, that Christ is *God* (not by Appointment, Deputation, Representation, or any thing of like Kind) but by his *Son-ship*; deriving the same divine Nature from the Father, as is in the Father. Nor was the Name of *God* ever thought by them to denote an *Office*, or any *Relative Character*, but *Nature* and *Substance*, as the Word *Man*. It will now be easy to answer those little Pleas and Exceptions, which you have remaining. You have, in the main, but one Argument, which you repeat over and over: *Viz.* That Christ cannot be *supreme God*, because He was an *Angel*, or Messenger of God: Which is as much as to say, That *Peter*, for Instance, could not be *Man*, if sent by *Man*. The whole Strength of your Argument lies in the artificial Confusion of *Ideas*. Christ could not be *supreme* in Office, while executing an *inferior Office*, That is very certain: But what has Supremacy of Office to do with the Notion of *supreme God*? *God* is a Word expressing *Nature* and *Substance*: He is *supreme God*, or *God supreme*, that has no *God* of a *superior Nature* above Him. Such is Christ, even while He submits, and condescends to act *ministerially*: And thus all your Speculations on This Head, arising only from Confusion of *Ideas*, drop at once. I submit sometimes to your Phraseology, of *supreme God*, tho' it be improper, and rather *Pagan*, than *Christian*. *Supreme God* has generally a tacit Reference to an *inferior God*; And so it was used in the *Pagan Theology*. But *Christians*, who acknowledge but *one God*, should never talk of a *supreme God*; the more proper Name being rather the *one God*, the *true God*, the *God of the Universe*, *God supreme*, and the like. But you, to introduce your *Polytheism*, are perpetually telling us of the *supreme God*; And every Time you meet with ἐπὶ πάντι θεός, or ὁ θεός τῶν ὀντων, you falsely and corruptly render it, The *supreme God*, (instead of the *God of the Universe*) to serve your *Hypothesis*. I

do not find that the Fathers were used to stile God the Father *supreme God*; except when disputing with *Pagans*, or the like, They accomodated Themselves in some Measure, to their Style, reserving to Themselves the Christian Sense. And it is but very rarely they use *πρῶτος Θεός*, or *Deus Princeps*, for the *Father*; And when They do, it is, as I said, to express the *supreme Father* in a Style not proper to Christian Principles, only in Condescension to the *Pagans*, to be the better understood.

To return. I perceive, the *Subordination* is what you lay the main Stress upon, in order to overthrow the Church's Doctrine of Christ's *real Divinity*. You will now be reduced to This single Maxim (which you are sensible you can never *prove*, but every where *suppose*) that the *Unity* or *Equality* which we teach, is not consistent with any Distinction of *Order*, or *Offices*. Whenever you are disposed to try the Strength of your *Metaphysics*, That Point may be debated with you. At present you have thought it the wiser way only to speak your *Wishes*, and to deliver out *Dictates*, instead of *Proofs*: A Method which may be thought rather too assuming in *private*, and withal very *fallible* Men; to expect that their bare *Affirmations* should have any Weight against the united Verdict of all the Christian Churches, antient and modern.

I shall take but little Notice of the *incidental Errors*, which you are pleased to charge me with, p. 160. &c. because the Reader will have seen, before This Time, that they are *imaginary* only, founded upon your own Mistakes. I may just observe, that p. 164, you give a Character, or Description of *God the Father*, calling it, very absurdly, *the Signification of the Word God, when applied to the Father*. You might as well have given a Description, or Character of *Adam*, calling it the Signification of the Word *Man*, when applied to *Adam*. To say, what the *Father's Person* is, is one Thing: To say, what is signified by the Name *God*, is Another. Your Testi-

monies none of them come up to the Point : Which was to show, that *unbegotten*, or that particular *Manner* of *existing*, is necessarily included in the Signification of the Word *God*. There is nothing more under This *Query*, but what I have before sufficiently answer'd, or obviated. But since This *Query* has been drawn out into a very great Length, so as almost to take in the whole of the Controversy ; it may be for the Ease and Conveniency of the Reader, to subjoin a brief Recapitulation, or Summary of what has been done in it.

It has been shown, first, from *Scripture*, that God the Son is *not excluded* by such Texts as speak of the Unity ; not excluded from being *God*, and *one God* with the Father. The Texts that prove 'This have been explain'd, and vindicated ; and the pretended contrary Evidence from *Scripture* has been shown to be null, and of no Account.

It has been farther proved, that the *Antients* in general teach the same Thing, by understanding the *exclusive* Texts to affect *Idols* only, or *other Gods* ; By declaring against admitting any *other God* besides God the Father, yet admitting God the Son ; By their asserting Father and Son together to be *one God*, or the *one God* ; and, lastly, by their believing God the Son to have been That very Person, who declared *Himself* God of *Israel*, God of *Abraham*, &c. besides whom the *Jews* were to have no God ; declaring This of Himself, in his *own proper Person*, (not excluding the Father or Holy-Ghost, one with Him) as being really *God*, because *Son of God*, of the *same divine Nature* and *Substance* with God the Father. These Things have been proved to have been unanimously taught by the *Antients* ; saving only some little Difference in *Novatian*, a Scismatick at That Time, and of no considerable Authority, (tho' He also agrees in the main Doctrine of the Son's *essential Divinity*) allowing also for some Dissent in *Eusebius* (a late Writer, and a familiar Acquaintance of the lead-  
ing

ing *Arians*) in which He is not consistent with Himself, or with the Creed which He subscribed, or with his public Speeches and Debates.

Upon the whole, one can scarce desire fuller, or better Evidence of what I advanced in This *Query* than hath been produced for it. And, as I formerly told you, so I again repeat it (tho' perhaps you may be the last to believe) that *the Fathers stand pointed against you, and you are certain to expose your Cause as often as you hope for any Relief or Succour from Them.* Which shall be yet more fully evidenced in the Sequel.

### Q U E R Y III.

*Whether the Word (God) in Scripture, can reasonably be supposed to carry an ambiguous Meaning, or to be used in a different Sense, when applied to the Father and Son, in the same Scripture, and even in the same Verse? See John i. 1.*

**Y**OUR *new* Answer to This Query is, that The Word *God*, when applied to the Father, denotes Him who alone has all Perfections, &c. in and of Himself, original, underived, &c. but when applied to the Son, it denotes one who has not his Perfections of Himself, but derived, &c. and so the Word *God* is used in different Senses, *supreme and subordinate.* You might as well say, that the Word *Man*, when applied to *Adam*, denotes the Person of *Adam*, who was *unbegotten*; but when applied to *Seth*, it denotes the Person of *Seth* who was *begotten*; and therefore the Word *Man* does not signify the same Thing, or carry the same *Idea* in Both Cases, but is used in different Senses. What I assert

I assert is, that the Word *God* signifies, or denotes *absolute Perfection*, whether applied to *Father* or *Son*; and is therefore applied in the same Sense to Both. He that is possessed of *all Perfection* (whether *originally*, or *derivatively*) is *God*; all that *God* is, *God* in the highest and fullest Sense of the Word *God*. You are to show, that *Unoriginateness*, or *Paternity*, is contain'd in the *Idea* or *Definition* of *God*; or that the Word *God* necessarily implies it. By your Account, the Word *God*, in one Sense, signifies as much as *God* and *Father* together. You have no Ground for This Fancy, either in Scripture, or Antiquity. The Truth is, *God* denotes *all Perfection*, and *Father* denotes a *Relation* of Order, and a particular *Manner of existing*: All which you confusedly blend together, as if signified by the one Word *God*. Hitherto then you have brought no Proof of two *different* Senses of the Word *God*, when applied to *Father* and *Son*.

I must observe, that here appears to be a very great Change, a very material Alteration, in your Scheme, since your Writing before. *God* was then a mere *Relative*, a *Word of Office*, and *always* so, in *Scripture*: So the learned Doctor had told us \*, and that it was never intended to express *Metaphysical Attributes*. But now it is to signify *All Perfections, original, undervived* (by which you mean *necessary-existence*, as you else-where explain it) So that you now come into my Notion of the *true* and *proper* Sense of the Word *God*; excepting that you confound *Unoriginateness* with *Necessary-existence*, which I keep *distinct*: And as I take the *Necessary-existence* into the *Definition* of *God*, I as constantly throw out *unbegotten*, as having nothing to do in it. What Kind of a *Divinity* you have left to *God the Son*,

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\* See Clarke's *Script. Doctrine*, p. 296. ed. 1<sup>st</sup>.  
Reply, p. 119. 290.



you may do well to consider; having excluded Him from the one *necessarily-existing* Godhead; and from being *God* in the most usual and *scriptural* Sense of the Word; which you had some Pretence to before while you supposed the Word *God* a mere *Relative*, whether applied to *Father*, or *Son*.

Our Dispute about *Dominion* is now at an End; tho' it before made a great Part of This *Query*. I allow that the Phrase, *Our God*, expresses some *Relation* of God to us, as well as what He is *absolutely in Himself*. I admitted as much before\*; so that you need not now have mentioned it as any discovery.

You do not tell me in what Sense you make *Christ God*, after you have struck Him out of That Sense which occurs ordinarily in Scripture, and which is indeed the only *true* and *proper* Sense of the Word; all the rest being *loose* and *figurative* only, as I shew'd at large†. Instead of *Answering* Difficulties, which was the part you undertook, you turn *Objector*; thereby to hide, and cover, if possible, the many Flaws in your Scheme.

Why do you not tell me plainly, in what Sense the Son is *God*, that I may argue the Point with you, and do Justice to the common Readers, who want to be satisfied in so important a Question?

You *object* to me Thus: *If none can properly be styled God, who has not all Perfections, how come you to leave out the Principal of the essential Perfections of the first Cause and Author of all Things?* p. 173.

To which I answer, that I leave out no *Perfections* at all. I suppose the *Son*, with the *Father*, to be the *one Cause and Author of all Creatures*; and there is no need of saying *First*, where there is never a *Second*. At the same Time, I suppose the *Father* to be *Father* of his *Son*; which expresses a *Relation* of

\* *Defense*, p. 53.

† *Defense*, p. 49, &c.

Order, and Mode of existence; not any Difference in any *essential Perfection*. Neither is there any greater *Perfection* in being a *Father*, in this Case, than in being a *Son*; but Both are equally *perfect*, equally *necessary* in respect of Existence; all Things common but the personal Characters: And *Self-existence*, as distinct from *Necessary-existence*, is expressive only of the *Order*, and *Manner* in which the *Perfections* are in the *Father*, not of any distinct *Perfection*. With This Answer the Catholick Fathers baffled the *Arians* and *Eunomians*, objecting in the same way you now do: And as you might have known This, it might have been more for your Credit to have shown the *Answer* to be insufficient, than barely to repeat a stale Objection. You have little else but Repetition in *Pages* 174, 175. One Argument, in a manner, is to serve quite through your Book. The *Son* cannot be *supreme God*; no, He cannot, because He is a *Son*, because He is *subordinate*, because He has acted, or still acts *ministerially*. Repeat This ever so often, it proves nothing but a distinction of *Persons*, *Order* and *Offices*; no Difference of *Nature*, or *Perfections*, or *Godhead*. And what has the Question about *Supreme Godhead*, relating to *Nature* and *Substance* (as *God* is a Word denoting *Substance*, and He is *God* supreme, that knows no *Nature* superior to his own) to do with *Order*, or *Offices*? The *Son* is *God* supreme, for That very reason because He is a *Son*, of the *same Nature*, and the same divine *Perfections* with the *Father*. But you say, the Word *Nature* is of very uncertain, various, Signification: And you return me the same loose Answer which *Dr. Clarke* gave to *Mr. Nelson*\*, which I sufficiently exposed in my *Defense* †. The plain Fact is, that you are pinched, and you see where, and have nothing to retreat to, but insignificant Words.

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\* *Clarke Reply*, pag. 17.

† *Defense*, p. 300.

What is there in the Words *equality* of *Nature*, more than what every Peasant, or Child may understand? *Man* is in *nature* equal to *Man*, *Angel* to *Angel*, any *individual* to Another of the *same* kind: A very little *Metaphysicks* may suffice in so plain a Thing. This then is what I assert, that a Supremacy of *Order* or of *Office* is consistent with *Equality* of *Nature*; and if the Son be in *nature* equal to the Father, he is also equal in *Godhead*, which is a Word expressing *Nature*; And if equal in *Godhead*, equally *God supreme*. Q. E. D. This I took to be sound, and true reasoning before: And you have been pleased to confirm it, by your *tacit* Confession; while you avoid replying to it.

To prove that Christ is *God* in the same Sense as the Father is, I appealed to his Name *Jehovah*; as I have also elsewhere \*, more at large. To This you have little to answer, besides what I have abundantly replied to above, about Christ's being a *Messenger*, and *Representative*, &c.

As to what you add of *Inferior* Angels speaking in the Style of their *Principals*; you will consider, that it is a Notion directly opposite to all the *Antients*; whose general Argument for the *Divinity* of God the Son, drawn from the Appearances under the Old Testament, would be intirely eluded, and frustrated by it: Neither could They have proved, in That way, the existence of *God the Son*, but upon a Supposition directly contrary to you. This therefore is one great Prejudice against your Notion, and such as ought to have Weight with you, while you make your Boasts of *Antiquity*. Besides, I thought you had before allowed that God the Son was *Jehovah*, *God*, *Lord*, &c. in his own *Person*, tho' in a *subordinate* Sense: And I think, you then gave me a Rebuke, pag. 159. for supposing the contrary. Are you now altered of a sudden, and become *Another Man*? But be it so, This *new* Answer will serve no better than

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\* *Sermons*, p. 33, &c.

the former: For, as to any pretended Instance you can bring from the *Old Testament*, it will be answer'd, that the *Angel* was the *Logos*, for that very reason because He us'd the *Style of God*; as it was customary for Him to do. And as to your Instance from *Rev. xi. 1, 3.* I own, it so runs in the *English*; but a *Scholar* should have looked into the *Greek*, where He will not find it. This you had notice of long ago\*.

Your Example given of the *Roman Feialis* is as little to your purpose as the other. For, in the Words, *Ego populusque Romanus, I and the Roman People, I* does not denote the *Senate*, as you imagine, but the *Feialis*, the *Herald* himself coming in the Name of the *Roman People* considered in their large collective Sense comprehending all the *Romans*, Senate and People. And so you find, in *Rosinus*, the Herald saying, *Ego sum publicus nuncius Populi Romani*: not, *ego sum populus Romanus*, or *ego sum Senatus*; as your Supposition would require. However, I do not pretend that no Instance can be given of such a Thing as a *Proxy*, in any Case whatever. But that God should thus permit a *Creature* to be his *Proxy*, (as Man may permit Man) appears by no means proper or congruous, because of the *infinite Disparity*; and because of the inevitable Danger it would bring Men into, of mistaking the *Creature* for the *Creator*, and misplacing their Worship, which would be *Idolatry*. You proceed, (*pag. 178.*) to weaken the Force of what I had said in relation to the *Name*, or *Appellation* of *Jehovah*.

Our Dispute is in a great measure superseded, since you no longer insist upon the *Relative* meaning of the Word *God*; against which I was then arguing.

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\* *True Script. Doctr. continued*, p. 184.  
See also *Mr. Wade*, p. 33.

It is very indifferent to me, whether *Jehovah* be ever an *Appellative*, (as Bishop \* *Pearson* thinks) or always a *Proper Name*, as others † teach; provided only that it be looked upon as a Name expressive of an *intrinsic Perfection*, and not of an *outward Relation*, like *King*, *Governor*, &c.

And that it is expressive of *necessary-existence*, the best Criticks, antient and modern agree. I had said (pag. 62. of my *Defense*) that its primary *Signification* is *Being*; to which you answer very strangely, that *the Name Jehovah signifies neither primarily, nor at all, Substance or Being, but Person*. This is little more than equivocating upon the Word *Signify*; which is low Employment. Let it denote a *Person*, which is what you mean by *Signify*, (for, I hope, you do not intend to say that the Word *Person* is the english for the Hebrew *Jehovah*) still it signifies the *nature* of that *Person*, to whom the *Name* is given, to be *existing* in the emphatical Sense, or *necessarily-existing*: And if it be applied to more *Persons* than one, it still signifies the same also. You are fallen into such a Road of talking, without any distinct meaning, that I am sometimes at a loss to know what it is you would say. *Jehovah*, you observe, does not signify *Substance*, but the *Person, whose The Substance is*. I beseech you, what is *Person* but *Substance*? Is it intelligent, agent *Nothing*? *Person*, as I take it, is intelligent, acting *Substance*; (tho' That is not a full Definition) and so the Sense of what you have said amounts to This; that *Jehovah* does not signify *Substance*, but the intelligent acting *Substance, whose That Substance is*. Readers will be much edified by these very curious, and deep Remarks. The Truth may be said at once, in a very few words, that the Name *Jehovah* denotes the *necessary-existence*

\* *Pearson on the Creed*, p. 150. Ed. 10<sup>th</sup>.

† *Brocklesby's Gospel-Theism*, p. 347.

of as many Persons as it is applied to; and being applied to *Christ*, it is a Proof that He is *necessarily-existing*, as well as the Father, and one *Jehovah* with Him; since *Jehovah* is *one* \*. You say, Father and Son being *two Agents* will be two *Jehovahs*: But That, you will remember, is begging the Question. The *Father* is intelligent Substance, and the Son intelligent Substance; and Both *one Substance*, *one Jehovah*, *one God*. You add, (pag. 180.) *being Consubstantial with Jehovah will no more make another Person to be the same Jehovah, than being Consubstantial with the Father, will make Him the same Father*. For want of *Arguments*, I am forced to take your *Sayings*, where there is no Argument. I never put the Unity upon *Consubstantiality* alone †: One Man is *Consubstantial* to Another, and yet They are not *one Man*, nor *one Substance*. But if the Son be not *only Consobstantial*, but also *One Substance* with the Father, (stiled *Jehovah*) as proceeding from Him, and inseparably contain'd in Him; then He is also *one Jehovah* with Him. You have a farther Pretence, that if the Son be *Jehovah*, or  $\delta\omega\nu$ , He will be *unbegotten*, *unoriginate*, &c. But your reasoning is lame; because you have not proved that  $\delta\omega\nu$  either signifies *unbegotten*, or ever necessarily implies it. The Father indeed is  $\delta\omega\nu$ , and is *unbegotten*; but not  $\delta\omega\nu$ , because *unbegotten*, but because *necessarily-existing*.

Page 181, you come to inform the Reader what it is I mean by the Son's being *supreme God*: It is, you say, *supreme in the strict Sense*; God in the *same Sense*, and in as *High* a Sense as the *Father Himself*; and yet, *Strange Contradiction!* referring all to the *Father as Father, Head, Fountain*, &c. Now, here is no *Contradiction* at all, but what you have made to your self, through your *Confusion* of

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\* See my Sermons, p. 225.

† See my Defense, p. 461, 462.

Thought, and your want of *distinct* Perception For, when I apply *Supreme* to the Word *God*, I mean as I ought to mean, that the Son is *God supreme*, (knowing no *superior God*, no *divine Nature* greater, higher, or more excellent than his own) not that He is the *supreme Father* : Who, tho' superior in *Order*, is not therefore of *superior Godhead* ; For a supremacy of *Order* is one Thing, a supremacy of *Nature*, or *Godhead* another. These are plain Things to all that have ever dipp'd in This Controversy.

But you come a little closer up to me, in your following Words, which will indeed deserve Notice ; because it is running your Argument up as far as it can possibly be carried. You say, that upon my Principles, *there is no impossibility but the Father (if the Oeconomy had been so laid) might as well have exercised the Authority of the Son, executed his Orders, &c. nay, and have been begotten also of the Son, and from Him have received his Being.* But do not blend Things together which ought to be kept *distinct* ; and then we shall see clearly into This Matter, so far as is needful.

If you ask, Why that Person called the *Son*, might not have been *Father* ; I have nothing to say, but that in Fact He is not : So it is *written*, and so we *believe*. The Father is *Father*, and the Son is *Son* ; And because of this Relation of *Father* and *Son*, there is a natural Priority of *Order* (I say, *Natural*, not *Oeconomical*) by which the Son is referred up to the Father as his *Head*, and not *vice versa*.

As to the Son's acting a *Ministerial* part, That indeed is purely *Oeconomical* ; and there was no *impossibility*, in the Nature of the Thing, but the Father Himself might have done the same : But it was more congruous that He who is *First* in *Order*, shou'd be *First* in *Office* too : And had it been otherwise, it would have been *inverting the Order* of the Persons ; which, I think, is reason sufficient against it.

To which purpose, Bp. *Pearson* very justly observes :  
 “ Upon This Pre-eminence (of the Father) as I con-  
 “ ceive, may safely be grounded the *Congruity* of the  
 “ divine *Mission*. We often read that Christ was  
 “ sent, from whence He bears the Name of an  
 “ *Apostle* Himself, as well as Those whom He there-  
 “ fore named so; because as the *Father sent Him, so*  
 “ *sent He Them*. The Holy-Ghost is also said to be  
 “ sent, sometimes by the Father, sometimes by the  
 “ Son: But we never read that the *Father was sent*  
 “ at all; there being an *Authority* in That Name  
 “ which seems inconsistent with this *Mission\**.”  
 All This is very right in the Bishop’s Sense of *Au-*  
*thority*; not in yours as signifying *Power* and *Do-*  
*minion* over a *Subject*; which is neither *excellent*, nor  
*true* Divinity, but false and blasphemous.

You proceed to consider my Argument for one  
 and the same strict Sense of the Word *God*, drawn  
 from *John* i. 1. which Argument the Reader may  
 see briefly summ’d up in my *First Sermon*, p. 35.

I argued, as is usual †, from the Word *God* oc-  
 curring twice in the *same Verse*, without the least  
 hint of any *different* Sense. You pretend on the  
 contrary, that *for that very reason*, it must bear a dif-  
 ferent Sense, *because ’tis used in the very same Sentence*  
*by way of Contradistinction*, p. 183. By what kind of  
*Logick* you draw This strange Inference, I see not.  
 Suppose it were said, *Seth* was with *The Man* (i. e.  
*Adam*) and *Seth* was *Man*: Doth it follow that the  
 Word *Man* carries two Senses? Or God the Father

\* *Pearson* on the *Creed*, p. 36.

† Si———evangelista Deum alium majorem & supremum hic in-  
 dicat, alium vero minorem & longe inaequalem; incogitanter admo-  
 dum *Johannes*, ut ait plerumque *Athanasius*, res adeo *disparatas*, sine  
 ulla distinctione, uno eodemque vocabulo utramque Copulans, signifi-  
 cavit: & *Verbum*, ait, erat apud Deum, & Deus erat *Verbum*. Nam  
 quis non Voci *Deus* conjunctim repetita eandem utrobique signifi-  
 cationem statim aptaverit? Quis eandem Vocem, bis eodem loco  
 enuntiatam tam *disparata* significare putaverit? *Montfaucon*, Prelim.  
*Dissert.* in *Euseb.* Comment. in *Psalms*. p. 21.



was with *The Spirit* (meaning the *Holy-Ghost*) and the *Father was Spirit*; does it follow that the *Word Spirit* bears two Senses? Would it not be rather manifest in Both Cases, that the Words so repeated, and so near one another, are interpretative of each other? *The Son*, you say, is stiled *God the Word*, or *Messenger*; which is more than you know. See my *Sermons* as to the meaning of the Name *Word* \*. But suppose Him so stiled by way of *Prolepsis*, (being here considered antecedently to the Creation) as one that was to be sent to create the World, and to reveal the Father to Mankind; how is This at all repugnant to the Doctrine of his being the *one God supreme*? I have so often answered This Pretence, that I am afraid of nauseating the Reader with Repetition. You say, *He is distinguished from Him who of his own Original Supreme Authority sends the Message*. Very true; He is distinguished from the *Person* of the *Father*, who has his Authority *from none*: And yet the Son having the same *supreme Authority* (if you mean Power and Dominion) *from the Father*, is *one God supreme* with Him. He is distinguished, you say, from the *first Cause of whom are all things*, because *Through Him* are all things. He is distinguished in *Person*, and in the *Manner*, or *Order* of Operating; but not as *one Cause* from *another Cause*: For as all Things are *of one*, and *by the other*, Both together are *one Cause* of all Things †; their Operations undivided, their Nature, Power, Perfections, and Glory one.

I had argued, that the Son was God *before the Creation*. You say, (pag. 183.) This infers not *Supremacy*. Yes it does: He was before *all Creatures*, Therefore *no Creature*, therefore *no precarious Being*, therefore *necessarily-existing*, therefore *equal in Nature* and *Godhead* with the Father; therefore *God supreme*

\* *Sermon* I. p. 5, &c.

† See my *Sermons*, p. 54, &c. 78, 106, 111;

as well as the Father. The Link is never the worse for its length, if it be but well connected.

I had said, that the Son could not be called *God*, in the Sense of *Dominion*, *Job. i. 1.* because He is there considered antecedently to the *Creation*, and before any *Dominion* commenced. This, I think, is self-evident. But you have a mind to dispute the Point. Your Argument is, that God was *merciful, good, and just*, before the *Creation*, therefore also He was *possess'd* of *Dominion*, *pag. 183, 184.*

That is to say, He was *disposed* to Acts of *Goodness, Mercy, and Justice*, and likewise to *have Dominion* in his own appointed Time; therefore He had *Dominion* before He had it. Does not every Body know, that *Dominus* and *Servus*, *Master* and *Servant*, are *Relatives*, as much as *Father* and *Son*, *Husband* and *Wife*, and always suppose and imply each other, commence and fall together? *Tertullian* therefore was very right and accurate in his Distinction about *God* and *Lord\**; that the Father was always *God*, *God* denoting *Nature, Substance, and Perfections*; but became *Lord* in Time, as soon as the *Creation* commenced; *Lord* expressing his *Relation* to his *Creatures*. To proceed:

I had argued for *Christ's real* and supreme *Divinity*, from his part in the *Creation*, according to *John i.* Here you have only the same Thing over again, about the Distinction of *of whom*, and *By whom*; which is nothing to the purpose.

\* *Dei* nomen dicimus semper fuisse apud semetipsum & in semetipso, *Dominum* verò non semper. Diversa enim utriusque Conditiò. *Deus* substantiæ ipsius nomen, id est, Divinitatis, *Dominus* vero non substantiæ, sed *Potestatis*: Substantiam semper fuisse cum suo nomine, quod est *Deus*; postea *Dominus*, accidentis scilicet rei mentio. Nam ex quo esse cæperunt in quæ Potestas Domini ageret, ex illo, per accessionem Potestatis, & factus & dictus est *Dominus*. *Tertull. contr. Hermog. c. 3.*

I allow, that the Father is *primarily* Creator, and Son *secondarily*, or *subordinately*; and Both *one Creator*. There is a Difference of *Order*, or *Manner*, which yet makes no Difference of *Power*, or *Godhead*: So that This is mere trifling; unless you could prove that the *Unity* of *Godhead* is not consistent with the *Distinction* of *Persons*, *Order*, or *Offices*; which you have not done. I dispute not whether  $\delta\iota\alpha$  may express the *primary* efficient Cause; it expresses as much *efficiency* as  $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\acute{o}$  or  $\epsilon\kappa$ , which is all I am concerned for: And as to the different *Order*, or *Manner* of the Two Persons concurring in the same Thing, it neither makes them *Two Causes*, nor *Two Creators*, nor *Two Gods*; nor is it any Argument against the Son's being *Cause*, *Creator*, or *God*, in the same high, and full Sense of those Words as the Father.

You have something to say to two Instances given, (*Rom. xi. 36. Heb. ii. 10.*) where  $\delta\iota\alpha$  is applied to the Father. You interpret the Texts of his *Providential Care*: Not that Things are *created*, but *preserved*, through Him. Allowing you This Construction, (which is perfectly precarious) yet you have only *seem'd* to say something, as usual, when, upon the Matter, you have really said nothing. For if  $\delta\iota\alpha$  may be applied even to the Father, who, with you, is the *Original efficient Cause* of the *Preservation* of all Things, and whose is the *Original Governing Providence*; (a Work and Business not less considerable than the Work of *Creation*) what can you infer merely from  $\delta\iota\alpha$  being applied to God the Son? He might, notwithstanding what you have here said, be *efficient*, and even *Originally* too, either in *Creation*, or *Conservation*; for, They are near a-kin to each other: And so *Conservation* has been sometimes stiled *continued Creation*, being a continuance of the same Power. Might you not therefore have been content with my granting you more than you can fairly prove from the bare Force of  $\delta\iota\alpha$ , instead of labouring a

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needless Point ; where, at last, you can make nothing out? I have allowed you (which I may now call a *Courtesy*) a *Priority of Order* : Make your Advantage of it. You say it is in *Words* ; that is, because you make a Difference in *Order*, to be *no Difference in Order* ; and confound *Co-ordination* with *Co-equality*. I desire no greater Advantage over an Adversary, than to see Him reduced to *self-contradiction*, and plain *Defiance* to *common Sense*, only to keep up an *Hypothesis*. I admit a Difference of *Order*, not of *Nature* : But that Word *Nature* is so very obscure, and *Metaphysical* ; I would say, That *Distinction* is so plain and obvious, carrying in it so entire a Confutation of all you have been saying, or doing, that you cannot endure the least Mention of it. You have thought it material to observe, (p. 186.) that Things are said to have been created for the *Pleasure* of God the Father. (*Rev. iv. 10, 11.*) which is no where said of the Son. To which I answer, nor *twice* of the Father. However, no Body can doubt but the World was created for the *Son's Pleasure*, as well as the Father's : And to me it seems that the Expression of *St. Paul*, (*All Things were created by Him, and for Him*) is as strong and significative as the other. I am the more confirm'd in it, because I observe that you translate, or construe,  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$  in *Rom. xi. 36.* (the very same Phrase here used in *Coloss. i. 15.*) *To his Glory they all terminate* (p. 185.) which is as much as terminating in *his Pleasure* \*.

We are now to hold a Debate about  $\delta\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , which is very needless in the main, because I had really admitted (to shorten our Dispute) more than you could prove, either from *Scripture*, or *Antiquity*. I had allowed  $\delta\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  to be the ordinary Title of God the Father, and rightly reserved to Him, in most Cases ;

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\* See my Sermons, p. 61.

as his distinguishing personal Character \*, in the Sense of *αὐτόθεος*. Yet I very well know, that This is more than you can prove from the *Fathers*, except from *Origen*; and that not from his latest, and best Writings. Might you not then have thought it sufficient to build upon my *Concessions*, rather than to make your Cause appear the weaker, by endeavouring to give it more Strength than belongs to it? It is Demonstration, that the Fathers in general made no Account of the Distinction between *θεός*, and *ὁ θεός*, in our present Case; Because of their applying a Multitude of Texts to Christ, where there is *ὁ θεός*, as before shown. Your Pretence of his being considered as *Representative* only, has been fully answer'd above: Besides that you are fluctuating and inconsistent in your Accounts of that Matter; sometimes allowing Christ to be what He is there stiled (*viz.* *ὁ θεός*) in his own *Person*; and again retracting it, by supposing the Title to belong only to the *other Person*, whom He *represented*. In short, you seem not to know what to determine, or where to fix; so various and unconstant a Thing is Error. It being certain that the Fathers, in general, so interpreted *Scripture* as to make no Account of your Distinction; it will be of less Weight if They appear to make more of it in their own Writings: For, why should They fix a Rule to Themselves, which *Scripture* (by their own Account) had not observed, but the direct contrary? Indeed, you have two Writers, before the *Nicene Council*, to produce for it, *Clemens* and *Origen*: As to *Clemens*, how little He made of the Distinction, as to our present Question, may be observed from his manner of stiling the Father and Son together *ὁ θεός*, as have been noted above. Besides This, I took Notice, that He often gives the Son, *singly*, the Title of *ὁ θεός*: And I re-

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\* See my Defense, p. 69.

ferred to the Places <sup>a</sup>. You have something to say to every one of them, to show how resolute you can be in defending any Thing, you have once pretended to lay any Strefs upon. To the first Passage <sup>b</sup>, you say it is only an Allusion to *Psal. xxxiv. 8.* And what then? Is it ever the less true, that ὁ Θεός is there applied to Christ? To the second Passage <sup>c</sup> you say, the λόγος is spoken of, as *personating the Father.* Not a Word does *Clemens* say of *personating*, but of the Son's being the *Face of the Father* <sup>d</sup>; so that in seeing one, Both were, in a Manner, seen; one being the perfect Resemblance of the other, and *representing* Him (not in your low Sense of *personating*) but exhibiting Him, as in a lively Mirrour, by exhibiting Himself. Besides, that it is plain from *Clemens*, that the same Person who was to be Man, was ὁ Θεός. Was this the *Father*, think you, or the Son? To the third Passage <sup>e</sup>, you say, that the ὁ Θεός is *not the λόγος, but a sanctified Christian.* But your better Retreat is to the *various Lesson*, not only because your Construction is at least *dubious*, but because if it were *certain*, it were still an Instance of ὁ Θεός applied by *Clemens*, contrary to your Criticism. To the *fourth* and *fifth* Passages <sup>f</sup>, you reply, that τὸν Θεόν and τῷ Θεῷ *may be understood of the Father.* To which I need only say, They cannot without straining, and making the Construction forc'd, and unnatural. To the *sixth* <sup>g</sup>, you say, *the Limitations*

<sup>a</sup> Clemens Alex. p. 72, 132, 251, 273, 436, 832.

<sup>b</sup> Ἰδοτε ὅτι χριστὸς ὁ Θεός. Clem. p. 72.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐτι ἢ καὶ ἐνομήμας ἦν ὁ Θεός ὁ κύριος μηδέπω γενημένος Ἄνθρωπος. Clem. p. 132.

<sup>d</sup> Πρόσωπον ἢ Θεοῦ ὁ λόγος, ᾧ φωτίζεται ὁ Θεός, καὶ γινώσκεται. τότε Ἰσραὴλ ἐπανόμασαι, ὅτε εἶδε τὸν Θεόν, τὸν κύριον. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Θεός, ὁ λόγος, &c. Clem. ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Clem Alex. p. 251.

<sup>f</sup> Clem. Alex. p. 273, 436.

<sup>g</sup> Ἄγνοια ἢ οὐκ ἔπιτεται Θεοῦ, ἢ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου συμβούλιον γενομένης Θεοῦ πατρὸς. Clem. p. 832.

added are strongly against me. That is only a Fancy of your own : But was not the Question, whether  $\delta$  Θεός was applied to Christ by *Clemens*? An ingenious Man would either have confessed plain Fact, or have said nothing. None of the Passages you say, give to the Son the Title ( $\delta$  Θεός) in the absolute and unlimited Construction. And might you not have had This Reserve, if I had produced a Thousand Passages with  $\delta$  Θεός applied to Christ? I do not expect you should grant them to be understood in the *unlimited* Construction: you have resolved against it. And if there were as many Instances in *Scripture* as in the Fathers, you might still have some Pretence against an *unlimited* Construction. In the mean while, what becomes of your Criticisms upon  $\delta$  Θεός, if we are to judge from *other Rules*, whether it is to be understood with *Limitation*, or otherwise? Doth it not appear, even from your self, that the insisting on the *Article* is very Trifling? I had likewise produced *Clemens* for styling the Son,  $\delta$  παντοκράτωρ \*. Here you tell me, it is not in an *absolute* Construction. And what if it is not? The Instance is sufficient to show that Christ is *true God*, upon *Clemens's* Principles, because He is  $\delta$  παντοκράτωρ †, for, *Clemens* makes no Distinction about *absolute* Construction. But neither can you prove that *Clemens* does not use the Words τὸν παντοκράτορα, in the Passage cited, in an *absolute* Construction (if one can know what you mean by *absolute*) nor if you could, would it at all change the Sense of the Word παντοκράτωρ, or make it signify any thing less than when applied ever so *absolutely*. *Clemens* reasons from it in the same Manner, as He would have done from the same Word, or Title, understood in the fullest and highest Sense

\* Ἀνευθένης ἦν ὁ τὸν παντοκράτορα θεὸν λόγον ἔχων, καὶ ἐθεὸς ἂν χρῆζει, ἂπορεῖ ποτε. Clem. p. 277.

† Οὐ ἦν θεὸν ἀπλῶς προσεῖπεν ὁ τῆς Ἐ' ἀρχῆς προτάξει τὸν παντοκράτορα δηλάσας. Clem. p. 548.

that παντοκράτωρ or *Almighty* can come up to. It is to little Purpose for you to show, that *Clemens* sometimes stiles the Father μόνος ὁ παντοκράτωρ. It is not *Clemens* his Way to use the *exclusive* Terms, in such Instances, in any *Opposition* to God the Son, but quite the contrary; as have been observed above. As to *Origen*, you will be able to make no more of the Place cited \*, than This; that as the λόγος excels all other his inferiors, so also the λόγος is excelled by the Father; not in the same Degree, but in a certain Sense, as the Father is αὐτόθεος God from none, the Son God by partaking of the Father's Godhead.

However, if *Origen*, or his *Interpolators* have any where in These *Comments* dropp'd any unwary Expressions; you will remember that they are of no Moment any farther than they are consistent with *Origen's* certain, well-weighed Doctrine, in his Treatise against *Celsus*.

As to *Eusebius*, your last Authority for the Distinction between Θεός, and ὁ Θεός (whatever his Principles were) all the Use He makes of the Distinction is only to prove against *Marcellus*, that the *Son* was not the *Father*. For, He perpetually charges *Marcellus* with *Sabellianism*; as making the *Son* to be the *Father*, and *vice versa*. His Words, literally and justly rendred (not as you render them) run thus. "The Evangelist could have said, the Word was ὁ Θεός, " with the Addition of the Article, had He thought " the Father and Son to be one and the same Thing, " and that the Word Himself was *The God* over all †. The Sense of This Passage will entirely depend upon

\* Λεκτέον γὰρ αὐταῖς ὅτι τότε μὲν αὐτόθεος ὁ Θεός ἐστι — πᾶν ὃ τὸ παρὰ τὸ αὐτόθεος μετοχῇ τῆς ἐκείνης θεότητος θεοποιούμενον, ἐκ ὁ Θεός, ἀλλὰ Θεός κυριώτερον ἂν λέγοιτο. Orig. in Joh. p. 46, 47.

Vid. Huettii not. p. 93, 94.

† Δυνάμει γὰρ εἶπεν, καὶ ὁ Θεός ἦν ὁ λόγος, μετὰ τῆς τοῦ ἄρθρου προσηκῆς, εἰ γὰρ ἐν καὶ ταυτὸν κηγεῖτο τὸν πατέρα εἶναι καὶ τὸν υἱόν. αὐτὸν τε εἶναι τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεόν. Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 127.



a right Consideration of what it was that *Eusebius* charged *Marcellus* with; or how He understood *Marcellus* to affirm the Father and Son to be the *same Thing*, or *same God*.

Now, This will easily appear from diverse Places in *Eusebius's* Treatise against Him. He charges *Marcellus* with making the Word a meer *notional Thing*, fleeting and vanishing, like a *Human Word*, nothing *living* and *subsisting* \*. He charges Him with taking it in a *Jewish Sense*, and making no more than a *nominal* Difference between the *Father* and his *Word* †. One *Essence* and one *Hypostasis* too, in the Way of *Sabellius*. He charges Him with taking away the very *Existence* as well as *Hypostasis* of the Son; with making one *Hypostasis* with *Three Names* ‡, having no more than a *nominal*, not a *real* Distinction. Hence it is plain what *Eusebius*, in the Passage above cited, meant by ἐν καὶ ταυτόν, *one and the same Thing*; as also by making the λόγος to be τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεόν, *the God over all*. It was making *Father* and *Son* *one Person*, as we now term it; and so confounding *Both* in *one*, as to take away all *real Distinction*. You have therefore no Reason to think I had *partially* represented *Eusebius*, when I said, (*Defense*, p. 69.) that He made no farther Use of the Observation, about the *Article*, than to prove against *Marcellus*, that the λόγος is a distinct *real Person*, and not the *Father* Himself. It is you that have *partially* represented *Eusebius*, either to serve your *Hypothesis*, or for want of considering the *Drift* and *Scope* of *Eusebius's* Treatise, and in what *Sense* He uses his *Terms*.

What then is the result of your Enquiries about the *Distinction* between Θεός with the *Article*, and without it? 1. You have not been able to prove that

\* Euseb. p. 4, 19. p. 5.

† Euseb. p. 33, 35, 36.

‡ Euseb. p. 167, 175.

the *Ante-nicene* Writers in general took any notice at all of it: Two only are found, *Clemens* and *Origen*. The former never applies it at all to the Text of *St. John*, nor makes any use of it to show the Pre-eminence of the *Father* above the *Son*: So far from it, that He gives the Title of  $\delta\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  indifferently to *Father*, or *Son*, or to *Both* together, according as occasion offers. The latter has indeed, in an unaccurate Work, or perhaps corrupted, mentioned the Distinction, and applied it to prove some Pre-eminence of the *Father* as being *God of Himself*, or *unbegotten*. But in his later and more certainly genuine Works, He has nothing of This kind, but resolves the *Unity* in a very different way from what He had done in his *Commentaries*; answering the Objection of *Ditheism* upon quite Another Foot. 2. You have not been able to show, that the *Fathers* ever imagined the *Scripture-Style* to be at all conformable to That *Distinction*: Nay, the contrary is evident from their citing a multitude of Texts of the *Old Testament*; and applying them to *Christ* as therein denoted by the Title of  $\delta\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ . 3. You have not been able to show, that the *Fathers* ever invariably, or carefully, followed any such Rule in their *own Style* (tho' you confidently affirm They did, pag. 188.) For, besides what hath been shown from *Clemens*, examples may be given to the contrary out of the other antient Writers\*. 4. If it could have been proved that This *Distinction* had been ever so constantly observed; yet no certain Consequence in favour of your Principles could be drawn from it: Nothing but what (for the sake of shortening a Dispute) I would have admitted, without your producing any antient Writer for it; namely This, that the *Father* is em-

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\* *Irenæus*, p. 211, 215, 271. Ed. Bened.  
*Hippolytus*, Vol. 1. p. 267. Vol. 2. p. 15, 20.  
*Melito*, cit. a *Grab.* Not. in Bull. p. 86.  
*Origenes* contr. *Cels.* p. 85, 162.

phatically ὁ Θεός, as *First Person*, tho' the Son be Θεός in the same Sense: almost in like manner as the Holy-Ghost is emphatically τὸ πνεῦμα, tho' the Father, or Son be πνεῦμα, in as strict and proper a Sense of πνεῦμα, as the other.

You at length bring me a Quotation from *Theodorus Abucara*, a very Orthodox Man of the 9<sup>th</sup> Century, allowing that in *Scripture Style* ὁ Θεός is a Title *appropriate* to the Father. This is more than the *Antients* would have allowed; except the Observation be confined to the *New Testament*. However, you may perceive that, in the Judgment of very Orthodox Men, our Cause is in no Danger from This famed Distinction\*. They knew the Difference between allowing ὁ Θεός to be an *appropriate Title*, and making the Sense of Θεός depend upon an *Article*.

As to *John* i. 1. where the want of the *Article* before Θεός, is made an Objection against us, it should be considered that the Expression Θεός ἦν ὁ λόγος is just what it should be on our Principles. The want of the *Article* determines Θεός to be the *Predicate*, ascertains the Construction against the *Sabelians*, and is the very Expression which any accurate *Greek Writer* would chuse, rather than the other, to signify what we understand by it.

Having done with Criticisms, you return to your *Logical Subtleties*. I had admitted a *Priority of Order*, yet denying the Son to be God in a *subordinate* Sense: Upon which you remark, *Then He is God in a Co-*

\* *Petavius*, where he cites the Passage you mention, cites also Another of the same Author; which deserved your notice.

Θεός δὲ ἐξαιρέτως λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἕνωσις, ἥτοι ἀνάπλυξις καὶ ἀνακεφαλαιώσις τῆς τριάδος ὁ πατήρ ἐστιν, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Θεολόγος. *Petav. Trin. l. 4. c. 15. p. 262.*

“ He is emphatically stiled *God*, because the Father is the *Union*, or folding up, or recapitulation of the *Trinity*; as (*Gregory*) the *Divine* has observed,

*ordinate Sense; and what becomes of the Priority of Order?*

To which I answer, that tho' He be God in a *Co-ordinate*, or rather the *same Sense* of the Word *God*, yet He is God in a *subordinate manner*, as being *God of God*: And now what becomes of the *subordinate Sense* of the Word *God*?

You pretend, that *subordinate* has necessarily a relation to *Government*: which I deny. And if you could prove it, (as you cannot) all that would follow is, that God the Son is not *subordinate*. And then, instead of saying that He is *subordinate*, we would only say that He is a *Son*, or that He is *of the Father*; changing the Phrase, but still retaining the Doctrine under other Terms. But it is ridiculous to assert, that a Difference of *Order* does not make a *subordination*, or an equality of *Order* a *Co-ordination*. To my Instance of *Adam* and *Seth*, you say that to *Adam considered as a Governor*, *Seth was subordinate*. Yes, and *subject* too. But to *Adam considered merely as a Father*, He was only *subordinate*, and not *subject*.

You add, that *Man being the abstract Name of a Species*, all *Men are equally Men*. In like manner, *God being a Name for as many Persons as have the Divine Nature*, every Person having That *Nature*, is equally *God*. You go on: *Among Men a Son does not derive his Being from his Father — but God, when He is stiled Father, must always be understood to be a true and proper Cause, really and efficiently giving Life*. This is the Philosophy of *Dr. Clarke\**: And it is to intimate, that tho' every Son of *Man* has the *Nature of Man*, and is equal in *Nature* to his *Father*; yet the *Son of God* must not have the *Nature of God*, nor be in nature equal to the *Father*. Excellent Doctrine! And yet you are affronted, to

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\* *Clarke's Script. Doct.* p. 239, 273. Ed. 2<sup>d</sup>.

be called *Arians*. The Answer is, that God the Father is not the *Cause* of his Son, in Dr. Clarke's Sense; who admits no *necessary* Causes. Neither can the Doctor prove either from *Scripture*, or *Fathers*, that ever the Son was so *caused* by a voluntary *Act*, or *Choice*. In the old Sense of *Cause*, as the Sun is the Cause of Light, the Root of its Branches, the Fountain of Streams, and the like, the Father was ever believed to be the *Cause* of his Son, and no otherwise.

What you hint from *Novatian* about Power, means only *Paternal Authority*, and *Priority of Order* on that Account. You conclude with saying, that I might have argued that *the Son is included in the one unbegotten God*. But I do not find Scripture speaking any thing of the one *unbegotten God*. It mentions the *one God*, and excludes all *other Gods*; wherefore the Son being included, is not *another God*, but the *same God*. And tho' I like not the Expression of *The unbegotten God*, and *the begotten God* because it comes too near the Language of *Ditheism* (which you are every where inculcating) yet I shall make no scruple of saying, that The Father, God *unbegotten*, and The Son, God *begotten*, are both *one God* \*.

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\* See my Answer to Dr. Whitby, pag. 14, &c.



### Q U E R Y I V.

*Whether, supposing the Scripture-Notion of God, to be no more than That of the Author and Governor of the Universe, or whatever it be, the admitting of Another to be Author and Governor of the Universe, be not admitting Another God; contrary to the Texts before cited from Isaiah, and also to Isa. xlii. 8.—xlvi. 11. where He declares, He will not give his Glory to Another?*

**I**N Defense of This Query, I charged you with *Ditheism*, as professing one *Author and Governor* to be a *God*, and another *Author and Governor* to be a *God* likewise; not the *same God* with the other, but *Another*, consequently *Two Gods*; which is undeniably evident in your Scheme.

You say, in answer, that my *Defense of This and of the following Query is in reality (without intending it) an Attempt to expose and render ridiculous the express Doctrine of St. John and St. Paul, and to make it appear inconsistent with the Old Testament, p. 195.*

The Reader, I doubt not, will be surprized at this high Flight of Extravagance. Hitherto, I thought I had to do with a *sober Man*, however mistaken in many Things. But you are now giving yourself Liberties of such a kind as can scarce be thought consistent with that Character. What I expected of you was, that you should clear your *Hypothesis* of the Charge of *Two Gods*; every Man taking it for granted, that neither *St. John*, nor *St. Paul*, neither *Scripture* nor *Antiquity* ever taught

*Two*

*Two Gods.* But the Charge being so full and plain, that you can no way evade it, you are resolved, it seems, to carry it off with an Air of Assurance, and to charge even *St. John*, and *St. Paul* with the same. You do well to put your Authorities very high, and strong; because, I remember, *Justin Martyr* and *Ireneus* have said, that They could not have believed even our *Lord Himself*, had He preach'd up *Another God* beside the Maker of All Things. However, if you are able to make your Point good from *Scripture*, I shall think it sufficient. And suffer me once more to dispute it with you; not to *expose* or render ridiculous *St. John*, or *St. Paul*, (God forbid) but Men of a much lower Class; who, when their Cause is most desperate, are used to put on the greatest Confidence, for a Blind to the Readers. Let us hear what you have to say: And do not tell me, that I am *not arguing against Dr. Clarke and you, but against plain Scripture*; As if Scripture were plain for *Two Gods*.

You begin with your old Pretence, that the Texts of *Isaiab* are all *expressly personal*. Be it so: So also are many Expressions in *Scripture*, and *Antiquity*, indeed in all Writers; where yet the *exclusive* Terms exclude Those Persons only whom They were intended in *opposition* to. It is a Rule of Language, common to all kinds of Authors; whereas your rigorous Interpretation of the *exclusive* Terms, has nothing in the Nature of the Thing, or in Custom of Speech to support it. You can scarce dip into any Writer, but you find exceptions against it.

You endeavour farther to shift off the Charge of *Ditheism*, by retorting it upon me. But how wide a Difference is there in the *Two Cases*? As I maintain that the Son is not *another God*, nor Both *Two Gods*, so I consistently teach that Both are *One God*: You maintain, that God can be a Name for no more than *one Person*, that each of the Persons is a *God*, and that They are not together

one God. What is This but saying directly that They are *two Gods*? I may mistake in my *Hypothesis* (which yet has not been shown) but you are plainly *self-condemned*. You have recourse to St. Paul (pag. 197.) who favours your Notions as little as I do. You ask, whether He was a *Teacher of Polytheism*? I verily think not: And if your Doctrine stands as clear as St. Paul's, all will be well with you: But do not father your Conceits upon the Blessed Apostle. He directs us, you say, to the *one True God of whom are all Things*. Yes, He tells us that the *Father, of whom are all Things*, is the *one God*, in opposition to false ones, to *nominal Gods*, and *Lords*: And it is plain, that He meant it not in *opposition* to God the Son, because He reckons Him *God to us*, (Rom. ix. 5.) which none of the *nominal Gods* are. Now, since the same St. Paul says, that *there is none other God but one*, (1 Cor. viii. 4.) it is manifest that tho' the Father be *emphatically* stiled *One God*, yet He and the Son together are not *Two Gods*, but *One God* \*.

You ask, Whether when St. Paul tells us, that, *God our Saviour—saved us—through Jesus Christ our Saviour*, He does thereby preach *Two Saviours*? (Tit. iii. 4, 6.) Yes certainly, unless Both *be one Saviour*. Wherefore you by denying Them to be *One*, make *Two Saviours*, as you do also *Two Gods*. To your other Question, I answer, that *Jesus Christ* is the same *God* and the same *Saviour*, tho' not the same *Person* with Him stiled *God our Saviour*, Tit. iv. You go on: *Did our Saviour Himself introduce Heathen Polytheism, when He said* (Mark xii. 29.) *The Lord our God is one Lord, and yet immediately after mentions Another Lord, ver. 36?* But who has taught you to call that *Other, Another Lord*? This did not our Saviour: You are the *Polytheist* (and

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\* See my Sermons, pag. 54.



not He) by your frain'd, and false Comments upon his Words.

This is what you call producing *express Scripture*.

What you have farther, pag. 198. about Bp. Pearson, and Bp. Bull (who are Both directly against you) is marvellous; as also your Account of *Antiquity*, which has been answer'd. Your pretence, that no antient Writer ever argued against *Polytheism*, by alledging that Christ is the *one supreme God*, or individually the *same God*, is a shameful Misreport, a manifest Untruth; unless you have some poor Equivocation in the Words. *Tertullian, Origen, Hippolytus, Lactantius*, &c. as many as resolve the Unity of *Godhead* into *Unity of Substance* (as the Antients in general do) are so many Evidences of your Falshood. For if Christ be *one Substance* with the Father, He is *one God supreme*, God being a Name of Substance.

Your telling me, that I make *one Substance*, but never *one God*, is just as if you had said, I make *one God*, but never make *one God*; or else it is a weak begging the Question. You pretend, the Unity of God is secure by making one *Original Cause*. Right, if you take in God the Father and God the Son into the *one Godhead*: otherwise, by excluding one of your *Gods*, you make a *supreme God*, and an *inferior God*, after the way of *Pagan Polytheists*; and so *Ditheism* is unavoidable. I asked, where the sacred Writers ever limited the Sense of the Texts relating to the *Unity*, by the Word *Supreme*? Where do They say there is but one *supreme God*, instead of *one God*? You have not one Text to produce out of the *Laws* against *Idolatry*: A plain sign that Scripture went upon quite other Principles than your's. And the reason of it is evident, because the Design was to intimate that no *other God*, but the *God of Israel*, was to be admitted.

To have made Him *supreme God* only, would have left room for any *inferior Deities* to be taken in with

Him. The place of the *Psalms* (Pſ. xlvii. 2.) declaring God to be ὁ Ὑψίστος, or *most high*, reacheth not the Point; unless it had been said, *you shall have none other most high God but Him*, to leave room for *lower Deities*. There is a great deal of Difference between saying, there is *one most high God*, and there is *one God who is most high*: as much as between saying, there is *one supreme King of Great Britain*, and there is *one King of Great Britain who is supreme*. Your Instance is the more unfortunately chosen, because the very Person there stiled ὁ Ὑψίστος, *most High*, is by some of the Antients (*Justin Martyr* particularly) understood to be *God the Son*; which I infer from their interpreting verse the 5<sup>th</sup>, &c. of Him. Your other Instances are as little to your Purpose: But it is pretty remarkable, that while you are confidently glorying of nothing less than *plain*, and *express* Scripture, you are talking in a Style *unknown to Scripture*, but very well known to the *Pagans*, that there is one only *supreme God*; intimating that there are *inferior Gods*, or *one God at least*, besides Him. As to your several *What-Think-you's*, pag. 200. I refer you to my *Sermons* \*.

You tell me, that ὁ Θεός, in *Scripture*, &c. signifies the *supreme God*. Does it so? Then according to all *Antiquity* applying ὁ Θεός to Christ in their Citations of the Old Testament, Christ is the *supreme God*. But, I beg leave to say, that it signifies only *God*; and there is no need of saying *supreme God*, when there is no reference to an *inferior God*: And therefore *Scripture*, and generally *Antiquity*, say nothing of a *supreme God*, because They acknowledged no *inferior God*; to which such Expressions have a tacit reference. It was from the *Pagans* that such Language was at first borrowed, and used at length by some Christian Writers, (as *Arnobius*, and *Lactantius*)

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\* *Sermon VII. pag. 280.*

tho' by them very rarely; and with such Cautions as might be sufficient to prevent Misconstruction.

As *St. Paul* was willing to adopt the Name of *unknown God*, in compliance with the *Pagan Phrase*, to lead them into a belief of the God of the Christians: so some of the Fathers were inclinable to take the Name of  $\omega\rho\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$  *Deus*, or *Princeps Deus*, and to apply it, in a Christian Sense, to draw the *Pagans* insensibly to the worship of the *True God*, under such a Name as They had given to a *false* one. Otherwise This kind of Phrases is not properly *Christian*, nor to be used by *Christians*.

It is one Thing to say God is *supreme*, is  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\varsigma$ , is *over all*, or the like, and quite another to say, There is one *supreme* God; which, in propriety of Speech, implies that He has *Another God* under Him. We say of the *King* that He is *supreme* in his Dominions: But who ever talks of the *supreme King* of *Great Britain*, as if there were any *other King* of *Great Britain*? *Supreme Moderator* and *Governor*, we say, because there are subordinate *Moderators* and *Governors*. You do well to quote *Nebuchadnezzar* for the Phrase of *God of Gods*, Dan. ii. 47. It was a very proper Expression for an *Idolatrous King* to use; and was well suited to a *Pagan Hypothesis*. And if the like Phrase occurs elsewhere, in the sacred Writers, the Intent is not to signify that any *inferior* God was admitted under the *supreme*, but that the *God of Israel* was far superior to all the *reputed* Gods of the Nations.

Your Comment upon *Isa.* xlii. 8.—xlvi. 11. is very extraordinary, that God will not give the *Glory* of being *underived* (That is all your Comment amounts to) to Any. Certainly He *will not* do what He *cannot*. But was it suitable to the Divine Majesty, to acquaint His People, that He will not (with Reverence be it spoken) Do the most staring Contradiction, and palpable Absurdity? It is evident that his *Glory* is his *Worship*, all *Religious Worship*

(which might be taken from Him, and placed upon false Gods) And He would not suffer it, with Impunity, to be transferred from Him to other Objects. As to your pretended *mediate* Worship, it shall be consider'd hereafter.

My saying that God has engrossed all divine Honour to Himself, you call *a most presumptuous Contradiction to the whole New Testament*. But as it is no great *Presumption* to dispute with Men fallible as my self, about the Sense of the *New Testament*; So I hope the Reader will not take you to be in earnest, but will rather kindly excuse a few passionate Words, such as Men are apt to throw out in great Extremities.

You appeal to *John v. 22.* to prove, that God has given Honour and Worship to Christ as *Son of Man*. This will be distinctly debated hereafter. At present, it is enough to say, that Christ, rather than the Father, is to execute Judgment upon *Man*, because He Himself is *Man*, (which the Father is not) and that so high and great an *Office* is an evident Token of what He is, *very God*, as well as *very Man*; And therefore all Men are to *honour Him even as They honour the Father*. You have took a great deal of fruitless Pains to show, that the particular Glories belonging to the Son, on account of his *Offices*, are distinct from the Glories belonging to the Father. You might, in the same Way, have shown, that the particular Glories due to the Father under This, or That Consideration, are distinct from the Glories of the Father considered under another Capacity. For Instance, the Glory of the Father consider'd as *King*, is one Glory, as *Judge*, another Glory; as *God of the Jews* one Thing, as *God of Christians* another, as *God of Angels* another. And Thus you may multiply the *Worship* of the Father into a Thousand several *Worships*, by as many distinct Considerations. But as all these several Glories arise from the Display of his *Attributes* of Wisdom, Justice, Goodness, &c. and  
all

all his Attributes are founded in the Excellency of his *Nature*; so all the particular *Worships* are reduced to *one*, as being an Acknowledgment of that *one divine Nature* the Root and Source of all. The same I say of God the Son: All the particular Glories belonging to Him on account of his *Offices*, relative to us, are but partial Considerations of his Attributes, of his *Goodness, Mercy, Wisdom, &c.* which *Attributes* have their Root and Foundation in the Excellency of his *Nature*, which *Nature* is the same with the Father's; And thus all the particular *Glories*, or *Worships*, resolve into *one Glory*, or *Worship*, paid to That *Nature*, which is *common* to Father and Son. But of This I shall treat more distinctly in the Sequel.

To conclude This Article, you have not been able to clear your self of the Charge of believing and professing *Two Gods*: But after a great many big Words, and only Words, about St. *John*, and St. *Paul*, and *plain Scripture*; You appear to have been doing nothing else but *perverting Scripture*, and *depraving Christianity*, and teaching us a *new Language*, as well as a new Faith, in asserting a *supreme God* and an *inferior God*, instead of *one God*.

## QUERY V.

*Whether Dr. Clarke's Pretence, that the Authority of Father and Son being One, tho' they are two distinct Beings, makes them not to be two Gods, As a King upon the Throne, and his Son administering his Father's Government, are not two Kings; be not trifling and inconsistent? For, if the King's Son be not a King, he cannot truly be called King; if he is, then there are two Kings. So, if the Son be not God, in the Scripture-Notion of God, He cannot truly be called God; and then how is the Doctor consistent with Scripture, or with Himself? But if the Son be truly God, there are two Gods upon the Doctor's Hypothesis, as plainly as that one and one are two: And so all the Texts of Isaiah cited above, besides others, stand full and clear against the Doctor's Notion.*

**Y**OU go on here in the same confident Way (your Confidence always rising, as your Arguments fall) telling me that I condemn Scripture for giving the Son the Title of God; Because, forsooth, I condemn you for giving Him the Title, and denying Him the Thing; while Scripture allows Him Both. You have nothing to reply, but that there is *one first Cause*, &c. and therefore but *one God*. If a Man were to admit This, you would still never be able to come at the Conclusion you intend. For suppose the Father were allowed to be *one God*, as the *first Cause*, but God the Son God notwithstanding as *necessarily-existing*; This Hypothesis is every whit as defensible as yours, or more so: Only it is liable to the Charge of *Ditheism*, as your's also is; and the like  
Solutions

Solutions would serve equally for Either. This I hint, that you may not imagine your self ever able to gain your Point in That Way of Reasoning. But I proceed in my Charge of *Ditheism* upon your Scheme. You own the Son to be a *God*, tho' not included in the *one God*; therefore you make *Two Gods*. You have no Hopes of evading the Charge your self: But you think it may be some Relief to bring me in to share with you in it; And so you feebly endeavour to retort it. I will not transcribe all you have trifled on This Head: Your Argument, or rather no Argument, but *Calumny*, is, that I make *two supreme Gods*. Show me how. You tell me they are *two Gods* (in my *Hypothesis*) tho' *undivided in Substance*. But this is a miserable begging of the main Question, that *Two Persons* cannot be *one God*: Whereas my Charge of *Ditheism* upon you, is founded upon This plain Maxim, as plain as that two and two are four, that *One God* and *Another God* are *Two Gods*: Or that two Persons, each of which is a *God*, and not together *one God*, are *two Gods*. Learn at length to submit to a self-evident Maxim, and either confess *two Gods*, or throw out the Son from being *God* at all. You talk, in your usual deceitful Way, of the Antient Christians making the *Origination in the divine Paternity to be the Assertion of the Unity*: Which is a Thing directly and fully to my Purpose, and as directly contrary to yours. For, the *Antients* from This Principle concluded that all the Three Persons are *one God* (which Bishop *Pearson* observes) and You, in Contradiction to the *Antients*, infer from the same Principle, that they are not *one God*: Was there ever a more shameless Abuse upon the ignorant Readers? I have recited the Passage of Bishop *Pearson*, (which you refer to) once before, and shall now again (if it be possible to make any Impressions upon your Modesty) cite it to your Shame, for thus imposing on your Readers.

“ This Origination in the divine Paternity hath  
 “ antiently been look’d upon as the Assertion of  
 “ the Unity : And therefore the Son and Holy  
 “ Ghost have been believed to be but *one God* with  
 “ the Father, because Both from the Father, who  
 “ is one, and so the *Union* of Them \*. This is  
 a true account of the *Antients*, worthy of That  
 great Man; while yours is so entirely false, that were  
 it not that you have the Privilege of writing with-  
 out a *Name*, one might think, that pure Regard to  
 your *Character* might deter you from these Liberties.

How have you the *Affurance* to represent my No-  
 tion as different from Bishop *Pearson’s*, when every  
 Body that has seen my Books, knows that Bishop  
*Pearson’s* and mine are exactly the same? Do not I  
 every where assert the *Paternity*, and resolve the Uni-  
 ty, as the Bishop with all the Antients does, into Uni-  
 ty of *Substance* and *Original*? All the Three are  
*one God*, because Two are referred up to one Father  
 to whom they adhere, and from whom They derive  
 their Substance, the same divine Substance with His.  
 I had reduced you to This Dilemma, either to assert  
*Two Gods*, or to make *no God* of the Son; which  
 I call’d *ungodding* Him. Instead of an Answer, you  
 give me a Rebuke; as usual, when sore pressed. You  
 pretend, that you declare the Son to be God, as  
 much as *Scripture* does: And so will any *Socinian* or  
*Samosatenian* say, while He supposes Him never to  
 have existed before He was *Man*. By the same or the  
 like Argument you may make a *God* of every *Angel*,  
 in as much as Angels are called *Gods* in Scripture.  
 But while, notwithstanding, you deny the *necessary-*  
*existence* of an *Angel*, and make his Title *nominal*,  
 who sees not that you deny Him to be *God*? And  
 thus do you with God the Son. The Case is mani-  
 fest: And an ingenuous Man would rather give up

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\* *Pearson on the Creed*, p. 40.



so plain a Point, than expose Himself by inventing little Quibbles to make Things appear what They are not, and to keep up a Show of believing what He believes not.

But I am next to be charged as *ungodding* the Son. Let us hear how: You have been hitherto very unhappy in the Way of retorting. I assert *Him to be God in as high a Sense as the Father*. Well, how is This *ungodding* Him? Here you are silent. But I acknowledge Him to be *derived, sent*, to execute the Father's Orders, &c. Show me then that either his being a *Son*, or being *sent*, is any Way inconsistent with *Equality of Nature*, or *Unity of Godhead*: Here you are lost again. But you come *trembling* to tell me, *I ungod the Father*. You ought to *tremble* at such false and unrighteous Accusations. Well, how do I do it? By *asserting Another independent, Another supreme Lord*, &c. Wonderful; when my Business is to maintain, that He is not *Another independent supreme Lord*, but the *same Lord*. *I deprive Him*, you say, *of his original independent Supremacy*. What? of his *Paternity*? But I own Him to be *Father*, and first consider'd in every Thing common both to the Son and Him. You have made nothing out in the Way of retorting. Come we next to *Tertullian*, and *Athenagoras*; to see whether They agree with You, or Me, in resolving the *Unity*. The Criterion is This: If They take Father and Son Both into the *one God*, They are *mine*; if They separate the Son from the Father, making *Another God*, or *no God* of Him, then They are *your's*. *Tertullian*, you say, founds the *Unity of God upon the Supremacy of the Father alone, in the Government of the Universe*: That is false; For *Tertullian* makes all the three Persons of *one Authority, one State, one Substance*, because *one God*. They are his very Words cited above †. Neither are you able to prove any Thing contrary to it, out of all his Works. I referred you to a Passage of *Tertullian*,

† Pag. 100.

where He rejects the Notion of an *inferior* God, as a *Pagan Dream*\*: And to show how consistent He is with Himself, He makes the *Son* not an *inferior* God, but the *same God* with the *Father*; And He applies the general Maxim to the particular Case of *Father* and *Son* †, as having the same *Divinity*, same *Power*, &c. Your Pretence of *Tertullian's* making the *Son subordinate*, is meanly equivocating upon a Word. He makes Him subordinate, as I also do, in *Order*, or *Office*, not in *Dominion*: And you are very sensible that while you are pleading *Tertullian's* Expressions in Favor of your Notions, you make Him all over *inconsistent*, and *contradictory* to his own plain and avowed Principles. You might at This Rate, quote all the *Post-nicene* Fathers; who allow of a *Subordination* as much as *Tertullian*. You run out (p. 211.) upon the History of his Dispute with *Marcion*, as if That were any Secret. After a great many Words, you have nothing to elude his Testimony against an *inferior* God, but a *precarious* Fiction, or Conjecture, that He would not have own'd the *Son* to be *Summum magnum*, the *supreme Being*; Tho' He plainly does own it in making his *Substance* the same with the *Father's*, and ascribing the same *Divinity*, *Power*, and *Quality* (*unius Status*) to Him. Your Cavils about *Derivatio*, and *Portio* have been consider'd above (p. 98.) But you lay great Stress upon *Tertullian's* supposing the *Summum magnum*, the *supreme Being* to be *unbegotten*, which you think must exclude

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\* Neque enim proximi erimus opinionibus Nationum, quæ si quando coguntur Deum confiteri, tamen & Alios infra illum volunt. Divinitas autem gradum non habet, utpote unica. *Contr. Hermog. c. 7.* Deus non erit dicendus, quia nec credendus nisi Summum magnum. Nega Deum quem dicis deteriorem. *Contr. Marc. l. 1. c. 6.*

† Tres autem non statu sed gradu, nec Substantia sed Forma; nec Potestate sed Specie: *Unius autem Substantia, & unius Status, & unius Potestatis*, quia unus Deus. *Cont. Prax. c. 2.*

Trinitas unius Divinitatis, Pater, Filius, & Spiritus sanctus. *De Pudic. c. 21.*

the Son. But, under Favour, it is never *Tertullian's* Way to exclude the Son. Father and Son together, upon his Principles, were the one *unbegotten eternal Substance*, till the *Generation* of the Son: And then the Son was *begotten*, the Father *unbegotten*, and Both still the *same Substance* as before, under a different *Oeconomy*. You would insinuate, as if the Son was (according to *Tertullian*) *begotten into a Person*, just before the Creation, by the good Pleasure of the Father. I refer the Reader to *Bishop Bull*, for a Confutation of this weak and groundless Charge. I may however take Notice of it, as a Thing very particular; that, till you have made the *Antients* the most *stupid Men* that ever lived, you presume not to claim them as Advocates for your Opinions. Is it a fair Way of dealing with Authors to strain and wrest their Expressions to a Sense directly repugnant to their known, and standing Principles? Could not you do the same by *Athanasius* Himself, if you were so disposed, and claim all the *Post-nicene* Fathers, as well as *Ante-nicene*, by the Help of the like Chicane? The Question, you say, *is not, whether Tertullian always speaks consistently*: And you are not, you say, *vindicating Tertullian's Reasoning*, but such *plainly is his Notion*. In this Way of talking, I know not why you should not put in your Claim to all the *Orthodox* Men that ever wrote upon the Trinity. For, as you think Them all *inconsistent*, it is only taking those Principles which you may be able to strain to a Sense agreeable to your Notions; and then you may claim their Countenance and Authority; much in the same Way as *Dr. Clarke* has shown you, in respect of our *Creeeds*, and *Liturgy*. The Reader, I hope, sees, by This Time, what your Boasts of *Antiquity* amount to: Little more than the same Game over again with the *Antients*, which the Doctor had before practised with our Church's *Forms*.

You are next finding fault with my Account of *Tertullian*, pag. 82<sup>d</sup> of my *Defense*. The Objection I said, as *Tertullian* resolv'd it, was, that the *Authority would not be one*. I thought my putting in the Parenthesis (as *Tertullian* resolv's it) might have been hint sufficient to a Man of ordinary Acumen. I knew what the Objectors meant by *Monarchia*; and I knew also, to what Sense *Tertullian* turn'd it in his Answer: Which, it seems, you did not attend to. He tells you, from his Knowledge of Greek and *Latin*, that *Monarchia* ought to signify *singulare & unicum Imperium*, one singular Government or Authority: And under This View, he proceeds to answer *Praxeas's* Objection about *Monarchia*. But, you say, This Instance of *Tertullian* may serve to show that Father and Son are not *Two Monarchs*, but that the one Monarch must be He only in whom the Authority is Original. But then you'll consider that hereby you make the Son no *Monarch*: And so instead of making the Father and the Son *One God* (which This Example was intend'd to illustrate) you make the Son no *God* at all; or else you make a *supreme God*, and an *inferior God*, that is *Two Gods*, which you pretend to disown. Nor can you ever come off from so evident a *Dilemma*.

I say then, that *Tertullian's* Similitude, tho' it answer'd his purpose, does not at all serve your's. And therefore, I observ'd to you that *Tertullian* resolv'd the Unity of God not into the Father's being sole Monarch, which would have been giving up the *Divinity* of God the Son, but into Unity of *Power, Substance, Godhead*, common to Both; taking Both into the *one Godhead*, and *one God*. Had you done so too, you had done wisely, and might then have claimed some Countenance from *Antiquity*; which your *Novel Scheme* is directly opposite to.

*Unity of Substance*, you say, can never make two equally *supreme Monarchs* one God. But it may make *Two Persons*, considered as equally *supreme* over all,

to be but *One Monarch*, and *One God*; and that's as well.

I had said of *Athenagoras*, that He resolves the Unity of Godhead into Unity of *Substance* and Original. *As if*, say you, *Unity of Substance, and Unity of Original were the same Thing*. I do not say they are precisely the *same*: For then I need not have mentioned Both. But This I say, that no *Unity of Substance*, unless the *Original* was one, so as to make the Substance as it were of the same Stock, would be sufficient upon the Principles of the Antients.

I very well knew what I was talking about. Two *unoriginate* divine Persons, however otherwise *inseparable*, would be *Two Gods*, according to the Antients. But if one be not only *Consubstantial*, but also *of the other*, and referred up to Him as a Head or Fountain, *Two* such Persons were believed to be *one God*. This was the Catholick Method, not of making the Father *singly*, but Father and Son, *One God*; which was their pious Care, and truly Christian Concern, and which They expressed on all Occasions against *Jews, Pagans, and Hereticks*.

Your Observations on *Athenagoras*, are answered above. You have in This Page (*pag. 216.*) and the following one, the shrewdest way of talking I have yet met with. You have discovered, it seems, that my Principles and yours are the very same; and that we *need not Dispute longer*. Indeed, I was wondring at your Dullness in not making the Discovery sooner: For I very well knew that you could never bring over the *Antients* to your Principles, but you must at the same Time take Me also along with Them: And the very same Arguments which you make use of to draw them in as Advocates to your Cause, must of course draw Me in too; being inviolably attach'd to Them. You have therefore here done me Justice, undesignedly; I am really on your side, as much as ever the *Antients* were: And you are very consistent in taking me in with Them. But the Misfortune is, that

that the *pretty* way you have of fetching any thing; or any Man you please, into a side, and forcing them into your Service, is become greatly Contemptible; especially after the Attempts made upon such Men as Bishop *Pearson*, and Bishop *Bull*, and upon our *Creeds*, *Articles*, and *Liturgy*. You have drove the Wile too far: And now every Body sees through it.

But let us hear, at length, how it is that I am brought over to countenance your Principles; And let the Reader, from This Instance, make a Judgment of the rest. You proceed thus: *If the Unity of the Godhead is to be resolved into one Head, Root, Fountain, and Father of all, the Son who is not the Head, Root, Fountain, &c. cannot be Himself That one supreme God which is the Father, Head, Root, and Fountain of all.* Thus, after you have swelled your self up with Assurance, and your Reader with Expectation, you produce nothing but the silly Sophism about *This*, and *That*; which I before (p. 51.) promised to dismiss, where-ever I should find it.

*My own Hands*, you tell me, *have entirely destroyed my own Scheme.* Happy for me, that I am here to answer for my self; when with Bp. *Pearson*, Bp. *Bull*, and almost all the *Antients*\*, I am called in to countenance such Notions as I had not only *detested*, but formally *confuted*. You tell me, *had I rested here* (that is, in as-

\* You scruple not, pag. 218. to cite Athanasius, Hilary, and Gregory Nazianzen, as making the Father the Only God; as if They also intended to exclude the Son from the One Godhead. Such as have ever looked into Those Writers themselves, instead of taking up Scraps at Second-hand, cannot want an Answer to such weak Pretences. I shall think it sufficient to refer you to a few Places of these Three Writers, to give you a just Notion of their Principles upon This Head.

Athanasius, p. 556, 878. in Psal. p. 75.

Hilarius, 836, 859.

Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. 36. p. 586.

As to your Pretence that you cannot find that any even of the Post-nicenes of the 4<sup>th</sup> Century said that the Son was equal in Authority and in all Perfections; it is either a poor Quibble upon the Word Authority, or else betrays your great want of reading.

serting the Father to be *Head, Root, &c.*) *the Controversy had been at an end.* Now, if it may contribute any thing to end one of the idlest Disputes, to say no worse, that ever was begun amongst us, I beg leave to assure you that I *do rest there*; and, by so doing, I have at once took from you, as I humbly conceive, all your Pretences both from *Scripture*, and *Antiquity*; leaving you nothing but your *Metaphysicks* to trust to; which after repeated Experiments, you have found very unserviceable, and *lighter than Vanity itself.*

After you had took notice of what I had granted, as to the Father's being *Root, Head, Fountain, &c.* you say, *if This be true as I have fully proved, &c.* And you refer to what you had done above, adding some other Authorities in the Margin. The Reader here cannot but observe how unaccountably you have spent your Time and Pains, in an elaborate Proof of what I had readily before granted. This is what commonly, and very justly, goes under the Name of *Impertinence*; and is a Method almost peculiar to Those who having once espoused a *bad Cause*, have an After-game to play for their own *Reputation*, more than for the sake of the *Cause* They are entred to, and are to carry on the *Appearance* of a Dispute, after the Dispute is really ended. What other Account can be given of your filling so many tedious Pages with Quotations from the *Antients*, really proving nothing but what I had ingenuously admitted before, leaving it to you to make all the Advantage you possibly could of it?

The Reader here may again plainly see, that your pretended Arguments against me, are not more against me than against the *Antients*, by whose Principles mine must either stand or fall. And while you are charging me with *Contradictions*, the Charge falls equally upon Them; whose Faith I follow, and whose Principles I here maintain. It may be seen, with half an eye, that you deal with the *Antients* just as you do with me. You pretend first to split  
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their Notion into *contradictory* Principles; and then you take one part of the pretended Contradiction and play it against the other part; crying out, the *Antients*, the *Antients*, all the way; with much the same Justice as you can, when you have a mind to it, cry out, The *Creeds*, The *Articles*, The *Liturgy*, and what not?

You tell me, (pag. 217.) of my *perpetual Self-contradiction*. Now, if you are able to prove it, you'll do something: If not, you only betray your own want of Judgment, or fairness, in making the Charge. As to the *Perfection* you imagine in the *Father* as such, more than in the *Son*, I deny any, except what is contain'd in a *Mode of existing*, or *Relation of Order*. You go on Cavilling, in a childish manner, against *Unity of Substance*, *Individual*, *Numerical*, &c. which kind of *Cavils* I abundantly answered again and again in my *Defense*, and shall not repeat. *Homogeneous Substance* and *inseparability* amounts with you to *Substances united*. You should have avoided This, because you hereby charge your Friend the Doctor with making the *Divine Substance* a Heap of *Substances* united. If there cannot be Substance and Substance without *Substances*, the Doctor and you are in a lamentable Case; while you suppose the *Divine Substance* to be *extended*: For you thereby suppose Him *compounded* of innumerable *Substances*. Learn hereafter to have your Thoughts more about you, when you are charging *Contradictions*.

I had said, in my *Defense*, p. 84. that the Fathers believed *God* to be a Word denoting *Substance*\*, not *Dominion* only. You are unwilling to let This pass, notwithstanding that you have changed your Mind in this Point of *God's* denoting *Dominion* only,

\* See Tertullian above, p. 180.

Κατὰ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας φύσεως ἐνδεικτικόν ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς θεότητος ἔννομα. Bas. Ep. 80.

Ὁ ἀν, καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἐσίας ὀνόματα. Greg. Naz. Orat. 36. p. 586.

Ὅσδε ἑτέρα ἢ ἐστὶν παρὰ τὴν θεότητα,

Ὅσδε ἑτέρα ἢ θεότης παρὰ τὴν ἐσίαν, Epiph. vol. 2. p. 111.







This Controversy. I excuse your telling me, that I manifestly contradict all Antiquity, by supposing *πρόσωπον* and *Hypostasis* (sometimes, for I never pretend it does always) to mean the same Thing. I charitably believe you spoke it in your Simplicity, not designing any Misreport, but for want of knowing better.

Upon enquiry into this Matter, the Truth appears to me to lie thus. Upon the first broaching of the *Praxean* and *Noetian* Heresy, which charged the *Catholick* Doctrine with *Tritheism*, the Use of the Terms *Substance* and *Persons* came in: The *Catholicks* pleaded, that They did not assert *Three Gods*, but *Three Persons* only; meaning by *Persons*, *real Persons*, as is plain of *Hippolytus*, and *Tertullian*. Such was the antient *Catholick* Sense of *πρόσωπον*, and *Persona*. Afterwards came *Sabellius*, who reviving the *Praxean* and *Noetian* Doctrine, yet thought it prudent to adhere to the *Catholick* Terms of *One Substance*, or *One God*, and *Three Persons*. But then He misinterpreted *Person*, understanding it of a *Manifestation*, or *Representation* only, and nothing *real*, or *substantial*.

Thus, after the manner of *Hereticks*, he kept to the Church's Language, but depraved and corrupted the Church's Sense. From this Time *One God* and *Three Persons* became an ambiguous Phrase, capable either of a *Catholick* or *Sabellian* Sense. As to the Truth of the Fact, I ground it chiefly upon what I have observed out of *Hippolytus*, and *Tertullian*: and that it does not appear that either *Praxeas* or *Noetus* ever talked of *Three Persons*, as *Sabellius* did after. He was the first that introduced the *Theatrical* Sense of *Person* into Christianity, making the *τρία πρόσωπα* to be *ἀνυπόστατα*, while the *Catholick* Notion was of *τρία πρόσωπα ἑνωτάτα*. There was but a very small Variation in the Words, but a very great one in the Sense and Application. One Thing however I may remark, that there is a slight Difference between *ὑπόστασις*, and *πρόσωπον*, that the former may be applied to *inanimate* or *irrational* Things, the latter to

*Rational* only: When therefore I say that they are of the same Import, I would be understood to mean only when applied to *rational* or *intelligent* Things.

You proceed to mention an incidental Thing, which, in common Prudence, you might better have omitted. In order to vindicate your Notion of there being but *One God*, while you suppose *another God* under Him, you had asked me whether *Herod the Great* was not King of *Judea*, tho' the *Jews* had no King but *Cæsar*? To which I civilly answer'd, that *Herod the Great* had been *dead above Thirty Years* before the Time when it was said, that the *Jews* had no King but *Cæsar*. You had here committed a *Chronological* slip; such as ingenious Men, thro' haste, may be sometimes apt to fall into. But you are pleas'd to quarrel with me for putting *when the Jews*, instead of *tho' the Jews*. I own the Fact: for, I supposed you to mean, being a Man of Sense, that the *Two Kings* were alive, when it was said the *Jews* had no King but *Cæsar*. For, otherwise you must be sensible of a great Inadvertency in your Argument; which was intended to prove that there may be *Two Kings* (as *Two Gods*) at the *same Time*; and yet the Name of *King* (or *God*) devolved intirely upon the *superior*. Now, whether you'll submit to a slight Slip in *Chronology*, or to a gross *Blunder* in the Argument, is all one to me: But a prudent Man would have pass'd a Matter over quietly, which could not be called up again, but to his own Confusion. You tell me now, that *Herod* was King under *Augustus*. Very right: But how do you prove that, at *That Time*, the *Jews* had no King but *Cæsar*? There lay the Pinch of the Difficulty; which it is a wonder a Man of your Acumen, should not be able to perceive.

We have nothing more, that is material, under This Query. The Charge of professing *Two Gods* remains still unanswer'd; and must remain till you think proper to discard God the Son from all *Religious Worship*: Then indeed He will be no longer  
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God to us, any more than *Angels*, or *Magistrates*, or other *Nominal* Gods; and you may then rest consistently in *one God*, and no more; namely, in God the Father.

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### QUERY VI.

*Whether the same Characteristicks, especially such eminent ones, can reasonably be understood of Two distinct Beings; and of one Infinite and Independent, the other Dependent and Finite?*

YOUR new Answer to This Query is,

1. That the Characters can no more be understood of *Two distinct Persons*, than of *Two distinct Beings*.

To which I answer, that it may be proved from *Scripture* that the Characters belong to *Two Persons*: it cannot be proved that They belong to *Two Beings*, much less that they belong to *Two such disparate, and unequal Beings*, as you suppose Father and Son to be.

2. You answer, secondly, that *the Characters are not the same*, because Powers *derived and underived* are not the *same*.

This answer is very contrary to the Sentiments of wiser Men, who have argued the other way, that if the Powers had been equally *underived*, they had not been the *same* in the *Two Persons*\*: But as one of the

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\* In *duobus ingenitis* diversa Divinitas invenitur: in uno autem *genito ex uno ingenito*, naturalis unitas demonstratur. Fulgent. contr. Arian. p. 59.

Si Ambo vocarentur *Patres*, essent profecto *Natura* dissimiles. Unusquisque enim ex semetipso constaret, & communem substantiam cum altero non haberet; nec Deitas una esset, quibus una natura non esset. Idem, p. 52.

the Persons is derived from the other, *being Light of Light, God of God, Substance of Substance, Both together are one God, one Substance, &c.* And the same Powers are common to Both; as there is the *same Life* in Root and Branches, the *same Light* in the Sun and its Rays, the *same Virtue* in the Center and what proceeds from it. And tho' no Comparisons are sufficient to illustrate Infinity, and there must be a great deal more than we are able to conceive; yet there is no Principle of Reason to contradict This Notion, that the same Powers, Properties, Perfections may be diversly considered in the Fountain from whence they flow, and in the Streams to which They descend.

You your self can give no tolerable Account how the same Powers, Attributes, &c. are equally diffused to infinitely distant Parts of the *Divine Substance*, as you conceive it under *Extension*: Nor is our Notion of the *same Powers* being common to Three Persons, at all more unconceivable, or inexplicable than your's is of the other\*. So that here let us be content to stop where it becomes us, and not pretend to measure *Infinity*. You say, the Powers are no more the same than the Persons are: Nor, certainly, less the same, than the Substance is. All This will depend upon the settling the Sense of *Sameness*, and the several kinds of it.

When you are able to explain to me how the *Wisdom* residing in *one part* of the *Divine Substance* (on your *Hypothesis* of *Extension*) is the *same*, and yet *not the same* with the *Wisdom* residing in any other *Part*; I may then be able to account for the degree of *Sameness* in the Powers belonging to the Three Persons.

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Si verus Deus est, & de Patre non est, Duo sunt habentes singuli & voluntates Proprias & imperia diversa. Greg. Nazianz. p. 729. Pseud. Ambros. p. 348.

\* See my Defense. p. 172.

3. In the third Place, you tell me of an *invidious Insinuation*, couched under the Words *Finite* and *Infinite*. This you borrow, as you do many other Things, from the Author of *Modest Plea*, &c. *continued*. I return'd a brief Answer to it in the *Preface* to my *Sermons* †. There is nothing *invidious* in the Case. But you ought, if you have none but fair and honest Designs, to come out of ambiguous Terms, that we may fall directly upon the Question. You are the less excusable for continuing your Disguises while you write under Cover, and conceal your Name. It looks now, as if you were afraid only of having your *Cause* expos'd, while there is no Danger of your *Persons*. Dr. *Clarke*, even in Books which he has set his Name to, is hardly more *reserved* than you are even without a Name.

What is the meaning of This, but to protract a Controversy, and to run from the Question; being sensible that your Cause is not really Defensible?

But to proceed. You say, *you set no Limitations to the Perfections of the Son of God, more than the Scripture has done*: Which is saying nothing; because you tell us not what *Scripture has done*, according to your Sense of it. But you add, *by declaring them to be derived*: Which in my Sense of *derived*, is no *limitation* at all; you should tell me, whether it be in *your's*. *Self-existence* you say is a *Perfection*. Prove from *Scripture*, or any other way, if you can, that *Self-existence*, as distinct from *Necessary-existence*, is any *Perfection*: It is a Relation of *Order*, a *Mode* of Existing ‡, and That is all.

† *Preface to my Sermons*, p. 11.

‡ Ἰπαρξίας τρόπος τὸ ἀγέννητον, ἐκ ἐσίας ὄνομα. Basil. contr. Eun.

l. 4. p. 763.

Vid. Damascen. Vol. 1. p. 135, 140, 143, 210, 409. Vol. 2. p. 817.

Pseudo Just. Exposit. Fid.

Mich. Psellapud Fabric. Vol. 5. p. 56.

Ay, but you say, it denotes *positive Greatness* (p. 226.) and you refer me to the *modest Pleader*; who makes it the same with *necessary-existence* \*. If This be indeed your meaning, I own it, in that Sense, to be as great a Perfection as possible, and the Sum total of all Perfection: But then I assert it to be *common* to Father and Son, who are, in this Sense, equally *Self-existent*. Only, the Father particularly is *unbegotten*, and *underiv'd*; under which Conception, *Self-existence*, as peculiar to Him, is *negative*, and *relative*. We had long been amus'd with Dr. Clarke's denying the *Self-existence* of the Son and Holy-Ghost: By which He was supposed to mean no more than that They were *begotten* and *proceeding*, which every Body allows: But now, it seems, He meant to deny their *Necessary-existence*; which is directly reducing Them to *Creatures*. You see now what you have to do: Either prove, that the meer Character of *un-derived* expresses any *positive* Perfection; or that *Necessary-existence* belongs not equally to all the Three Persons: And then you'll show your self an able Disputant.

You need not now be scrupulous about *dependent*, and *independent*: You have said enough. Whatever is not *necessarily-existing* is *precarious*, and *dependent*, as much as any *Creature*, which is enough in all Reason; we understand you. You say, that you suppose the Son *dependent* in no other Sense than is *implied in the Notion of being begotten*. It may be so, according to your Notion of *Begotten*, (I suppose, very little differing from *created*) but you will have a hard Task to show that either *Scripture* or *Antiquity* favours any such Notion of *Begotten*, as to make the Son *precarious*, or not *necessarily-existing*. The *voluntary-generation* mention'd by the primitive Writers, will not serve you at all in This Matter, as will be seen in the Sequel: And as to *Scripture*, you have not a single Text to help you, but what must

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\* *Modest Plea*, p. 217.



first be rack'd and tortur'd with *Metaphysical Glosses*, to make it speak what it never meant. You have a surprizing Piece of Subtilty (p. 224.) to bring your self off from the just and well-grounded Suspicion of making the Son a *precarious Being*. It is a difficult Matter to force *Logic* against *common Sense*; But you are resolute enough to try. Your Words, speaking of the Son's existing by the Father's *free Act*, and *Choice* (which is Dr. Clarke's known Sense of This Matter) are these. *Which yet no more implies the Son to be a precarious and mutable Being, than Those Perfections of God, his Power, Justice, Goodness, Veracity, and the like (The Exercise whereof always implies the Notion of Action, and consequently depends wholly on the Will of the Agent) are therefore more precarious, or uncertain in their Effects, than those other Perfections (which imply in them nothing of Action, and consequently have no Dependence upon the Will of the Agent) such as Eternity, Omnipresence, Omniscience, or the like.*

Here, if one may presume to understand such obscure Reasoning, God the Son is proved to be *no precarious Being*, because the Acts of God's *Justice, Goodness, &c.* are *certain* in their *Effects*: Which They undoubtedly are, whether God pleases to *annihilate* or to bring into Existence. Therefore, most evidently, the Son is *no precarious Being*: Nor is any *Creature* whatever at all *precarious, or mutable*, by the same Way of Reasoning. A mighty Honour done to God the Son, to [make Him no more *precarious* than the rest of the *Creation*. Certain however it is that, upon your Principles, there is *no natural Necessity* for his existing: He might either never have existed, or may even cease to exist (as much as may be said of any *Creature*) if it should please God so to order it. This is the proper and full Notion of a *precarious Being*, a Being having no *necessary* Foundation of Existence, but *depending* entirely upon the *free Will* and *Choice* of Another Being. All the Subtilties imaginable can never bring you off here,

here, any more than They can bring together both Ends of a Contradiction.

Our Readers may now see plainly what you have been doing. You set out with general and ambiguous Words of the Father's being *alone* supreme in *Authority, Dominion, &c.* But, at length, you can make nothing of it, without interpreting This *Supremacy* by the Perfection of *Self-existence*, and *Self-existence* by *Necessary-existence*; thereby depressing God the Son into *precarious Existence*. Now indeed you have made the Father *sole* Governor, very effectually: For, who will ever be so mad as to dispute, whether a *precarious* Being, a *Creature*, be *subject* to his Creator? But, let us return to the *Query*, and consider whether Those eminent Characteristics, specified in the Texts cited, are such as at all suit with a finite, dependent, precarious Created Being.

You pretend (p. 225.) that *no distinguishing Character of the one supreme God is ascribed to the Son in Scripture*. But let the Reader see the Texts which ascribe *Omniscience*, Knowledge of the *Heart, Eternity*, to the Son; *Attributes* by Scripture *appropriated* to the one true God: Besides some *Titles*, appearing in These Texts, applied to Christ, and appropriate likewise to the *one God*. As to two or three other Characters, which you mention as appropriate to the *one God*, and which are not applied (as you pretend) to the Son; see my Sermons\*, and what I have said above. I do not love to fill my Paper with Repetition, as often as you do your's. You come next to lessen the *Characters* given to God the Son. He is *Searcher of the Heart*; but as *received of the Father*: Which the Text says not one Word of. Only, four Verses lower, it is said, that He received *Power over the Nations*, of the Father: Which is very wide of our present Purpose. You have some Pretences to elude the Force of the Title *First and*

\* Sermons, p. 280.

*Last*; which see answer'd in my *Sermons* \*. As to *mighty God*, you pretend the Father is so *absolutely*, the Son with *Limitation*; And here you refer to the Son's being (μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος) *Angel of his great Counsel*; which is not according to the *Hebrew*, and so is of no Account while I am arguing from *Scripture*, not from the *Fathers*. The Father is *Lord of all*, you say, *absolutely*: And so is the Son, for any Thing that appears; tho' the Father *put all Things under Him*. Let it be shown, that the Father has any natural *Subjects*, which are not equally *Subjects* of the Son too. There is therefore no Ground for your imaginary *Limitations* in respect of the Powers and Perfections ascribed to the Son.

You add (p. 228.) that nothing can be *communicated* to the *one supreme God*. The Force of this lies only in the Terms. The *first* Person may eternally communicate to the *second*, and Both be *one God*. He can have nothing, you say, *of Himself*: Well; if He has it but *in Himself*, and *of the Father*, it suffices. The Question is not *whence* He has his Perfections, but *what* He has. It is remarkable, you say, that the *Throne, Kingdom, &c.* is *never ascribed to Christ upon Account of his Part in the Work of Creation*. p. 230. And what if it is not? The Father is recommended to us principally as *Creator*, the Son as *Redeemer*, to keep up a more distinct Notion of their *Persons*, and *Offices*. What a Stress do you lay upon common Things, taught in our *Catechism*! Besides, I had obviated this Cavil in my Defense †. 'Tis remarkable again, you say, *that the Descriptions of the Word, in the old Testament, always represents Him as the Angel or Messenger*. You should only have said *generally*: And there is good Reason why; because by *That Criterion* chiefly, we know that it was *God the*

\* *Sermons*, p. 233.

† *Defense*, p. 274, 275.

*Son*, not God the *Father*. He is at the same Time, represented also as *God*, and as *Lord*, *Jehovah*, &c. What Use you can make of this remarkable Thing, has been shown. I pass over your Speculations on *Dan. vii. 13, 14*, as carrying no Argument in Them. You go on in speaking of *Christ's receiving Dominion*; which relates only to the *Oeconomy*, or *Dispensation*: According to which God the Father will receive a Kingdom at the last Day, and enlarge his *Dominion* over his Subjects. As to *Phil. ii. 6*. I refer to my fifth *Sermon*; where I had obviated your Pretences before you made them. You insist upon your Construction of ἀλλά. Which if admitted, yet you can never ascertain your whole Construction (as I showed in my Sermon †) but the Words will still naturally bear a Meaning opposite to yours. However, as to your Criticisms, about the Use of ἀλλά in that Place, they appear to me of no manner of Force. The Sense is exceeding clear, and unbarressed, running thus: *Who being in the Form of God, thought it not Robbery to be equal with God* (See how great, how divine a Person He was.) *Yet notwithstanding, He humbled Himself ‡, &c.* You pretend that the Words, *thought it not Robbery*, would be the *Example* proposed. No; but They are Part of the *Preface* to it, to make the Example the more forcible, and the more endearing: So that I may return you the Compliment of *Inattention*.

In my *Sermons*, you tell me, I most absurdly interpret God's highly exalting Christ, in the same Sense as

† *Sermon V. p. 167.*

‡ *Clemens* understands it in the same Way as I do. Ὁς ἐν μορφῇ θεῶν ὑπάρχων ἔχ' ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγάσαστο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῶ· ἐκένωσεν ὁ ἑαυτὸν ὁ φιλοικτίρμων θεός, σῶσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον γλιχόμενον. *Clem. Alex. p. 8. Ox.*

That *Clemens* here interprets the Place as I do, appears from his changing ἀλλά into δὲ, from his making a Pause after ἴσα θεῶ, and from his chusing a new Subject of his Proposition, ὁ φιλοικτίρμων θεός, instead of ὁ preceding.

*Men in their Prayers highly exalt God.* No; but if you had not had a strong Propensity to Misrepresentation, you would have said in the same Sense as Men in *preaching*, or the like, exalt God by *proclaiming* and *publishing* his Praises. And now where is there any the least Appearance of Absurdity, after taking out the Idea of *Praying*; which you improperly threw in, to abuse the Reader, and to give some Colour to your Accusation? I always suspect a *magisterial* Censure to have no Weight at the Bottom: It is to make up in the *Manner*, what it wants in the *Substance*. Show me one Instance in the Scripture and *Apocrypha* together, of your Sense of  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\psi\acute{o}\omega$ , and I will give you above Thirty of mine. Indeed, I know but of a single Place where it can bear such a Sense as you are contending for; which is *Psal.* xxxvii. 35. And yet there it may as well bear mine. Please to tell me why  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\psi\acute{o}\omega$  may not as well be so used as  $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ , and why one should be thought more *absurd* than the other, and I'll stand corrected. I showed you that I was not singular in interpreting  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\psi\acute{o}\omega$ , by  $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ , in that Place. The Context favoured it, the Words would well bear it; and an antient *Greek* Writer, under the Name of *Dionysius*, as well as a *Latin* Writer, under the Name of *Ambrose*, were beforehand with me in it. And what if your own Favourite *Eusebius* \* should be found to chime in with Both? I love not to be positive, where I may be mistaken: But it appears to me extremely probable from *Eusebius's* manner of speaking of it, that his Sense of  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\psi\acute{o}\omega$  was the same with mine: And the rather, because *Origen* (of whom *Eusebius* was a great Admirer) would never have admitted  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\psi\acute{o}\omega$  in your Sense of the Word, understanding it of Christ

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\* Ο δόξαζον αὐτὸν, ὁ ὑπερυψῶν, ὁ ἀναδείξας βασιλεία τῶν ὅλων — ὃν εἶπω δόξαζοντα τὸν ἑαυτῆ πατέρα, ἀμοιβαίως ἀντιδοξαζῶν ὁ πατήρ, καὶ υἱὸν, καὶ πατέρα, καὶ θεὸν τῶν ὅλων, καὶ σύνθρονον τῆς ἑαυτῆ βασιλείας ἀνεδείξε. Euseb. contr. Marcell. p. 70.

in his highest Capacity; as *Eusebius* plainly does. Nor do I think that *Eusebius* ever had so low an Opinion of *God the Son*, as to think Him capable of being *exalted* in any other Sense but that of being *Glorified*, or having his Glory manifested. It is observable, that *Eusebius* does not interpret the Text of *constituting* our Saviour *Lord, King, and God*, but recognizing, or manifesting Him as such: And it is certain, that *Eusebius* resolves all the Son's real and essential Greatness into his *Sonship*\*, and not into any subsequent Exaltation. It was as *Son of God* that He acknowledged Him *Lord, and Saviour, and King, and God*: Wherein *Eusebius's* Theology, however you may boast of Him, very far exceeds yours. You charge me with interpreting *ἐχαρίσατο* most absurdly. I suppose, if you had had any *Reason* to assign, you would have obliged us with it. I see no *Absurdity* in interpreting *giving a Name*, to be *giving a Name*; which is all I have done. But it is very *absurd* of you to imagine, that God may not *glorify* his Son, as well as his Son may *glorify* Him; by spreading and extolling his Name over the whole Creation.

You go on to *Hebr. i. 2. Whom He hath appointed Heir of all Things*, by which you intend, I suppose, to prove that He was not *Lord* before: Tho' in the very same Verse, it is said, *by whom also He made the Worlds*. Might not This show you, that the Apostle is only speaking of that peculiar and *special* Right founded in the Merits of Christ's *Redemption*; by which He became, in a more *special* Sense, *Lord* of all He had redeem'd; just as God the Father became in a more *special* Sense than before, *Lord* of the *Jews*, upon his chusing them as his *peculium*, or upon his delivering them from *Egyptians*

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\* Καθὸ δὲ μόνον αὐτὸς, ὁ ἐξ αὐτῆ γεννηθεὶς ὁ πατὴρ ἐν μορφῇ ἰσχυρῆς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀράτης, καὶ πρωτότοκος ἀπάσης κτίσεως: διὸ καὶ τιμῶν, καὶ σέβειν, καὶ προσκυνεῖν μόνον αὐτὸν εἰς κύριον, καὶ σωτῆρα, καὶ θεὸν ἑαυτῆς μεμαρτάκαμεν. *Euseb. contr. Marcel. p. 69.*

Slavery. What you are here endeavouring, it is hard to devise; unless you are coming directly into the *Socinian* Scheme; for which only, your present Discourse is calculated. You observe, *Then* it was that God said, *Thou art my Son, This Day have I begotten Thee.* What then? Was He not the *begotten Son* long before? If He was, then you are proving nothing more than that the Son's Glory was *manifested* in Time; which is certainly true both of the *Father*, and *Son*: If you mean otherwise, you run directly into *Socinianism*; as I before hinted. You add, *Then it was*, that God commanded, *let all the Angels of God worship Him.* And why did you not add, that *then it was*, that *He laid the Foundation of the Earth*, and *then it was*, that the *Heavens were the Works of his Hands*? Do you imagine, that *St. Paul*, in that Chapter, had no other Design, but to describe the Manifestations of Christ's Glory subsequent to his Incarnation? You find, that He was the *Lord*, who in the *Beginning laid the Foundations of the Earth*: Which is a stronger Character than all the rest put together; and may convince you that He was *Lord* long before his Incarnation, as *John i. 1.* declares Him *God* before the *Creation*. To your Pretences about the Son's *receiving Power, Glory, &c.* I had answer'd, with many of the Fathers, that He received in *Capacity of Man*, what in another *Capacity* He had before ever enjoyed. This is not the *only good Answer* to the Difficulty proposed: I have my self made Use of another, which may as effectually serve to take off the imaginary Force of your Argument. But let us hear what you have to say to it. You *no where find This Distinction in Scripture.* What? Do not you find that He was *God*, and that He was also *Man*? When you have found This, you have found the *Distinction*. But you *no where find in Scripture any Thing given to Christ, or any thing ascribed to Him, but what is applied to his whole Person.* We say, whatever is applied, is applied to his

*whole Person*; but considered *secundum quid*, or in a certain *Capacity*, not in every *Respect* which goes in to make up the *Person*. And can you pretend to deny This? Let us see what you are like to make of it. *Jesus* increased in *Stature*; will you say, that the *Word* (for that you certainly allow to be constitutive of the *Person*) grew *taller* and *larger*, because This is applied to the *Person*? He *Sweat*, as it were, *great Drops of Blood*: Was the λόγος in a *Sweat*? He *died*, and was *buried*, and He *lay in the Ground*: According to you, the *whole Person*, the λόγος, it seems, as well as the *Body*, suffered all This; For, you know of nothing that was ever applied to *Part of the Person*, but to the *whole Person*. When you consider This Matter again, learn to form your Argument with a little more Judgment: For, you seem not, at present, to know how to oppose us in the best Method, nor how to give your Cause the Advantage it is really capable of. You should not have found Fault with us for applying any Thing to a *Compound Person*, in such *Respect* or *Capacity* only as is suitable thereto; For, This is the commonest Thing imaginable, and is done every Day, as often as we say *Peter* or *John*, is fat, lean, low, tall, well, sick, or the like: But you should have laid your Argument against our taking so much in as we do into the *Person* of *Christ* (the λόγος, the *Soul*, and the *Body*) and then you might have shown some Degree of Acuteness. But it is not my Business to point out to you the properest Way of defending your *Herefy*, which is every Way indefensible: It may suffice, if I reply to such Things as you have to produce.

You say, *judgment* was not given to *Part of Him* which is the *Son of Man*, but to *Him*, because He is the *Son of Man*. There is nothing at all in your Argument: For, suppose a *Wound*, or a *Plaster* to be given to *Peter*, that is, to the *whole Person*; yet, I suppose, it may be understood with respect to one *Part* only of *Him*,

*viz.*



*viz.* his *Body*. But I have allowed you that the Authority of executing Judgment was *Oeconomically* devolved upon Christ (consider'd in Both Capacities) as the properest Person for it; being *equal* to the Charge as *God*, and over and above peculiarly fitted for it as being also *Man*; and so a more suitable Judge of *Man*\*. The Reason then why, out of three *divine Persons*, Christ is peculiarly appointed to The Office of *judging* us, is because He had to his *Divinity* superinduced the *Humanity*, and thereby familiarized Himself the more to us. You see then, that your ingenious Argument about *Parts*, however it might affect another *Hypothesis* (tho' it can really hurt none) does not at all concern my Account of That Matter.

As to the Place of *Hermas*, which I produced in my *Defense*, I refer the Reader to Bishop *Bull*, and Dr. *Grabe*. All you have to object, is the Expression of *Corpus*; by which You understand a *Human Body*, I, the whole *Human Nature*, consisting of *Body* and *Soul*. Nothing more common in Writers than to express the whole Man by *Flesh*, or *Body* †, and by the latter especially, when consider'd as a *Servant*: So that your Construction is at least very *precarious*; and is what neither the *Expression* it self, nor what goes along with it, gives any reasonable Ground for. But I leave that Matter to be considered by the Learned; there being some Difficulties as to the Text of *Hermas*, not yet fully adjusted by the MSS.

You are insinuating the same Thing of *Norvatian*, which you had before of *Hermas*; as if He imagined the *Word* to have assumed *Flesh* only, without a *Soul*:

\* Pater Verbum suum visibile effecit omni fieri Carni, incarnatum & ipsum, ut in omnibus manifestus fieret Rex eorum. Etenim ea quæ judicantur oportebat videre Judicem, & scire Hunc a quo judicentur. *Iren. l. 3. c. 9. p. 184.*

† See Suicer's Thesaurus in *σάρξ* and *σῶμα*.

Which if true, we would give you up *Novatian* for a very silly Man, and withal a Heretick. The Point of Christ's having a *Human Soul* was a Thing so settled in *Novatian's* Time, and long before; so universally maintain'd from the very Beginning of Christianity, by all the Fathers without Exception; that had *Novatian* taught otherwise, He could not have pass'd for a *Schismatick* only. You may see what *Socrates*<sup>a</sup> says to that Point, who was Himself of the *Novatian* Sect, and his Testimony therefore the more material (as Disciples seldom vary in any thing very considerable from their Leaders) He declares, that *all the Antients* (sure He did not exclude the Head of his own Party) believed that Christ had a *Human Soul*, and asserted it as a *Doctrine universally received*. He mentions *Irenæus*, *Clemens*, *Appollinaris* of *Hierapolis*, *Serapion* Bishop of *Antioch*, The *Synod* that met about the Case of *Beryllus*, *Origen*, *Pamphilus*, and *Eusebius*: And it is evident still from their own Works, of as many as have left us Any. To Those He has named, may be added *Clemens Romanus*<sup>b</sup>, *Justin Martyr*<sup>c</sup>, *Melito*<sup>d</sup>, *Hippolytus*<sup>e</sup>, *Tertullian*<sup>f</sup>, and perhaps several more which may have escaped my Notice. Now, what will *Novatian's* single Testimony signify, against such a Cloud of Witnesses? But the more *Universal* the Doctrine was, the less probable is it, that *Novatian* should dissent from it. And indeed you have no Foundation for any such Suspicion of Him, more than what lies in the Use of the Word *Caro*, *Flesh*; which is a very common Expression for *Man*, (Body and Soul) in *Scripture* it self, as well as in Ecclesiastical Writers. Besides that *Novatian* interprets Christ's being *made*

<sup>a</sup> Socrates Eccl. H. l. 3. c. 7. p. 178.

<sup>b</sup> Clem. Rom. Epist. c. 49. p. 169. Cant.

<sup>c</sup> Apol. 2. c. 10. p. 26.

<sup>d</sup> Melito apud Cav. Hist. Lit. Tom. 2. p. 33.

<sup>e</sup> Hippolytus contr. Noet. c. 17. p. 18.

<sup>f</sup> Tertullian contr. Prax. c. 16. 30. de Carn. Christi, c. 10.

*Flesh*, by his assuming of *Man*, *Hunc Hominem*, \* *This Man*: Which is a Name He would scarce have given to mere *Body* or *Flesh*; well knowing, that *Man* is made up both of *Body* and *Soul*. Your Pretence about *Son of God*, and *Son of Man* being *two Persons* (upon my Scheme) hinted only, without any Reason to support it, may be passed over. The clearing of that Matter will require a large Discussion of the true Notion and Definition of a *Person*; which you have not attempted: I, perhaps, may, in a proper Place. What you add farther, is of more Weight, that I seem to suppose that the *Glory which Christ had before the World was, is the very same with That Authority and Power of Judgment* (so you express it) *wherewith He was invested after his Resurrection*. But *That Authority and Power of judging*, as you call it, is what our *Lord* had before his *Resurrection*, as Himself declares, *John v. 28, &c.* And what I suppose, is This; that all the *Powers, Glories, Honours* given to the *Son*, were nothing but so many *Declarations, Indications, or Manifestations* of the *Dignity and Divinity* of his *Person*: Which *Dignity and Divinity* had been celebrated in *Heaven* before, and were now to be *recognized* after his *Incarnation and Humiliation*: So that in the main, This was no more than receiving the same *Honours* He before had, and returning, as it were, to the same *State of Glory*; only now cloathed with *Humanity*, which before He was not.

You have something farther to observe of *Hermas*, in respect of *Co-heir*. How can *the divine Nature*, say you, be *Heir* of any Thing? But I hope a *Son* may, without Offence, be said to be *Heir* to all his *Father's Glories*, in Allusion to what passes among *Men*, tho' the *Similitude* may not answer in every

\* Caro fit, & habitat in nobis, hoc est, assumit hunc Hominem, &c. *Novat. c. 16.*

Circumstance. It is a lively and elegant Way of conveying to us a Notion of *divine* Things; And is to be understood, like many Passages of Scripture, *θεοπεπῶς*, tho' spoken *ἀνθρωποπαθῶς*.

You conclude with a Passage of *Irenæus*, which I have cited in my *Sermons*\*; whither, to save my self Trouble, I refer the Reader; who may there also find a sufficient Explication of it. What you infer from it is, that the *Word* received an *additional Power, and Glory upon his Resurrection*. Power is an ambiguous Word: But He received an *additional Manifestation* of his Glory; as God the Father also did at the very same Time, as well as often before. And He became *Lord, and Proprietor* of Mankind under a more peculiar Title, and stricter Alliance: Just as God the Father, when He had by his many Deliverances, Favors, and Blessings, made the People of the *Jews* more peculiarly his *own*, became their *Lord* in a strict, and special Sense. Thus both Father and Son will (we hope) receive daily Additions of external *Honour*, and Increase of *Dominion*, by the coming in of *Jews, Turks, Pagans, and Infidels*. God's full *Kingdom* is not yet come; we pray for it: And if the Father Himself be not yet compleatly *King*, in the fullest Sense, what Wonder is it, if we hear of our *Lord's* receiving a *Kingdom, or Dominion*, in Time. External *Relations* may accrue to any of the divine Persons, such as *Dominion, &c.* But your great Misfortune is, that you can no where find *Divinity* accruing to God the Son (except it be by *eternal Generation*) you can no where find, that He was ever constituted *God* † (as He might be *Lord*) or that

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\* *Sermons*, p. 175.

† *Novatian* is the only antient Writer I have observed to say any thing like it; in the Words

*Universe Creatura & Dominus & Deus constitutus esse reperitur*, Nov. c. 15.

Yet his constant Way, at other Times, is to resolve the Son's Divinity into his *Sonship*. *Deam*

that He became, by any new Accession, more truly, or more fully God than He was ever before. This Consideration at once shows the Weakness of your *Hypothesis* (as I hinted above) and is alone sufficient to unravel all your Fallacies.

*Deum credendum esse qui ex Deo sit.* c. 11. *Deus quia Dei Filius comprobatur.* c. 16. *Hoc ipsum tamen a Patre proprio consecutus, ut omnium & Deus esset, & Dominus esset, & Deus ad formam Dei Patris ex ipso genitus atque prolatus.* c. 17. *Deus, sed qua Filius Dei natus ex Deo.* c. 18. *Deus ergo processit ex Deo, dum qui processit Sermo, Deus est qui processit ex Deo.* c. 22. *Unum potest dici, dum ex ipso est, & dum Filius ejus est, & dum ex ipso nascitur, dum ex ipso processisse reperitur, per quod & Deus est.* c. 23. *Quoniam ex Deo est, merito Deus; quia Dei Filius dictus sit.* c. 26. *Persona Christi convenit ut & Deus sit, quia Dei Filius.* c. 26. *Est ergo Deus, sed in hoc ipsum genitus ut esset Deus.* c. 31.

These Passages considered, it is manifest that *Novatian*, in the former Place cited, either used the Word *constitutus* improperly, for *positus*, that is *declaratus*: (See Chap. 12.) or else, which appears to me most probable, that arguing there against the Hereticks, who would not allow Christ to be more than *Man*, He was content at first, to bring them so far, at least, as to admit Christ to be *God* in a higher Sense than *Moses*, and so by *Degrees*, to bring them up to Catholic Principles.

QUERY VII.

TEXTS applied

To the one God.

*Thou, even Thou only knowest the Hearts of all the Children of Men,* 1 Kings 8. 39.

*I the Lord search the Heart; I try the Reins,* Jer. 17. 10.

*I am the first, and I am the last, and besides me there is no God,* Isa. 44. 6.

To the Son.

*He knew all Men, &c.* Joh. 2. 24. *Thou knowest all Things,* Joh. 16. 30. *Which knowest the Hearts of all Men,* Acts 1. 24.

*I am He that searcheth the Reins and the Heart,* Rev. 2. 23.

*I am the first, and I am the last,* Rev. 1. 17.

*I am A and Ω, the beginning and the end, Rev. 1. 8.*

*King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, 1 Tim. 6. 15.*

*The mighty God, If. 10. 21.*

*Lord over all, Rom. 10. 12.*

*I am A and Ω, the beginning and the end, Rev. 22. 13.*

*Lord of Lords, and King of Kings, Rev. 17. 14.—19. 16.*

*The mighty God, If. 9. 6.*

*He is Lord of all, Act. 10. 36. Over all God blessed, &c. Rom. 9. 5. \**

*Whether the Father's Omniscience and Eternity are not one and the same with the Son's being alike described, and in the same Phrases?*

**H**ERE you answer, that *underived* and *derived* are not *the same*. To which I answer, that Wisdom of Wisdom is *one Wisdom*, Omniscience of Omniscience *one Omniscience*, just as Substance of Substance is *one Substance*, Light of Light *one Light*, and God of God *one God*; because of the *inseparable* Unity of the Persons, and their mutually including and containing each other. As to the Degree of *Sameness*, I before intimated that it is inexplicable; and is no more to be accounted for than your supposing the *same Wisdom, &c.* to reside in innumerable, infinitely distant Parts of the same Substance. This Controversy (whatever you imagine) is not to be decided by *Metaphysics*, but by *Scripture* and *Antiquity*; where we may find some Footing, which we cannot in the other.

Your next Answer therefore is more sober, could it but be proved to be just. You deny, that the Son's

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\* N. B. *These Texts should have been inserted in Query VI.*

*Omniscience* and *Eternity* are alike described, and in the same Phrases. It lies then upon you to show the *Difference*; as I have shown the *Resemblance*. It is not necessary, that every Phrase which is used of the Father be also used of the Son. I singled out some of the strongest, fullest, and most expressive; showing, that they are applied to Both: And if they were not the *strongest*, yet if They are such as Scripture has declared *peculiar* to the *one God*; My Argument is just, and it would have become you first to answer it, and then to call it a *Quibble*.

You interpreted the Texts which concern the Son's *Omniscience* of a *relative Omniscience*: Upon which I blamed you for speaking of a *Relative Omniscience*, instead of saying plainly, that the Son was *not omniscient*; that so we might have come directly to the Question. Here, by a peculiar Kind of Turn, proper to your self, you tell me how ill I treat *Scripture*. Why so? Are you so perfectly wrap'd up in *Scripture*, that the justest Rebuke imaginable cannot reach you, but through the Sides of the *Scripture*? Our Lord, you say, *told his Apostles, that the Holy-Ghost should teach them all Things, and guide Them into all Truth: Might He not better have said* (so you go on) *that He should not teach them all Things, and not guide Them into all Truth*. Now, at length, it is out: And thus I have mal-treated *Scripture*. Was there ever a wilder Inference? You should have considered, that there was no Question raised about the Apostles and their *Omniscience*: If there had, I doubt not, but our Lord would have readily said, what was true, that the Apostles were *not omniscient*. He would not have disguised his Sentiments, nor have deceived his Hearers with *ambiguous Terms*, when They wanted to be resolved in an important Matter, and honestly desired to have the Truth fairly examined, and scanned. And therefore your asking, *Had He not better have said*, and repeating it again, and again, is mere Trifling; unless you can show, that

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our Lord, or the *sacred Writers* had been called upon (in such Manner, and in such Circumstances, as Dr. Clarke and you have been) to *declare* what They meant, and to let Truth have a *fair Trial*. But by this round about Way, you would insinuate, I presume (for still you are shifting, and do not care to speak out) that the Texts speaking of the *Son's Omniscience*, are of no Force because something of like kind has been said of the *Apostles*, whom all allow not to be *omniscient*. To This I answer, 1. That the Expressions relating to our Saviour are much stronger than the other: Such as *knowing all Men*, knowing the *Hearts of all Men*, *searching the Reins and the Heart*: A Kind of Knowledge peculiar to God alone. 2. Considering that our Lord was *Son God*, and likewise *God*, such Expressions would very probably be taken in their most obvious and literal Sense: And therefore they should not have been applied to Him (without Guard and Caution) unless really so intended as the Words appear to declare. As to the Apostles, being no more than Men, there could be no Danger in a few general Expressions of their *knowing all Things*, being *taught all Things*, or the like: Since no Body could mistake the meaning of the Words when so applied.

Your next Attempt is to make some Advantage of *Matt. xxiv. 36.* and *Mark xiii 32.* relating to Christ's not knowing the Day of Judgment; of which I have fully, and distinctly treated elsewhere\*: Where I have also added other strong and clear Proofs of Christ's *Omniscience*; which you take no Notice of, tho' you quote the *Sermons*. You like not my ascribing the *Ignorance* to the *Human Nature*: You ask, whether *any Nature can with any Sense be said to know, or do any Thing?* Yes, why not? You charge me (p. 238.) with *Inconsistency*, for interpreting the Text of the *Human Na-*

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\* Sermon vii. p. 268, &c.



ture, and yet saying that *Irenæus*, upon That Text, is to be understood of the λόγος. As if Both might not be true, that *Irenæus* understood the Text of the λόγος, while I think it better to understand it of the *Human Nature*: I am weary of such Trifling. You proceed to show that *Irenæus*, in his Comment on These Texts, ascribed *Ignorance* to God the Son. You take not the least Notice of the several weighty, and substantial Reasons given by Bishop Bull <sup>a</sup>, and referred to by me <sup>b</sup>, against your Opinion from other Places of *Irenæus's* Works. It is not your Way to be at all solicitous about making Any Writer consistent with Himself. If you can but meet with a Passage seemingly favouring your Opinion, it must be presently forced into your Sense, however contradictory to the Author's *known* Principles elsewhere. I must desire the Reader to consider well what I have said upon This Passage in my *Defense*; and not to take it from your Representation, which is extremely partial. And He may also compare M. *Maiffuet's* Account of the same Passage in his *previous Dissertations* <sup>c</sup> to his Edition of *Irenæus*. I shall here content my self with transcribing so much of *Irenæus* as may be sufficient to clear his meaning, and to take off That Confusion which you have been industriously throwing upon it, either in translating, or commenting. The literal rendring is thus, much the same as I before gave in my *Defense*.

“ If one inquires into the Reason why the Father, tho' communicating in *all Things* to the Son, is yet set forth by our Lord as alone knowing that Day and Hour; He cannot, at present, find any fitter, or more decent, or indeed any other safe Answer than this (seeing our Lord is the only Teacher of Truth) that we are to learn of Him

<sup>a</sup> Bull. D. F. N. p. 82. Animadv. in G. cl. p. 1056.

<sup>b</sup> *Defense*, p. 103.

<sup>c</sup> *Maiffuet. Præv. Diss. in Iren.* p. 133.

“ that the Father is *above all*; For *the Father*, saith  
 “ He, *is greater than I*. And therefore the Father  
 “ is declared by our Lord to have the Preference in  
 “ Knowledge, to the End that we also, while we  
 “ live in this World, may refer the Perfection of  
 “ Knowledge, and such intricate Questions to  
 “ God\*.

Now, that *Ireneus's* Design was not to represent the Son as *ignorant*, but quite the contrary, may appear from This very Passage duly considered. For the Question, with Him, was not why the Father is more knowing, but why, since Both are *equally Knowing*, our Saviour made such a Declaration as gave the Preference to the Father as *alone* knowing. He puts the Question, why the Father tho' communicating *in all Things* (absolutely, not in all *other Things*) is yet *set forth*, or *alone declared, to know*. So that the Question is not about his *Knowledge*, but about our Lord's *Declaration*, why, or on what Account He made it, seemingly contrary to *Truth*; since all Things are *common* to Father and Son. What then could be meant by such a *Declaration*? It must be *true* some Way or other, our Lord being a *Teacher of Truth*; what then is the Case? *Ireneus* tells us, that it is *true* in respect of the Father's having the *Pre-eminence* in every Thing, and so *alone* knowing every Thing in the *first Place*, or *primarily*: And therefore it was upon This Account that our Lord gave Him the Preference, and referred that

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\* Si quis exquirat Causam propter quam *in omnibus* Pater communicans Filio, solus scire & Horam & Diema Domino manifestatus est, neque aptabilem magis, neque decentiorem, nec sine periculo alteram quam hanc inveniat in præsentî; (quoniam enim solus verax Magister est Dominus) ut discamus per ipsum, super omnia esse Patrem. Etenim Pater ait, *major me est*. Et secundum Agnitionem itaque præpositus esse Pater annuntiatum est a Domino nostro, ad hoc, ut & nos, in quantum in Figura hujus mundi sumus, perfectam Scientiam & tales Quæstiones concedamus Deo. *Iren. l. 2. c. 28. p. 158, 159.*

Knowledge to Him *solely*, as the *sole* Fountain of it; which it well became Him to do, especially during the State of his Humiliation, while *in figura mundi, conversing below*: tho' at the same Time the Son also has the same Knowledge, but *derived*, all Things being *communicated* to the Son, as *Ireneus* had observed. *Basil's* and *Nazianzen's* Accounts of this Matter will clear it up farther, and will fix *Ireneus's* real meaning beyond all reasonable exception.

*Basil* in answer to the Doubt, about our Lord's not knowing That Day, says, He will give the Solution which from a Child had been taught Him by the Fathers before Him: and which He represents in these Words: "As to what is said, *no one knows that Day*, we understand it as ascribing to the Father " the *primary* Knowledge both of Things present " and Things to come; and as signifying to us that " He is in all Things the primary Cause\*. *Nazianzen* chuses rather to refer Christ's not knowing *That Day* to his *Humanity*; yet He mentions also this other Construction of Christ's not *knowing* it *originally*, or in that high manner, as the Father may be said to know it. His Words are to this effect. If the first Construction be not sufficient, we may give This for a second: "As every Thing else, so " also the Knowledge of the greatest Things is to " be referred up to the *Cause* it self, for the Honour of the *Father* †.

Every one may see that *Ireneus's* Construction falls in with This of *Nazianzen* and *Basil*; who perhaps might Both borrow it from Him: Nor is it possible from *Ireneus's* Words to prove that He meant any thing more. Nay, the Words themselves most

\* Τὸ, εἰς οὐδὲν, τὴν πρώτην εἰδήσιν τῶν δὲ ἔντων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀνάγουσι. Καὶ διὰ πάντων τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποδεικνύουσι εἰσῆσθαι νομιζόμεν. *Basil. Ep. 391. p. 1168.*

† Ὡσπερ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ γνώσις τῶν μεγίστων ἐπὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναφέρεσθαι τιμῇ τῆς γενήσεως. *Greg. Naz. Orat. 36. p. 588.*

easily and naturally resolve into This Sense, as I had abundantly before proved from the *Context*, and from *Irenæus's* main Scope and Design in the whole.

You call it *pleasant* for me to add, *consequently in all Knowledge* where *Irenæus* says that the *Father communicates in all Things to the Son*. But is it not more *pleasant* of you to understand by, *all Things*, all *other Things*, which *Irenæus* does not say, nor does his Argument require it, but the contrary?

I took notice of Dr. *Clarke's* slipping over some Words thro' *Inadvertency*: Which Words He has since added in his *second Edition*. And here, to show your inclination to find any little Fault, you blame me for taking no notice of the *Amendment*. Indeed the Thing was very slight, scarce worth remembering. Yet in two later Editions of my Book, which you might have seen, I was so just to the Doctor as to leave my former Words out. And now, I think, you ought to have inquired before you took this needless Handle for Complaint. As to *manifestatus*, which you construe *expressly declared*, I, *set forth, represented, or said* (which you weakly call *deceiving the Reader*) it is not very material which be taken, provided only the Question were why, or in what Sense, our Saviour *declared* it; not, why the *Father only knew the Day*. Which Question *Irenæus* resolves in saying, *Præpositus esse Pater annuntiatus est*. It was in this Sense He declared Him to be *alone knowing*, as declaring Him *Præpositum, set before, preferred* to the Son in Knowledge, on account of His being *alone First* in every Thing. So that the Sum of all is, that *Irenæus* does not suppose the Father *more knowing*, but knowing every thing in the highest manner; as having it *primarily, and from none*; which was also the Sense of *Basil*, and *Nazianzen*. But enough of This. You go on to *Origen*; whom I had cited, after *Irenæus*, *Ignatius*, and *Clemens of Alexandria*, to confute your round assertion, that *All the*

*Ante*

*Ante-nicene* Writers believed the λόγος to have been *Ignorant*, &c. when you could not prove it of so much as *One*. *Irenæus* may now stand; as also *Ignatius*, and *Clemens*. As to *Origen*, you have nothing to object against what I cited Him for, namely, that the Son knows as much as the Father, or all that the Father knows; which is *Omniscience* in the highest and fullest Sense, not your *relative* Omniscience, no where found among the Antients. But you oppose another Passage of the same Comment, saying, that the Father is *greater* than the Truth, that is, than the Son: Which nobody doubts; *greater* as Father, which is all that *Origen* means. And what is That to the purpose? Your other Quotation out of *Jerom*, (then a vehement *Anti-Origenist*, and straining every Thing to the worst Sense) is of very slight Moment. Let the Reader consult Bp. *Bull*\* in Defense of *Origen* against *Jerom*'s Invectives: For I have no Inclination to repeat: Or let him turn to *Origen*'s Treatise against *Celsus*, where *Origen* directly contradicts that very Doctrine which you, upon *Jerom*'s Authority, endeavour to ascribe to Him; He asserts, that the Son knows the Father κατ' ἀξίαν, suitably to his Dignity †.

From the slender Opposition which, after long deliberation, you have been able to make against the Son's *Omniscience*, it ought now to pass as a Thing concluded and determined; being fully supported by *Scripture*, and by All *Antiquity*. For besides the particular Testimonies before mentioned, I gave you also a *general* Argument, to prove that the Son's *Omniscience* must have been a ruled Case, a settled Point with the *Ante-nicene* Church: To which Argument you make not a Word of reply. Only you single out an Expression of mine, relating to *Sabellianism*, which you

\* Bull Def. F. Nic. p. 121.

† Origen. contr. Cels. p. 287.

think is not just, and which you call *abusing the Reader*; tho' you have not yet been able to produce any one Instance where I have done it. I have discovered many in you, and shall many more as I pass on. What you blame me for, is for supposing that the Greek Word *Hypostasis*, signified *Person*, during the Time of the *Sabellian* Controversy. I do assert that it did, and could very easily prove it: But Bp. *Bull* has already done it to my Hands\*. And it is something hard, that as often as you forget your self, or happen to be *ignorant* of what every Scholar should know, I must be charged with *abusing* my Reader. As to the *Sabellian* Notion of  $\mu\iota\alpha\ \upsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \tau\pi\omega\rho\acute{o}\sigma\omega\tau\omega\textcircled{S}$ , I have before shown how it is to be understood: And that *Eusebius* Himself so understood it is plain to every Man that can read Him. But I suppose, the *secret* reason of all This was for the sake of a Translation of your's, *one single individual Substance under three personal Distinctions*: Which tho' *literal*, is a very *false* translation; as *substance* and *personal Distinctions* are now understood: And therefore this was meanly applying to the *Populace*. The true Sense of the Words, as we should now express it, is, *one Person under three Nominal Distinctions*: which is manifestly what *Eusebius* meant by it; as may appear from the Account I have given of Him above, (p. 183.) Your referring me to Dr. *Cudworth* is pretty extraordinary; when it is well known that That great Man was mistaken, and that his Account of That Matter (espoused also by *Curcellæus*) has been at large confuted by Bp. *Stillingfleet* †; not to mention what has been done also by Mr. *Wall* ‡, and others, since That Time.

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\* Bull. D. F. Sect. 2. c. 9. p. 103, &c.

† *Stillingfleet on the Trinity*, p. 76, to p. 100.

‡ *Wall's Hist. of Infant Baptism*, p. 337, to p. 354.

*True Scripture-Doctrine continued*, p. 239, to 252.

The Truth is, had Dr. *Cudworth* but distinguished between *Substance of Substance* (which supposes no *Division*, but *one Substance*) and saying *Substances*, or *Essences*, which implies *Division*, his Account had been, in the main, very just: For the Fathers knew nothing of a Trinity of *Modes*, such as seems to have been taught by some of the later *Schoolmen*. But I pass on.

The *Eternity* of God the Son comes next under Consideration. You tell me, it is *not alike described*, with the Father's, because the Father's is *unoriginate*, and *underived*: But where do you find *unoriginate*, or *underived*, at all mentioned in the Texts wherein the Father's Eternity is described? You may collect it perhaps by Inference: But still the Scripture-Phrases for the *Eternity*, whether of Father, or Son, are the same: Neither does the Distinction of *derived* and *underived* signify any thing as to the Sense of *Eternity*, which imports neither more, nor less than *beginningless* and *endless* Duration. You next endeavour to find some Difference in the manner wherein the Texts are applied to each Person. As to the Phrase *First* and *Last*, it has been vindicated already. As to *Rev. i. 8* which you understand of the Father, it is to be interpreted (with all Antiquity) of God the Son\*. I know how much it concerns you to contend for the Application of This Text to God the Father; And therefore it is that you plead so strenuously for it towards the latter end of QUERY 17<sup>th</sup>. It will be of some service to settle That Text here; and therefore I shall stop a while to consider the Strength of your re-inforcement. In my Sermons,

1. I pleaded from the Context.
2. From Antiquity.

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\* See my Sermons, p. 227, &c.  
 Defense, p. 451.

3. I showed the Weakness of the Doctor's Reasons for applying the Text to the Father.

As to the *Context*, you make no reply at all; tho' it is certainly of very great Moment, for the ascertaining the Construction. As to *Antiquity*, never were Men more unanimous than the *Antients* were in This Matter; there being no one Exception, on Record, against it. And tho' you may make slight of *Post-nicene* Writers, (*Athanasius, Ruffinus, Gregory Nazianzen, Phæbadius, Ambrose, Epiphanius, Jerom, Austin, Andreas Cæsariensis*) yet their concurring Voices in the Case are really very considerable; and amount to a probable Proof, at least, of the universal Sense of the *Ante-nicene* Church; especially where nothing can be brought to confront it. I observe, it is pretty frequent with you, upon the citing of *Eusebius* singly, immediately to cry out the *Antient Church*, even in Points wherein *Eusebius* stands alone, or runs counter to the *Antients*. I have certainly a much better right to claim the Verdict of the *Antient Church*, upon the Strength of so many Evidences, (and few of them either much later, or less considerable than *Eusebius*) in a Matter which the *Antients* have no where contradicted. But, I appealed also to Two *Ante-nicene* Writers (*Hippolytus* and *Tertullian*, to say nothing now of *Origen*) and I observed farther, that Their Testimonies in the Case were not to be looked upon merely as the private Judgment of Two Writers, but as showing that the *Praxeans* and *Noetians* had all along taken it for granted, that the Church applied *Rev. i. 8.* to God the Son; and that *Hippolytus* and *Tertullian*, however pressed in Dispute, presumed not to question it. A Proof of this kind amounts to more than many Testimonies of *Single Fathers*, in relation to their own Interpretation of a Text. As to *Hippolytus*, you call Him (*pag. 509.*) as usual, a *Spurious or Interpolated* Author; your Pretences for which have been answered. But We have *Epiphanius*



*phanus* \* here stepping in to confirm the same Thing, viz. that *Noetus* urged that Text, as applied to God the Son, against the Catholicks: And He answers as *Hippolytus* had done, by admitting the Text to be understood of Christ; borrowing his Answer, (as will be plain by comparing) from This very Piece of *Hippolytus*, which you call *Spurious*, or *Interpolated*. It is therefore manifest, that the Part we are now concerned in is no *Interpolation*.

As to *Tertullian*, you say, *He does not suppose This Text to be spoken of the Son*, (p. 508.) What does He not? Surely, you never looked carefully into *Tertullian*. He observes of the *Praxeans*, † (just as *Hippolytus* does of *Noetus*) that They had cited and urged This Text against the Catholicks; applying it to God the Son: And *Tertullian*, in his Answer, admits that Application. Wherefore it is a clear Case that the *Antenicene* Church universally understood This Text of the *Son*, and not of the *Father*; which I am now proving. What you throw in to lessen the Sense of *παντοκράτωρ*, when applied to the Son, I pass over here, as not affecting our present Question. *Origen* I insist not upon, because of the doubtful Credit of his Translator. Yet, considering that the Text was certainly so applied before *Origen's* Time, and constantly after, it is more than probable that That part at least is *Origen's* own. However, I want not his

\* Epiphan. Vol. 1. p. 488.

† Interim, hic mihi promotum sit Responsum adversus id quod & de Apocalypsi Joannis proferunt. *Ego Dominus qui est, & qui fuit, & venit Omnipotens*; & sicubi alibi Dei omnipotentis Appellationem non putant filio convenire. Quasi qui venturus est, non sit omnipotens, cum & Filius omnipotentis tam omnipotens sit quam Deus Dei Filius. *Tertull. contr. Prax. c. 17.*

*N. B.* The *Praxeans* could not imagine that any such high Title could belong to the *Son*, unless the Son was the very Father Himself: which therefore They concluded Him to be from This and the like Texts.

Testimony, having abundant Proof of what I assert, without Him.

Since therefore the *Context*, and all *Antiquity* pleads on my Side for understanding That Text of God the Son, I must have strong Reasons for the other *Application*, before I admit it. Dr. *Clarke's* principal Reason drawn from Verse the 4<sup>th</sup> of that Chapter, I answered at large in my *Sermons* \*. It is no more than This; that the Title, *which is, and which was, and which is to come*, is given to the Father, *ver. 4.* therefore the same Title, *ver. 8.* must belong to Him also: As if the *same Title* were not often in Scripture, and in the *Apocalypse* too, given to Both. I instanced in the Title of *Alpha* and *Omega*, &c. being applied by St. *John*, sometimes to the *Father*, and at other times to the Son. All you have to say by way of reply, is that the Title of  $\alpha$  and  $\omega$  is indisputably given to the Son in other Places; whereas This other is never given to the Son any where else but here; where it is *disputable* whether it be given Him or no. To which I answer, that there is very little Force in This Argument, provided we have other good Reasons for understanding the Text of God the Son in This one place; as we certainly have both from the *Context*, and from *Antiquity*: And there is still the less force, if *Scripture*, and even St. *John* himself, has elsewhere applied, if not This very Title, yet *equivalent* Titles to God the Son; which He undoubtedly has. For brevity sake, I refer only to St. *John's* application of *Isa. ix. 6, 9.* to God the Son † Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Hosts: Which St. *John* expresses (*Rev. iv. 8.*) by  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \delta\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma, \delta\ \pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\alpha\tau\omega\varsigma$ , much the same with what we have *Rev. i. 8.*

There is therefore no Force in your Reasoning against the Application of *Rev. i. 8.* to the Son.

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\* *Sermons*, p. 228.

† See my *Sermons*, p. 30.

The Doctor's other Reason drawn from the *Antients*, as generally applying the Title  $\delta \pi\alpha\sigma\lambda\omicron\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho$ , to the Father, is ridiculous; when we have plain positive Proof that they understood this very Text of God the Son. Whatever use may be made of the general Observation, (as there cannot much \*) it does not affect the Question about the Application of This Text to the Son.

Having sufficiently vindicated our Application of *Rev. i. 8.* I may proceed, and make my proper Use of it, as occasion may require. I may now venture, by your allowance, to call God the Son *Supreme over all*; which is your own rendring of  $\delta \pi\alpha\sigma\lambda\omicron\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho$ . And let us not presume to deal partially and unequally between the Father and the Son, in This important Question. We may now return to the Point of the Son's *Eternity*.

I observed, in my *Defense* †, that by eluding the Proof of the Son's Eternity, you had scarce left your self any for the Eternity of God the *Father*: Or if you had, I desired you to show in what Manner you could (consistent with your Principles) prove the *Eternity* of the Father. You make a Doubt whether I intended it for *sober Reasoning*, or *Banter*. You do well to put the Matter off with as good a Grace as you can: But I was very serious in it; that you had come very near defeating every Proof that could be thought on in the Case; if you had not entirely done so. And indeed, I am still of Opinion, that, thro' your imprudent Zeal against the Divinity of God the Son, you have really betrayed the clearest and best Cause in the World to the first bold *Marcionite*, or *Manichee*, that shall deny the *eternal Godhead* both of Father and Son, and assert some *unknown God* above them Both. You will remember, the Question was, whether That *particular Per-*

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\* See my Sermons, p. 230.

† Defense, p. 115.

son, called the Father, be the eternal God, or how you could prove it upon your Principles. His being called *God* ever so often would amount to nothing; That being no more than a Word of *Office*. His being *Creator* was nothing, That you could *elude*. His being *Jehovah* was of no Weight, meaning no more than a Person true and faithful to his Promises. As to his *Eternity*, none of the Texts were strong enough for it, but might bear a limited Sense. I may now add, that the Title of *παντοκράτωρ*, *Almighty*, or *God over all*, or the strongest Words of like kind in the *Old Testament*, signify nothing; being capable of a *subordinate* Sense. Well then; what have you at length reserved, to prove so momentous an Article? Only This: that He is *the Father, or First Cause, of whom are all Things*. But *First Cause* is no where said, That is your own. All that is said is, *To us there is one God the Father, of whom are all Things*, 1 Cor. viii. 6. And you know how to elude the Force of the Word *All Things*, when you are disputing against God the Son: So that creating *All Things* may mean no more than creating *Some Things*; as Christ's knowing *All Things*, according to you, means *Some Things* only. The utmost therefore of what you have proved is no more than that He is *Creator*; And being *Creator*, you had told me long ago, did not imply *Eternity*, nor an *infinite Subject*\*. You have not then been able to prove, that the particular Person, called the Father, is the *First Cause* of all Things; or that there is not *Another God* above Him; who is really, and truly, and in the *Metaphysical* Sense, the *eternal God*. You may proceed as you think proper, to make up the apparent deficiency of your pretended Demonstration. By loosening the Proof of Christ's *Divinity*, you have loosen'd every Proof of the *Di-*

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\* See my Defense, p. 117.

*vinity* of God the Father also ; which perhaps you was not aware of. For my Part, I shall always think, that his being so often called *God*, and *true God*, and his being *Creator*, and *Almighty*, and *Jehovah*, and *He that is, and was, and is to come*, are clear incontestable Proofs that He is the one *necessarily-existing* God, whose *Existence* my Reason assures me of: And when I am got thus far, I will prove, by the same Topics, that God the Son is so likewise: And thus the same Artillery shall serve both against *Manichees*, and *Arians*; while you by pleading the Cause of one, have insensibly given up a greater Cause to the other.

I must however do you the Justice to observe, that since your first writing, you seem to be drawing off, with the Doctor, from some of your former Principles. You do not now make the Word *God* to be *always* a Word of Office: Nay, you assert it to be *very improper to say, that the supreme God has an Office* (p. 220.) Which makes a great Alteration in your Scheme, and is jumping from one *Extreme* to Another; over-looking, as usual, the Truth which lies in the Mid-way. I do not know, whether you can yet prove, That particular Person, called God the *Father*, to be the one eternal God. You suppose the Word *God*, when applied to Him, to denote his *Person*; and you suppose That *Person* to be the one eternal God. But *Supposing* is one Thing, and *Proving* Another: And I do not see how you have proved it, or ever can prove it; unless you allow the Title of *God* to carry the Notion of *Necessary-existence* in it, allowing the same also of *Jehovah*. Then indeed you may prove your Point as to the *Divinity* of God the Father: And as soon as you have done it, by the same Arguments we will also prove the *Divinity* of God the Son. So, chuse you whether to take in *Both*, or give up *Both*: For, I see no Remedy but that the *Divinity* of *Father* and *Son* must stand, or fall together.

To proceed: You pretend now, that *you was not arguing against the Eternity of the Son, but showing the Weakness of my Arguments to prove his independent Eternity.* You shall have the Liberty of recanting and growing wiser, whenever you please. But the Truth of the Fact is, that you were then arguing against the *Eternity* of the Son, in these Words quoted in my *Defense*, p. 117. *This Office and Character* (of a Redeemer) *relative to us, presupposes not, nor is at all more perfect for, the eternal past Duration of his Being.* It was the *Eternity*, you see, not *independent Eternity*, against which you were disputing. I ask'd, how you came to take for granted what you knew nothing of; *viz.* that any Power less than *infinite* might be equal to the Work of Redemption. And what do you say to This? My Argument is, if you cannot show that it did not require *infinite* Power, you cannot show that it did not require an *eternal* Agent. You say, that *an Office commencing in Time*, does not require an eternal Duration of Him that executes. Right: Every *Office* does not: But we are speaking of an *Office* which may (for ought you know) require *infinite*, and therefore *eternal* Powers, because nothing *infinite* can be in *Time*. You say, *Infinity of Power is not a Consequence of eternal Duration.* Suppose it be not (which you know nothing of again) yet my Argument is *vice versa*, that *eternal Duration* is a Consequence of *Infinity of Powers*; which you did not attend to. At length you are forced to give up the Point; not being hardy enough to pronounce that the Work of Redemption did not require *infinite Powers*.

But you attempt to prove it another Way. A *Mediator*, you say, *cannot be Himself the one supreme God.* You should have said (for it is all that you can prove) that a *Mediator* cannot be the same Person whom He mediates to. And this is what *Eusebius* shows in the Passage produced by you; which was very needlessly brought to prove what every

every Man's common Sense teaches. The whole Force of *Eusebius's* Reasoning lies only in This, that the Two Persons could not be *one Person*: Or if He meant any Thing more (which I am not sensible He did) his Arguing is low, and trifling. I had pleaded, that by your Reasoning, you had entirely frustrated the Argument drawn from the Acts of Creation, to prove the *Divinity* of God the Father: For, the *Office* of creating commenced *in Time*. You are pleased to allow my Consequence (however scandalous it may appear upon you) and to tell me, that the *Perfections of God the Father appear not barely and immediately from the Act of creating, but from the Consideration of the Nature of a first Cause*. I am glad to find you begin to be reconciled to that *metaphysical Word, Nature*, which you will hardly allow us to use. But I must tell you farther, that by weakening, and destroying so many clear and undeniable Proofs of the Father's *Divinity*, you have not left yourself enough to prove Him to be the *First Cause*. This perhaps you was not aware of, being entirely bent upon destroying the Son's *Divinity*; and taking it for granted, that the *Father's* would be admitted without Proof. It is a dark Business: But Disputants will sometimes overshoot. Dr. *Clarke*, I believe, began to be sensible of his Error in this respect, as having undermined every *Scripture-proof* of the *Necessary-existence* of God the Father. By an Afterthought, in the *second Edition of Scripture-Doctrine\**; He was pleased to allow that the Father's *Self-existence* and *independent Eternity* were taught in *Rev. i. 8*.

I am very glad He pitched upon That Text, because we can easily vindicate it to *God the Son*: And so we shall have an *express Proof* of the *Necessary-existence* of the *Son*; and leave you, with Shame, to make out the *Father's* by some other as ex-

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\* *Clarke's Script. Doctr.* p. 164. Ed. 2<sup>d</sup>.

prefs Texts, or by *Consequence* only. I have before hinted, that 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. will do you no Service *directly*, or by it self; because *all Things* may mean *some Things*, and *God to us*, may not mean absolutely the *God of the Universe*. But if the Son's *Necessary-existence* be once admitted, according to *Rev.* i. 8. the *Consequence* will be clear and certain for the *Necessary-existence* of the *Father* also. Thus as you had once lost the Proof of the *Father's Divinity*, by denying the *Son's*; so by asserting the latter, you may again recover the former, and then all will be right.

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### Q U E R Y VIII.

*Whether Eternity does not imply Necessary-existence of the Son; which is inconsistent with the Doctor's Scheme? And whether the Doctor hath not made an elusive, equivocating Answer to the Objection; Since the Son may be a necessary Emanation from the Father, by the Will and Power of the Father, without any Contradiction? Will is one Thing, and Arbitrary Will another.*

WE have many important Matters to debate under This present *Query*, which will require the Reader's most careful Attention.

You begin with telling me, that *eternal Generation* does not imply *Necessary-existence*, nay, that it is *contradictory* to it. Let us hear your Reason. *Generation* is an *Act*, and all *Actions* spring from the *Will* only; and an *Act* of the *Will* (that is, *Free Choice*) cannot be *necessary*, p. 251. Your Argument is undoubtedly just, according to your own *novel* Sense of the



the Word *Act*. But it is ridiculous to imagine, that giving *new* Names to *old Truths* can ever alter their *Nature*. Either argue against Generation being an *Act* in the *old* Sense of *Act*, or confess your Trifling in bringing the whole to a Dispute about *Words*, and *Names* only. In the *old* Sense of *Act*; Generation is an *Act*: In your *novel* Sense of *Act* it is not: And where are you now, but where you at first set out?

You tell me, after the *modest Pleader* (to whom I briefly replied in a *Preface*) that I have not been able to produce one single Passage out of any one *Ante-nicene Writer* (you should have added *Post-nicene* too, it being equally true of all the *Fathers*) wherein the Son is affirmed to have emanated, or been emitted, from the Father, by *Necessity of Nature*.

Will you please to show me, where either *Scripture*, or *Fathers*, (*Post-nicene*, or *Ante-nicene*) ever said, that God the Father existed by *Necessity of Nature*. They have never said it; tho' they have, in *other Terms*, asserted the same Thing, which we now mean by *Necessity of Nature*: And This may also be the Case as to the *necessary* Generation of the Son: And it certainly is so. To clear This momentous Point I shall here show.

1. Why, neither *Father*, nor *Son*, were ever said, by the *Antients*, to exist by *Necessity of Nature*, but the contrary.

2. I shall show that the *Antients*, notwithstanding, believed the very same Thing which we now differently express; namely the *Necessary-existence* of God the Son, as well as of God the Father.

3. I shall inquire in what Sense, or by whom, *necessary Generation*, or *Emanation* was held, and in what Words They expressed it: Where I shall also account for the Son's being said to be generated by the *Will* of the Father.

1. I am to begin with observing, why neither Father nor Son, were ever said, by the *Antients*, to exist by *Necessity of Nature*, but the contrary. None of the *Antients*

*tients* durst have said, that God exists by *Necessity*, because it would have been the same as to say, that He was compelled by a superior Force, and against his Will (such was their Sense of the Word *Necessity*) to exist. The Greek *Ἀνάγκη* had been much used among Philosophers in This hard Sente. Some had made *νῦς* and *Ἀνάγκη*<sup>a</sup>, *Mind* and *Necessity*, the Two Causes, or Sources of all Things. Some made *Necessity* alone the first and highest Cause<sup>b</sup>. *Plato* meant the same as *ύλη*, or first Matter, by *Necessity*<sup>c</sup>, following therein *Timæus Locrus*. Some made *Necessity* the Mother of the Fates, and the First among the Deities<sup>d</sup>. Many made their Gods all subject to *Necessity*; as is particularly true of the *Stoicks*. I forbear to cite Passages which might be given in great Numbers. Such being the Use of the Word *Necessity*, no Wonder, if the *Fathers* forbore saying, that God existed by *Necessity*, or if they even denied it.

*Plotinus*, a famous Platonist, of the third Century, denies that God exists *ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης*<sup>e</sup>, by *Necessity*, being no other than what He would chuse to be.

*Lactantius* hints at the same Thought\*. And upon the same Principles, the *Fathers* were always very careful to remove every Thing of *Necessity* † from

<sup>a</sup> Vid. *Timæum Locrum* de Anim. Mund. p. 543. *Ambros.*

<sup>b</sup> Vid. *Phurnutum* de Natura Deorum, p. 19. alias 155.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. *Platonis Timæum*.

*Chalcid.* in *Timæum*, p. 377. Ed. Fabric.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. *Proclum. Theolog. Platon.* p. 405. 406.

*Theodorit.* de Provid. Dei. Serm. 6. p. 562, 563.

<sup>e</sup> Μητε αν εαυτω τι μιν βουδαι ως υπο ανανγκης τετο ον ο εστι, τετο, το αυτος ειναι οπερ αυτος αει ηθελησε κη θελει. Photin. Enn. 6. p. 748.

\* Ex seipso est, ut in primo diximus libro, & ideo talis est qualem se esse voluit. *Lact. Inst.* l. 2. c. 8. p. 161.

† Τίς ο την ανανγκην επιβαλων αυτω; ει η αποπον εστι λεγειν επι θεου ανανγκην, κη δια τετο φυσει αγαθός εστιν. Athanasius, 611.

Bonus Pater, non aut ex voluntate est, aut *Necessitate*, sed super utrumque, hoc est, *Natura*. *Ambros. de Fid.* l. 4. c. 9. p. 540.

Pater

from God; and would never say that He existed, or was God, by *Necessity*. *Damascen* well expresses the Thoughts of them All in These Words.

“ God being by *Nature* good, and by *Nature* indued with creative Powers, and by *Nature* God, is not any of these by *Necessity*: For, who has laid any *Necessity* upon Him? I render *δημιουργός* *indued with creative Powers*, that being the Sense of it; tho’ otherwise, literally, it is *Creator*.

As low then as *Damascen*, who lived in the eighth Century, we have no Instance, that I know of, of the Use of *necessary-existence*, or of *Necessity of Nature* in the *modern* Sense. They that would seek for it, must look among the later *Schoolmen*, and not among the *Fathers* of the Church. When it first came in, is no great Matter, nor worth my Search: So I leave it to Those who have Leisure. But I must complain of it as a great Instance of *Unfairness*, after I had given you the Hint of This in the *Preface* to my Sermons † (which you have read) for you to bring up This Pretence again, that the *Antenicene* Writers did not allow the Son to exist, or to be generated by *Necessity of Nature*. Which Pretence amounts to no more than a poor Quibble upon an Expression: And you might have used the very same Argument against the *Necessary-existence* even of

Pater Filium genuit, non voluntate, nec Necessitate, sed Natura. Symbol. Damasc. ascript. apud Hieron. Vol. 5. p. 122.

Φύσει ἢ ἂν ἀγαθός ὁ Θεός, καὶ φύσει δημιουργός, καὶ φύσει Θεός, οὐκ ἀνάγκη ταῦτα εἶναι. τίς γὰρ ὁ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐπέσγων; Damasc. de Fid. Orth. l. 3. p. 228.

Εἰ ἢ κατ’ αὐτὴν τὸ φυσικὸν πάντως καὶ ἠναγκασμένον. Φύσει ἢ ὁ Θεός, Θεός, φύσει ἀγαθός, φύσει δημιουργός. ἀνάγκη εἶναι ὁ Θεός, Θεός, καὶ ἀγαθός, καὶ δημιουργός. ὅπερ καὶ ἰννοεῖν, μήτι γε λέγειν ἐξάτης εἰς βλασφημίας. Τίς ἢ ὁ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐπέσγων; Maxim. Disp. cum Pyrrh. Tom. 2. p. 163. Combefis.

Ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεός ἐ κατὰ φύσιν ἅγιος, δίκαιος, ἀγαθός, ζωὴ, φῶς, σοφία, καὶ δυναμὶς; αἷ’ οὐν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀεὶκλήτως καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶναι, αἷ’ εἶναι; Cyrill. Alex. ad Anathem. 3. contr. Theodor. p. 213.

† *Preface to Sermons*, p. 21.

God the Father. The antient Writers, I conceive, for eight Centuries (I know not how much lower) would have denied, or did deny, that God was God *by Necessity*: Well therefore might They deny, or never assert that the Son was generated by *Necessity*. Yet They asserted the very same Things which we do, in respect of *Father* or *Son*, under *other* Terms; as I come next to show.

2. The Antients believed and taught the *Necessary-existence* of God the Son; expressing it in such Manner, and in such Phrases as were suitable to their own Times. The most usual Way of expressing what we call *Necessary-existence*, was by saying, that Any Thing was This, or That, φύσει, or κατὰ φύσιν, *by Nature*: Another pretty common Way, was by ὁ ὢν, τὸ ὄν, ὄντως ὢν, and the like, *existing* emphatically. Several other Ways of expressing the same Thing will occur as I go along, in tracing the Sense of the Fathers upon This Head, the *Necessary-existence* of God the Son.

#### A. D. 116. IGNATIUS.

I begin with *Ignatius*, one of *St. John's* Disciples, Whose Words are these: "There is one *Physician*, both fleshly and Spiritual, *made and unmade*, "tho' in *Flesh God*, in *Death true Life*, both of " *Mary* and of *God*; first passible, then impassible, " *Jesus Christ our Lord*. The Word which I here lay the Stress on, in Proof of the Son's *Necessary-existence*, is ἀγένητῶ not *made*; A Word, but seldom, if ever, used, in this Manner, to signify any thing less. Thus *Athanasius*<sup>b</sup>, and *Pope Gelasius*<sup>c</sup>, long ago, under-

<sup>a</sup> Εἰς ἰατρός ἐστιν, σάρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γενητός καὶ ἀγένητῶ, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενῶ θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθητός καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, Ἰησοῦς χριστός ὁ κύριῶ ἡμῶν. Ign. Ep. ad Ephes. c. 7. p. 14. Ox.

<sup>b</sup> Athanas. de Synod. Arim. p. 761.

<sup>c</sup> Gelasius de duabus naturis. p. 690. Bas. ed.

stood This Place of *Ignatius*: You pretend (p. 295.) that the reading is ἀγέννητⓄ *unbegotten*, and that it is *plainly set in Opposition only to Human Generation*. But This which is so plain to you, is by no Means plain to Any Man else; but the contrary is rather so from many Considerations: You must mean, I suppose, that He was *unbegotten*, as having no *Human Father*, born of a *Virgin*. Against which Construction there lie these several Reasons. 1. That no other Catholick Writer ever stiled Christ ἀγέννητⓄ on This Account. 2. That *Ignatius* is plainly speaking of two several Natures in the same Person of Christ, as appears by the *Antitheses* all along: Call it the *Flesh* only if you please (tho' He meant by *Flesh* human Nature intire) yet you see the Opposition carried on quite through, *Flesh* and *Spirit*, *Flesh* and *God*, *Death* and *true Life*, one of *Mary*, the other of *God*, one *passible*, the other *impassible*: So that the plain Sense is that one was *made*, the other *unmade*: Unless you will say, that as the *Flesh* was *begotten*, the λόγⓄ, the *God* was *unbegotten*: Which can bear but two Senses, one of which will not suit with your Principles, nor the other with *Catholick* Principles. You will not say, that the λόγⓄ was *unbegotten* of the Father, nor would *Ignatius*, that Christ, as *God*, was not *begotten* of *Mary*. It being a *Catholick* Maxim, that *Mary* was θεοτόκος: That is, the Doctrine was always held, tho' differently expressed; and it is the express Doctrine of *Ignatius* \* himself. Since then *Ignatius* was undoubtedly speaking of what Christ was in two distinct *Natures*, or *Capacities*, to one of which γεννητός is applied, and ἀγέννητος to the other; you may readily perceive, that your Construction of Him is entirely wide

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\* Χριστὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεγονόμην ἐκ σπέρματⓄ Δαβὶδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ. Ignat. ad Rom. c. 7. p. 40.

and foreign. 3. I shall add thirdly, that I have some Reason to doubt, whether there was any such Word as ἀγέννητ<sup>Ⓔ</sup> so early as the Time of *Ignatius*. This will lead me into a long but useful Inquiry; useful upon many other Accounts besides the present. You are of Opinion that the antient Christian Writers, wherever they stile God ἀγέννητος, meant the same as ἀγέννητος, *unbegotten*, p. 294. My Opinion is, that it was late before they stiled Him ἀγέννητος at all; and that when They stiled Him ἀγέννητος, they never meant precisely *unbegotten*, but either *unmade*, or *underrived* absolutely. We must trace This Point up to the old Philosophers. *Thales* is the first of Them: And He uses the Word ἀγέννητος<sup>Ⓐ</sup>, to signify either *unmade*, or *eternal*.

*Parmenides*<sup>Ⓑ</sup>, about a hundred Years after, uses the Word ἀγέννητον, as is plain from the Metre; and not in the Sense of *unbegotten*, because He supposes the same Thing to be μονογενές, *begotten*.

*Clemens* understands the Passage of *God*: But *Eusebius* and *Theodorit* more rightly of the *World*; tho' perhaps Both may be consistent, as some have imagined *God* and the *World* to be the same, and proceeding from a *Chaos*. But I incline to understand it rather of the *World* distinct from *God*, as the *only begotten of God*; μονογενής being a Title given to the *World* by *Timæus Locrus*<sup>Ⓒ</sup>, and *Plato*<sup>Ⓓ</sup>, who are imitated by *Philo*<sup>Ⓔ</sup>.

<sup>Ⓐ</sup> Πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἄντων θεός ἀγέννητον ἦν. Diog. Laert. l. 1. p. 21. Τὶ τὸ θεῖον; τὸ μήτε ἀρχὴν ἔχον, μήτε τελευτήν. Thales apud Diog. Laert. p. 22.

<sup>Ⓑ</sup> Πολλὰ μάλ' ὡς ἀγέννητον ἐὼν καὶ ἀνώλεθρον ἐστίν, Οὐλον, μονογενές τε, καὶ ἀτρεμῆς, ἢ δ' ἀγέννητον. Apud Clem. Alex. p. 716. Euseb. Præp. ev. p. 43. Theod Tom. 4, 504, 528.

<sup>Ⓒ</sup> Timæus Locrus, p. 4. Gale. alias p. 545. Amst.

<sup>Ⓓ</sup> Plato. Tim. c. 16. p. 239. Fabric.

Vid. Orig. contr. Cels. p. 308.

<sup>Ⓔ</sup> Philo. p. 244. 298. 876.

Here then ἀγένητος can only signify *unmade, eternal, or Necessarily-existing*.

*Ocellus Lucanus* \* uses it to express *beginningless and endless Existence*: or what we should call *Necessary-existence*; always, and unvariably the same.

*Timæus Locrus* applies it to *Ideas*, and to *Duration*: where he seems to mean no more than *Eternity*, and *Immutability* †. I read the Word with single ν in Both places; there being no reason for making it double. There is a Passage of *Timæus* ‡, cited by *Clemens*, where the Copies have ἀγέννητος. *Sylburgius* had observed it should be ἀγένητος rather. But I believe the true reading is ἀγένατος, to answer the Dialect. I suppose, *Timæus* must have meant νοῦς, by his μία ἀρχή, one of his Two Principles: Ἀνάγκη was the other. And I must note, that ἀγένατος here seems to be used in the Sense of *underived absolutely*.

We may now descend to *Plato*, about 360 Years before Christ. It is frequent with Him to use the Word ἀγένητος to express *eternal, immutable existence*, that is, *Necessary-existence*. And tho' He derived his νῦς and ψυχὴ, *Mind*, and *Soul*, from the τὰ ἀγαθόν, yet He supposed them ἀγένητα, *Necessarily-existing*; as *Athanasius* || hath observed: And the like

\* Τὸ πᾶν ἀνάληθρον καὶ ἀγένητον· αἰεὶ τε γ' ἦν καὶ ἔσται. *Ocell. Lucan.* p. 8. Gale. al. 506.

Αγένητος καὶ ἀφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος· ἀναρχος καὶ ἀτελειότης. *Id.* p. 16, 28.

† De Idea, τὸ μὲν ἀγένεατόν τε καὶ ἀκίνατον, καὶ μένον τε. *Tim. Locr.* p. 2. ἀγένεατο χρόνος ὃν αἰῶνα ποταγομένους, p. 10.

‡ Μία ἀρχὴ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀγένητος (Leg. ἀγένατος) εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο, ἐκ αὐτῆς ἦν ἔτι ἀρχή, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα ἐξ ἧς αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἐγένετο. *Clem. Alex.* p. 718. *Plato*, in his *Phædrus*, applies This reasoning to the Soul. *Phædr.* p. 344. Vid. *Cicer. Tusc.* 1. p. 45.

|| Ὅν λέγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ νοῦν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ ψυχὴν, καίτοις γενήσασκεν τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἐκ ἐσομένησαν ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὰ εἶπεν ἀγένητα. *Athanas.* de *Decret.* S. N. p. 234.

is observed of Him by *Eusebius* <sup>a</sup>. Dr. *Clarke* tells us, in his *Demonstration of the Being*, &c. that, according to many of *Plato's* Followers, the World was supposed to be an eternal voluntary Emanation from the all-wise and supreme Cause <sup>b</sup>. But I know not whether the Doctor will be able to prove This of them, in his present Sense of *Voluntary*. *Plotinus*, who is one of his Authorities, makes God's *Will* to be the same with God's *Essence*: And He derives the very Being of God from his *Will*, that is, from Himself <sup>c</sup>. You seem therefore to be under a great Mistake when you tell me (p. 254.) that the *Platonists* expressly affirmed the World to be eternal, and by the *Will* of God, and not by necessity: As if *Will*, in their Sense (because it is in your's) must needs be opposed to *Necessity*, in your Sense also of *Necessity*; when neither their Sense of *Will*, nor of *Necessity* was the same with your's <sup>d</sup>.

To *Plato* we may subjoin *Aristotle*, who is known to make the World ἀγένητον, *Necessarily-existent*; which you, (because you affect *Singularity*) will needs call *self-existent*. But as there is certainly a different

<sup>a</sup> Νοητὴς ἐστὶς αὐτῆς ἀγένητος εἶναι φάσκων αὐτὰς ὅσπερ καὶ πάσαν ψυχὴν ἔπειτα ἐξ ἀπερίοις τῆς τοῦ πρώτου αἰτίας συσῆμαι λέγων. Ὅσοι γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἔντε αὐτὰς γεγονέναι διδόναι βέλεται. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 13. c. 15. p. 694.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Clarke's *Demonstration*, &c. p. 31. Ed. 4<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> See Cudworth, p. 405.

<sup>d</sup> Basil gives a very different Account of these Philosophers and their Sentiments, that They supposed the World eternal, and not by the Will of God.

Καὶ καθεὶς πολλοὶ τῶν φαντασθέντων συνπάρχειν ἐξ αἰδῆς τῷ θεῷ τὸν κόσμον, οὐχὶ γεγονῆσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ συνεχάρησαν· ἀλλ' οἰοεὶ ἀποσκίασμα τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ αὐτομάτως παρυσῆσθαι. Καὶ αἰτίον μὲν αὐτοῦ ὁμολογοῦσι τὸν θεόν, αἰτίον δὲ ἀπροαιρέτως, ὡς τῆς σκιάς τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τῆς λαμπρῆς τὸ ἀγῶζον. Basil. in Hexam. Hom. 1. p. 10.

So also St. Ambrose.

Quantumvis causam ejus Deum esse fateantur, causam tamen volunt non ex voluntate, & dispositione sua, sed ita ut causa umbræ Corpus est. Ambr. in Hexam. l. 1. c. 5.



*Idea* from that of *Self-existent* fixed to the Word ἀγέννητος, when applied to the Thing *caused*, we will, with your good leave, give the different *Ideas* different *Names*. *Simplicius*, quoted by *Dr. Cudworth*\*, observes of *Aristotle*, that while He makes God the *Cause* of the *World*, He yet supposes the *World* to be ἀγέννητος, *Necessarily-existing*. You say, *Dr. Cudworth* justly charges *Aristotle* with making the *World Self-existent*. But *Dr. Cudworth* was a wiser Man, than to charge *Aristotle* with it. He observes, that neither *Aristotle*, nor any of the *Pagan Theologers*, from his *Time*, ever supposed the *World*, or the inferior Gods to be *Self-existent* †; but to proceed eternally from a *Cause*. You allow the same Thing, (p. 294.) of the *Stoicks* their ἀγέννητοι θεοί, *eternal* and *necessarily-existing* Gods, produced from the *Substance* of God. So that now we have the Sense of Three famous Sects of Philosophers, (*Platonists*, *Aristotelians*, and *Stoicks*) all distinguishing between *Self-existence* and *Necessary-existence*; and all using the Word ἀγέννητος to express the latter singly, as often as They applied it to Things *produced*.

From the whole we may make this Observation, which will be useful to us in our reading the *Fathers*, that there is nothing strange, or uncommon, in giving the Title of ἀγέννητος to what is supposed to have been *produced*, or *begotten*. To the antient Instances already given from *prophane Writers*, I shall add a few more of something later date; one is from the *Hermaick Books*, quoted in *Cyril* ‡, where the λόγος is stiled ἀγέννητος, and yet γνήσιος υἱός. More

\* Τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ ἔραγον θεὸν λέγων, ὁμοίως ἀγέννητον αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσι. *Cudworth*, p. 253.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Ὁ κόσμος ἔχει ἀρχοντα ἐπικείμενον δημοκράτον, λόγον τοῦ πάντων δεσπότη, ὃς μετ' ἐκείνου πρώτη δύναμις, ἀγέννητος, &c. — Ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦ παντελείου πρόγονος, καὶ τέλειος, καὶ γόνιμος γνήσιος υἱός. *Apud Cyril Alex. contr. Jul. l. i. p. 33.*

may be cited from *Plotinus* \*, and other *Platonists*; who call Things ἀγένητα, *Eternal and Necessarily-existing*, tho' proceeding from Another. All the while it is observable that ἀγένητ⊕ was sometimes used in a higher Sense, when applied to what Those Philosophers called the *First Cause*, or *Supreme God*: for it might then signify both *Necessary-existence* and *Self-existence*, that is *underived* absolutely: Tho' it might often signify no more than *Necessary-existence*, abstracting from the Consideration of *Self-existence*; which may best be judged of by observing what the Word is *opposed* to. I meet not however with the Word ἀγέννητ⊕ to denote particularly *Self-existent*: nor does it seem to have been in use so high as *Philo's* Time. For, when *Philo* had a mind to express how the λόγ⊕ was *Necessarily-existing*, but not *Self-existent* (so I understand Him) He had no way of doing it but by saying that He was not ἀγένητ⊕ in the highest Sense as God is, nor γενητὸς in the low Sense as Creatures are, but between Both †. If he had had the Two Words ἀγένητ⊕ and ἀγέννητ⊕, He might much more easily have expressed the Thought: As many of the Christian Fathers did after. I take the Word ἀγέννητ⊕ to have been first brought in by the *Christians*, to distinguish the *Father* from the *Son*; that is, *Unbegotten* from *Begotten*. But when,

\* Γενητὰ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἀρχῆν ἔχειν· ἀγένητα δὲ ὅτι μὴ χρέον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ αἰεὶ παρ' ἄλλε ὄντα αἰεὶ. Plotin. Enn. 2. l. 4. p. 161, 162.

Ἄι τῶν θεῶν οὐσίαι οὐδὲ ἐγένοντο· τὰ γὰρ αἰεὶ ὄντα οὐδέποτε γίνονται οὐδὲ τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας, ἢ ἀλλήλων χαρίζονται· ὡς περ οὐδὲ ψυχῆς αἰ ἐπιστήμαι. Sallust. de Mund. c. 2. p. 245.

Ἄυτὸν δὲ τὸν κόσμον ἀφθαρτόν τε καὶ ἀγένητον εἶναι ἀνάγκη—εἰ γὰρ μὴ φθείρεται, οὐδὲ γέγονεν.—καὶ ὅτι ἀνάγκη διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθότητα ὄντος τοῦ κόσμου αἰεὶ τε τὸν θεὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸν κόσμον ὑπάρχειν, ὡς περ ἡλίῳ μὲν, καὶ πυρὶ συνυφίσταται φῶς, σώματι δὲ σκία. Sallust. de Mund. c. 7. p. 256.

† Ὅτι ἀγένητος ὡς θεὸς ὢν, οὔτε γενητὸς ὡς ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ μέσος τῶν ἄκρων, ἀμφοτέροις ὀμηρῶν. Philo, p. 509.

or by what degrees it came into use, is not easy to determine. Hardly so early as *Ignatius*; or if it had, He would not have applied it to God the *Son*, in any Sense: Wherefore it is highly improbable that ἀγέννητⓄ should be the Word in the Place cited. But ἀγέννητⓄ was a common Word, and very applicable; and the more likely to be applied by Him to God the Son, whom He also stiles, as the *Word*, αἶδιⓄ, \* of like Signification with ἀγέννητⓄ, and frequently join'd with it in antient Writers †. I have nothing farther to add, but that the *Arian* Interpolator well understood the force of ἀγέννητⓄ in That place of *Ignatius*; and therefore craftily enough altered the Passage, applying it to the Father only; suitably to *Arian* Principles, which allow not either ἀγέννητⓄ, or ἀγέννητⓄ to be applied to God the Son.

I should take Notice that *Theodoret* lays it to the Charge of *Saturnilus*, that He asserted our Saviour to be not only ἀγέννητⓄ, but also ἀγέννητⓄ ‡, therein contradicting Himself, since He owns him to have a *Father*. But it is difficult to know whether *Theodoret* drew This from *Saturnilus*'s own Expressions, or only expressed what He took to be *Saturnilus*'s Sense, in his own Words. If the former were certain, we should have a Proof of ἀγέννητⓄ being used about *Ignatius*'s Time, tho' among *Hereticks* only: But That I leave to be consider'd. I incline to think that even when the Father was spoken of, the Word was still ἀγέννητⓄ, but understood sometimes

\* Ὅς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ λόγος αἶδιος, οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθὼν. *Ignat.* ad *Magnes.* p. 23. N. B. αἶδιος here looks backwards, and is to be understood *a parte Ante*, as the Schools speak. Compare what *Irenaeus* says; *Ubi est sige non erit Logos; & ubi Logos non utique est sige.* *Iren.* l. 2. c. 12. p. 129.

† Τὶ ἐν ἐστὶ τὸ αἶδιον καὶ ἀγέννητον, καὶ ἀφθαρτον; ἢ χρόνος οὐδέτις μεταβολὴν ἐπάγει. *Plutarch.* de εἰ in *Delphis* *Script.*

‡ *Theod.* *Hæret. Fab.* p. 194.

in the highest Sense, signifying *Self-existent*; as we see in the *Sybilline Verses* \*. *Athanasius's* Observation may hold true, that the ἐν τὸ ἀγένητον, did not signify the *one unbegotten*, but the *one underived* †, when applied to the Father; carrying in it both *Necessary-existence*, and *Self-existence*: Tho' it was often expressive of the former only, being understood in opposition to *precarious Existence*, and nothing else: and so the Son might be included in the ἐν τὸ ἀγένητον. I have made no Account of any *Latin* Translations of the Greek ἀγένητος, because nothing is more uncertain. The Translator of *Irenæus* is various, and often translates by *innatus*, or *ingenuus*, where it is plain the Word should be *infectus*. *Tertullian* sometimes translates the one Word ἀγένητον, by two together, *innatus & infectus*; which confirms me that the Word was ἀγένητον, and that for want of a proper Word for *underived*, He chose to express it by Two. Yet *Tertullian* has also the Word *innatus* for *unbegotten* alone; applying it to the Father in contradistinction to the Son. But I shall weary the Reader. He that would see more of the Use of ἀγένητον, may consult the Authors in the Margin ‡. The Benefit of what hath been hinted will appear as I go on.

\* Εἰς Θεὸς ὃς μόνος ἐστὶν ὑπερμεγέθης ἀγένητος. Theoph. Antioch. p. 181.

† Αυτογενής, ἀγένητος, ἅπαντα κρατῶν διαπαντός. Ibid.

‡ Οὐκ ἀγνοῶμεν δὲ ὅτι καὶ εἰ εἰρηκότες ἐν τὸ ἀγένητον τὸν πατέρα λέγοντες, ἔκ ὡς γενητοῦ καὶ ποιήματος ὄντος τοῦ λόγου οὕτως ἔγραψαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ ἔχει τὸν αἰτίον, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς πατὴρ μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς σοφίας, &c. Athan. Vol. 1. p. 761. Beæd.

‡ Suiceri Thesaur.

Petavius, de Trin. l. 6. c. 1, 2.

Cudworth, p. 253, 254.

Montfaucon, Admon. in Athanas. de Decr. S. N. p. 207.

## A. D. 145. JUSTIN MARTYR.

I am next to show, that *Justin Martyr* also taught the *Necessary-existence* of God the Son. His Doctrine is, that the Son is  $\delta \omega \nu$ , The *I AM*; a Phrase expressing, according to *Justin*, and all other the best Criticks, proper *emphatical existence*; the same which we now call *Necessary-existence*. As to the Proof of the Fact, that *Justin* really stiles God the Son  $\delta \omega \nu$ , and in his own proper Person, I have given it in my *Defense*\*; and am now only to take off your Exceptions to the Evidence. You have very little of moment to reply; which is the reason I suppose, that you appear so fretted all the way under this *Query*, and betray a very indecent warmth in your Expressions. You have only your old Pretence, (which is worth nothing) that, according to *Justin*, Christ was *Messenger*, or *Minister* to the Father: And so He was according to me too, in my *Defense*, and now; And yet He is  $\delta \omega \nu$  together with the Father; and He will be, maugre all the Endeavours of *passionate Men* to the contrary.

I insisted farther in my *Defense* †, that the very Reason given why the Father is God,  $\Theta \epsilon \acute{o} \varsigma$  (not  $\delta \Theta \epsilon \acute{o} \varsigma$ ) is because He is  $\alpha \gamma \acute{\epsilon} \nu \eta \tau \textcircled{C}$ , *Necessarily-existing*. Now since *Justin* every where expressly stiles the Son  $\Theta \epsilon \acute{o} \varsigma$ , and says that He is  $\Theta \epsilon \acute{o} \varsigma$ , *God*, He must of Consequence believe the Son to be *Necessarily-existing*. Here you are in a Passion; telling me, (p. 296.) that it is *exactly as ridiculous as if a Man should argue that since, according to St. Paul, God's being the Father, of whom are all Things, is declared to be the Reason of his being the One God; therefore if the Son be not the Father, He is not God at all.* But have a little patience, and you will see the

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\* *Defense*, p. 37, 152, 153.

† *Defense*, p. 153.

clearer. Had *St. Paul* said, that the *Reason* of the Father's being *God*, is because He is the *Father of whom*, &c. It would be manifest, that, according to *St. Paul*, no one could be *God* that was not also the *Father of whom*, &c. But as *St. Paul* has said no such Thing, the Case is not parallel. Nor is the Father's being the *Father of whom*, &c. the *Reason* or *Foundation* of his being *the One God*, but only a Reason why He principally is stiled the *One God*: so that you have yet said nothing to take off the Force of my Argument relating to *Justin*. You are extremely angry at my construing *ἀγέννητος* in *Justin*, eternal, uncreated, immutable, not *unbegotten*, or *self-existent*: And you say, (p. 292.) that I have not the least Ground for it, from any antient Writer whatsoever. Who would not imagine you were perfectly acquainted with every antient Writer, to talk of Them so familiarly? I have shown you from many antient Writers, that *ἀγέννητος* has been commonly applied to Things *begotten*, or *proceeding*; where it could not signify *unbegotten*. I would farther hint to you, which perhaps may surprize you, that you cannot prove that ever *Justin Martyr* used the Word *ἀγέννητος* with double *v*, or that He knew of any such Word. That He uses *ἀγέννητος* is certain; sometimes meaning by it *undervived* absolutely\*; sometimes *Necessarily-existing* †. One Thing I will presume to *know*, and to be certain of, that in the Place by me cited, He used it in the Sense of *Necessarily-existing*, and no other; because it is opposed to *precarious*, *perishable* Being; as I showed in my *Defense*: And this was the Sense that the old Philosophers most commonly used it in, whether

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\* Pag. 387, 408, 410. Ed. Thirlby.

I do not meet with more Places where the Word must necessarily signify more. In the rest, I conceive, it must, or may signify no more than Necessary-existence.

† Pag. 20, 37, 72, 78, 114, 128, 148, 149, 150.

speaking of the *supreme Cause*, or their *incorruptible Deities*, as opposed to the *corruptible Creation*.

You think ἀγενήτω (for so I read it) in his second Apology\*, must signify *unbegotten*. Far from it: it signifies no more than *Eternal*, or however *Necessarily-existing*, in my Sense of the Word. His Argument requires no more than This, that God should have none older than Himself to have given a *Name* to Him; And because He had not, He had *no Name*: wherefore also the Son (as *Justin* observes) being *co-existent* with Him (συνών) from the first, and afterwards *Begotten*, had *no Name*, having none older than Himself. Thus the Connexion of *Justin's* Sense is plain and clear; and his Observation just and natural. Oh, but you say, *Justin*, in this very Sentence, styles the Son γεννώμενος, in express opposition to ἀγέννητος. But, That I deny; γεννώμενος is opposed only to συνών, his *Temporal* Generation to his *Eternal* co-existence with the Father: For so I interpret That Passage with the learned *Dr. Grabe*; so entirely void of all Foundation is every one of your Exceptions.

To those already given I shall add one Proof more of *Justin's* professing the *Necessary-existence* of God the Son. It is from a Fragment only †; But there appears no reason to suspect its being genuine. What I build my Argument upon, is *Justin's* styling the λόγος, *Life by Nature*; by which I understand *Necessarily-existing* Life, no Phrase being more commonly used to signify *Necessary-existence* than φύσει, or κατὰ φύσιν, by the Antients. This very Phrase of *Life by Nature*, is so used by *Cyril of Alexandria*, and

\* Just. Apol. 2. p. 13. Grab. p. 114. Thirlb.

† Ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ζωὴ προσεπλάκη τῷ τῆν φθορὰν δεξαμένῳ. *Justin's* Fragm. p. 406. Jeb. *Grabe Spicil.* Vol. 2. p. 172.

others<sup>a</sup>. But what most of all confirms This Sense, is *Justin* himself, or a venerable Person whom He produces in his *Dialogue* with approbation, arguing against the *Necessary-existence* of the Soul, upon This Topick, that she has not *Life* in her self<sup>b</sup>, but her Life is precarious, depending on the *Will* of Another. Now, in This *Fragment*, *Justin* asserts that the λόγος is *Life by Nature*, and inlivening whatever is joyn'd thereto: The very Description which the *Platonists*<sup>c</sup> give of the τὸ θεῖον, the *divine Being*, which *emphatically* exists. I might add farther Proofs, from *Justin*, of the Son's *Necessary-existence*; the same that Bishop *Bull* has produced out of Him for the *Consubstantiality*; For, whatever proves one, proves Both. But these are sufficient, and I may have occasion to hint more of This Matter, when I come to answer the Objection made from the *Temporal Generation*.

A. D. 177. ATHENAGORAS.

*Athenagoras*, our next in order, will be a powerful Advocate for the *Necessary-existence* of God the Son. He declares Him to be ἐγενόμενος<sup>d</sup> not made; the very same Phrase, whereby He expresses the *Necessary-existence* of God the Father<sup>e</sup>; and which comes

<sup>a</sup> Κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ ζωὴ καὶ ζωοποιὸς ὁ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα νοῦ. Cyril. Alex. contr. Jul. l. 7. p. 250.

ζωὴ κατὰ φύσιν ὁ θεός, ὡς θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ, καὶ ζωὴ ἐκ ζωῆς. Cyril. in 1 Joh. p. 51.

<sup>b</sup> Ὁς λόγος ὦν, καὶ ζωὴ, καὶ φῶς, καὶ ἀλήθεια, καὶ θεός, καὶ σοφία, καὶ πάντα ὅσα κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ. Greg. Nyss. contr. Eun. Or. 1. p. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Οὐ γὰρ δι' αὐτῆς ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν, ὡς τῷ θεῷ. Just. Dial. p. 23. Jeb.

<sup>d</sup> Οὐ γὰρ ὡς μετέχον τοῦ ζῆν, ἀλλ' ὡς παρέκτικον τῆς θείας ζωῆς, τὸ θεῖον ἀθάνατον ἐστὶ. Procl. Platon. Theol. p. 65.

<sup>e</sup> Οὐχ ὡς γενόμενον. Athenag. p. 38.

<sup>f</sup> Αὐτὸν μὲν οὐ γενόμενον, ὅτι τὸ ὄν οὐ γίνεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ὄν. P. 21.

Τὸ τὸ ὄν αἰεὶ, γένεσίν τε οὐκ ἔχων· ἢ τὸ γενόμενον μὲν, ὄν δὲ οὐδέποτε. P. 67.

<sup>g</sup> Οὐ φύσει ὄντων, ἀλλὰ γενομένων, p. 68.



to the same as ὁ ὢν, φύσει ὢν, ἀεὶ ὢν, all Words, or Phrases, expressing in *Athenagoras*, *Necessarily-existence*.

It is ridiculous of you to plead in opposition to me, (p. 296.) that *Athenagoras* calls the Son γέννημα in the very same Sentence. It is the Thing that we contend for, that He may be γέννημα, and yet *Necessarily-existing*; nay, that He is so, because He is γέννημα ||, properly so called; every Son being of the same Nature with his Father. And why might not *Athenagoras* think the Son *Necessarily-existing*, and *begotten* also? No *Philosopher*, nor *Catholick Christian*, ever imagined it at all inconsistent for the same Thing to be both γεννώμενον and ἀγέννητον, as may appear, in a good measure, from the Testimonies I have given above.

I have something farther to plead from *Athenagoras*. He intimates, that God could never be without the λόγος\*, any more than without *Reason* or *Wisdom*; which is declaring his existence as *necessary* as the *Father's* existence is. See This Argument of the *Antients* explain'd, and vindicated in my *Sermons* †: Besides that Bp. *Bull* has so fully defended *Athenagoras* in particular, from the senseless Charge of his supposing the Son to be no more than an *Attribute*; before his Generation, that an ingenuous Man should be ashamed to revive it, till He can make some tolerable Answer to what the Bishop has said. But I have mentioned This Matter once before.

You object, that *Athenagoras* speaks emphatically of the *unoriginate underived eternity of the Father*, as the one *unbegotten* and *eternal God*, and again, that the *unbegotten God* is alone eternal. Had This been really said by Him, yet no body that knows *Athena-*

|| Vid. Dionys. Rom. ap. Athan. p. 232.

\* Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς, τοῦς αἰῶνας ὢν, εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν λόγον αἰδίως λογικὸς ὢν. Athen. p. 38.

† *Sermons*, p. 243, &c.

goras, could ever suspect that He had intended any *opposition* to the *eternity* of God the Son, included in Him; and therefore it were of no great Moment to dispute This Point with you. But in regard to *Truth*, I think my self obliged to observe, that no Proof can be given of *Athenagoras's* ever using the Word ἀΐέννητος, but ἀΐέννητος. It is under the conception of *Necessary-existence*, not as *unbegotten*, that He proposes the Father as the *true God*; in opposition to all the *perishing* and *feeble* Deities of the Pagans: And while He does This, He still bears in mind that This *Father* has a *Son* of the same Nature with Himself; and forgets not to mention Him in his proper Place: Particularly, in Those very Pages (37, 122,) from whence you quote the two Passages of the *unbegotten* Father (as you call Him) He takes care to bring in the mention of the *Son*, as included in Him, and *One God* with Him. It is very strange that an Antient Writer cannot be allowed to speak of the Father, in the first place, as the *One God*, (which all the Churches in Christendom have ever done, and still do in their *Creeds*) but presently He must be charged with *excluding* God the Son: As if reserving Him a while in mind, and forbearing to make mention of Him till it be a proper Time and Place, were the same Thing with *excluding* Him from the *one true Godhead*. Upon a View of the Places \* where *Athenagoras* uses the Word ἀΐέννητος, it is plain to me, from what I find it *opposed* to, that He means no more than εἰ γενόμενος, or φύσει ὄν, *Necessary-existence* by it, in opposition to the Pagan perishing Deities.

A. D. 187. IRENÆUS.

*Irenæus* will be found to teach the *Necessary-existence* of God the Son many ways, with great Va-

\* Athenag. p. 19, 27, 37, 53, 67, 122.

riety of Expression; sometimes declaring Him to be *ipse Deus*<sup>a</sup>, *God Himself*, sometimes the *Self*<sup>b</sup> of the Father, *Creator*<sup>c</sup> often; which, with *Irenæus*, is always a certain Argument of *immutable Existence*<sup>d</sup>, and a mark of Distinction between what is *Necessarily-existing*, and what not: intimating also, that whatsoever is a *Creature* could never create<sup>e</sup>. I have shown also, above, that *Irenæus* asserts the Son not to be *Another God*, but the *same God* with the Father; from whence it must follow, that He is also *Necessarily-existing* as well as the Father. He farther supposes Him *God*, in respect of his *Substance*<sup>f</sup>, and co-existing<sup>g</sup> always with the Father. By these and other the like Characters, too long and too many to be here cited at length, does this very early and judicious Father proclaim the *Necessary-existence* of God the Son. I shall over and above produce Two Passages; one where *Irenæus* styles the Son *Infectus*, and Another where the *Father* and his *Word* are so described, as plainly to shew that They are one *Necessary-existing* Being. The first runs Thus<sup>h</sup>; “Thou art not, O Man, *Necessarily-existing*, neither didst thou always *co-exist* with God as his own *Word*. I make no doubt of *Infectus* being the rendring of ἀγέντος, a Word often used by *Irenæus*; But whether He ever has ἀγέντος *unbegotten*, I am not positive: It does not appear to me that He has<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Iren. p. 132.

<sup>b</sup> Iren. p. 139, 163, 253.

<sup>c</sup> Iren. 44, 79, 190, 219, 307, 315.

<sup>d</sup> Iren. p. 169, 183, 240.

<sup>e</sup> Iren. p. 288.

<sup>f</sup> Generationem ejus quæ est ex Virgine, & *Substantiam* quoniam Deus. Iren. p. 217.

<sup>g</sup> Iren. p. 153, 163, 209, 243.

<sup>h</sup> Non enim infectus es, ô Homo, neque semper Co-existebas Deo, *ficit proprium* ejus Verbum. Iren. p. 153.

<sup>i</sup> The Reader may turn to the Pages here marked, if He is disposed to examine. N. B. I make no Account of the present Readings.

Iren. p. 2, 5, 11, 53, 54, 56, 67, 100, 101, 103, 153, 183, 284, 285, 348. Bened. Ed.

Now as to the Sense of the place, it is certainly the most natural to refer each Branch of the Sentence to the same *Word* of God. That is to say, *Neither art thou unmade, as the Word is, nor didst Thou always co-exist with God, as He, the same Word has.* But because it is barely possible for the Words to admit of another Construction, I shall not contend about it. One Thing however is certain, that the *eternal co-existence* of God the *Word* is here plainly taught; which, among all sober Reasoners, will imply his *Necessary-existence*, as well as *Eternity*.

The other Place of *Irenæus* runs thus.

“ But in Him who is God over all, for as much  
 “ as He is all *Mind* and all *Word*, (as we have said)  
 “ and having nothing sooner or later, or any thing  
 “ of diversity in Himself, but all equal, and like,  
 “ and ever continuing one; there can be no such  
 “ order of Emission (*as the Gnosticks pretend*\*)

To This may be added another such Passage.

“ For the Father of all is not a kind of compound  
 “ Substance (Animal) of any thing besides Mind,  
 “ as we have shown. But the Father is *Mind*, and  
 “ *Mind* the Father. Wherefore it is necessary that  
 “ the *Word*, which is of *Him*, or rather the *Mind*  
 “ *it self*, since it is *Word*, should be perfect and im-  
 “ passible, and the Emissions therefrom, being of the  
 “ *same Substance* with Him, should be perfect and  
 “ impassible, and always continue like to Him that  
 “ emitted them †.

These

\* In eo autem qui sit super omnes Deus, Totus Nus, & Totus Logos cum sit, quemadmodum prædiximus, & nec aliud Antiquius, nec posterius, aut aliud Alterius habente in se, sed toto æquali & Simili & uno perseverante, jam non talis hujus Ordinationis sequitur emissio. *Iren.* p. 132.

† Non enim ut compositum Animal quiddam est omnium Pater præter Nus, quemadmodum præ-ostendimus; sed Nus Pater, & Pater Nus. Necessè est itaque & eum qui ex eo est Logos, imo magis autem ipsum Nus, cum sit Logos, *perfectum & impassibilem esse,*  
 & cas

These two Passages will not be perfectly understood by any that are not in some Measure acquainted with the *Gnostick* Principles. Among other Conceits of theirs, this was one, that the *Word* was remote from the Father in Nature and Perfections, and liable to Ignorance and Passion: Which absurd Tenet *Irenæus* here confutes, by teaching that the *Mind* is *Word*, and the *Word* *Mind*, Both of the *same Substance* and Perfections. It is plain that by *Word*, in those Passages, is not meant any *Attribute* of the Father, but the *Person* of the Son, by what follows in p. 132. where He speaks of the *eternal Word* under that Notion, and still continues the same Thought of *God Himself* being *Word*, or *Logos*, as before. The *Word* therefore is *perfect*, is *impassible*, is *necessarily-existing*, as the Father is, according to *Irenæus*<sup>a</sup>.

A. D. 192. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

*Clemens* is another unexceptionable Evidence for the same Doctrine. He styles the Son *ὄντως Θεός*<sup>b</sup>, *really God*: A Phrase, which He often applies, with particular Emphasis to God the Father<sup>c</sup>, as being the one true God, in Opposition to pretended Deities. I omit here, what I have before abundantly shown, that The Father and Son together are the *one God*, according to *Clemens*: I pass over also *Clemens's* Doctrine of Christ being *Creator, Almighty, Adorable, &c.*

& eas quæ ex eo sunt Emissiones, *eiusdem substantiæ* cum sint, cujus & ipse, perfectas & impassibiles & semper similes cum eo perseverare qui eas emisit. *Iren.* p. 139.

Compare

Qui generationem prolativi Hominum Verbi transferunt in *Def æternum Verbum*, & prolationis initium dantes & Genesim, quemadmodum & suo verbo. Et in quo distabit Dei Verbum, imo magis *ipse Deus*, cum sit *Verbum*, a Verbo Hominum, si eandem habuerit Ordinationem & Emissionem generationis? *Iren.* p. 132.

<sup>a</sup> *Vid.* Massuet Dissert. Præv. p. 128.

<sup>b</sup> *Clemens Alex.* p. 86.

<sup>c</sup> *Clem.* p. 45. 55. 60. 61. 81. 92. 150.

from whence, by certain Consequence, it may be proved that his Substance is truly *divine*, and *necessarily-existing*. I shall here insist only on such Passages, as more expressly, and directly signify his *Necessary-existence*; among which this is one.

“ But This must of Necessity be took Notice of, “ that we ought not to think any Thing wise by “ *Nature*, but the τὸ Θεῖον, the *divine Being*: Wherefore also it is *Wisdom*, God’s *Power*, that teaches “ Truth: And from thence the Perfection of Knowledge is received”. Here *Wisdom* is plainly included in the τὸ Θεῖον, the *divine Being*, said to be wise by *Nature*, that is, *necessarily* wise. All that know *Clemens’s* Stile, will allow, that by *Wisdom* is meant the *Son of God*, the *Teacher of Truth*, as *Clemens* Himself explains it in the following Page <sup>e</sup>; And a few Pages after, He gives Him the Titles of σοφία, *Wisdom*, and δύναμις Θεῶ, *Power of God* <sup>f</sup>, as here. Wherefore God the Son is φύσει σοφός, and also τὸ Θεῖον, which fully expresses *Necessary-existence*. Another Passage of *Clemens*, proving the same Thing, is as follows. “ We are not as The Lord, and if we “ would, we cannot: For no Disciple is above his “ Lord. It is enough, if we be made such as the “ Master; not in *Essence*, for it is impossible for “ That which is by *Adoption* (or *Appointment*) to be “ equal in *Essence* (or *Existence*) to what is by *Nature*: Only we may be *made eternal*, and may be “ admitted to the Contemplation of Things that are, “ and may have the *Title of Sons*, and may see the “ Father in what belongs to Him\*.

In

<sup>d</sup> Ἐκεῖνο ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης παρασημασμένον, ὡς μόνον τὸ Θεῖον σοφὸν εἶναι φύσει νοεῖσθαι χρή· διὸ καὶ ἡ σοφία δύναμις Θεοῦ, ἢ διδάσκουσα τὴν ἀλήθειαν, κἀνταῦθά πε εἰληπταί ἢ τελείωσις τῆς γνώσεως. Clem. p. 452.

<sup>e</sup> Δι’ ἧ καθορᾶται τὰ κατ’ ἀλήθειαν καλὰ καὶ δίκαια. p. 453.

<sup>f</sup> Ὁ κύριος Ἀλήθεια, καὶ σοφία, καὶ δύναμις Θεοῦ. p. 457.

\* Οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἢ ὡς ὁ κύριος, ἐπειδὴ βεβλήμεθα μὲν ἐ δυνάμεθα δὲ ἐδίδας γὰρ μαθητὴς ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκοντα· ἀρκετὰ δὲ εἶναι γενόμεθα ὡς ὁ διδάσκων καλῶ.

In these Words it is clearly intimated, that our Lord is κατ' ἐσίαν, essentially, and φύσει, by Nature, eternal, and knowing, and Son of God: Which are the known Ways, by which the Antients express Necessary-existence. φύσει as opposed to θεῖται is a familiar and very common Expression for what is naturally and necessarily, in Opposition to voluntary Appointment, or Designation †.

Clemens has Another celebrated Passage, worth the Reciting.

“ The Son of God never comes down from his  
 “ Watch-Tower, is never divided, never parted a-  
 “ der, and never passes from Place to Place; but is  
 “ always every where, and yet contained no where:  
 “ All Mind, all Light, all the Father's Eye, sees  
 “ all Things, hears all Things, and knows all  
 “ Things ‡.

Here we find the principal essential Attributes of God (*Immutability, Immensity, Omnipresence, and Omniscience*) ascribed to God the Son. And what can all This mean less than *Necessary-existence*? Compare with it what I had just before cited from *Irenæus*; who in like manner describes God as being all *Mind, all Word, &c.* And it is observable, that

καλος · ἐκατ' ἐσίαν· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἴσον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ὑπαρξιν, τὸ θεῖται τῷ φύσει · τὸ ἕ ἀίδιός γεγονέναι, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὕψτων θεωρίαν ἐγκρακεῖναι, καὶ υἱός προσηγερεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων καθορᾶν μόνον. Clem. Alex. p. 469.

† Χάριτι, καὶ οὐ φύσει τῆς υἰοθεσίας ἠξιομένους. Greg. Nyss. contr. Eun. l. i. p. 17. 126.

Εἰπὼν πρῶτον τὸ οἰκείον, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μὲν, ὅπερ ἦν κατὰ φύσιν· εἴτ' ἐπιτομῶν καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν, ὅπερ ἦν κατὰ θεῖται. Cyrill. Hierosol. p. 116. Ed. Benedict.

Vid. & p. 114. 117. 138. 149. 151. 152. 153. 158.

Athan. Orat. 2. p. 527. The Arian Doctrine was, εἰ φύσει υἱός τις ἐστιν ὁ θεῖται. Alexand. Epist. apud Theod. E. H. l. i. c. 4.

‡ Οὐ γὰρ ἐξίσταται ποτε τῆς αὐτῆς περιωπῆς ὁ υἱὸς ὁ θεῖται· εἰ μεριζομένῳ, σὺν ἀποτεμένῳ, εἰ μεταβαίναν ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, πάντῃ ἕ ὡν πάντοτε, καὶ μηδὲ μὴ περιεχόμενῳ, ὅλῳ νῆς, ὅλῳ φᾶς, πατρῶος ὅλῳ ὀφθαλμῶς, πάντα ἐρᾶν, πάντα αἰκᾶν, εἰδῶς πάντα, &c. Clem. p. 831.

This was a Way of speaking never applied to any but the eternal and necessary existing God. It is so applied by *Clemens* Himself in another Place <sup>a</sup>. The Manner of speaking was indeed first borrowed from the Philosophers <sup>b</sup>, who applied it to none but the *divine Nature* as such: And they are herein followed by many <sup>c</sup> of the Fathers, before, or after *Clemens*.

I shall just point out one Place more of *Clemens*, taken Notice of by M. *Lequien*, the learned Editor of *Damascen* <sup>d</sup>. The Words are, “ Let us hasten to “ Salvation, to (baptismal) Regeneration, to be “ united together many of us, in one Love after the “ (Example of) the Unity of the one *singular Essence* <sup>e</sup>.

The Words are supposed to be an Allusion to *John* xvii. 21, 22, 23. Where Christian Unity is described by our Lord, as resembling in some Measure, the Union of Father and Son. This Construction of that Place in *Clemens*, is extremely plausible: But that the Words are strictly capable of no other, I will not pretend; Let the Reader make his Judgment of it. Having traced the Doctrine of the Son's *Necessary-existence* down to *Clemens*, I need not go lower, where the Case is still plainer. As to *Tertulian*, you allow, that He supposes the *Son* to be a *Self-existent Part* of God's *Substance*: Which is throwing his Sense into *invidious* Terms to disparage it; but

<sup>a</sup> Ὁλοῦ ἀκὴ καὶ ἑλοῦ ἑφθαλμῶς, ἵνα τις τούτοις χρήσται τοῖς ὀνόμασι, ὁ θεός. Clem. p. 853.

<sup>b</sup> *Xenophanes*, some hundred Years before Christ, seems to have been the first that used it. *Vid. Diog. Laert.* p. 559.

*Plinii* Nat. Hist. l. 2. c. 7. *Sext. Empiric.* contra *Phys.* 1. Sect. 144.

<sup>c</sup> *Irenæus.* p. 130. 131. 151. 240. *Novatian* c. 6. *Lactantius* de *Opif.* c. 2. *Cyrill. Hieros.* p. 91. Ed. Bened. Zeno Veron. in *Psal.* p. 139. *Hieronym.* in *Psal.* 93. p. 371.

<sup>d</sup> *Damasc.* Op. vol. 1. p. 132.

<sup>e</sup> Σπύσωμεν εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἐπὶ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν, εἰς μίαν ἀγάπην συναχθῆναι οἱ πολλοὶ, κατὰ τὴν εἰς μοναδικῆς ἐσίας ἵνασιν. Clem. Alex. p. 72. *Compare* p. 146.



is, in the main, confessing the Thing, that the Son is by Him supposed *necessarily-existing*, and but *one Person* of the Trinity; which *Tertullian* might not perhaps express in the best Manner, tho' his Meaning is right and good. I might produce Vouchers for the same Doctrine, as many Fathers<sup>a</sup> as have pleaded that God the Father could never have been without the *Word*, any more than without *Thought, Power, Truth, Life*, or the like: And those I have reckon'd up in another Place<sup>b</sup>, whither I refer the Reader.

I shall content my self with particularly mentioning one more only, and that is

A. D. 249. ORIGEN.

I shall begin with the famous Passage in his Treatise against *Celsus*, where He expressly stiles the Son ἀγένητος, *unmade*, that is, as I understand, *necessarily-existing*. The whole Sentence runs thus<sup>c</sup>.

“ Our Saviour and Lord, the *Word* of God, setting forth how great a Thing it is to know the Father, that He is comprehended and known principally, and, according to his *Dignity*, by Himself (*the Son*) alone, and in the second Place by Those who have their Minds enlighten'd by the very *Word* of God, says, *no one knoweth the Son, but the Father, neither the Father but the Son, and He to whomsoever the Son shall reveal Him*. For, no one can be able worthily to know Him that was unmade, and begotten before all created Nature, as

<sup>a</sup> Hippolytus contr. Noet. c. 10. Dionys. Roman. apud Athanas. 232. Dionys. Alex. apud Athan. 230, 253, 257. Alexand. apud Theod. l. 1. c. 4. Add to these *Methodius* (ap. Phot. p. 960.) and *Theognostus* (ap Athan. p. 230.) declaring the Son to be eternal and uncreated, that is, *necessarily-existing*.

<sup>b</sup> *Sermons*, p. 244, 245.

<sup>c</sup> “Ουτε γὰρ τὸν ἀγένητον, καὶ πάσης γενητῆς φύσεως πρωτότοκον, κατ' ἀξίαν εἶδέναι τις δύναται ὡς ὁ γενήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ, ἕτερον πατέρα ὡς ὁ ἐμψυχὸς λόγος καὶ σερφία αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀλήθεια. Origen. Contr. Cels. l. 6. p. 287.

“ the Father who begat Him : Neither can any  
 “ one (know) the Father, as (He is known by) his  
 “ living *Word*, his *Wisdom*, and *Truth*”. I need say  
 nothing here in Defense of my Way of rendring  
 πάσης γεννητῆς φύσεως πρωτότοκος, having sufficiently  
 vindicated it in Another Place\*. The Stress of my  
 Argument for the Son’s *Necessary-existence*, lies in the  
 Word ἀγένητον, which you are very sensible of, and  
 therefore endeavour all possible Ways, tho’ in vain,  
 to elude it.

You say, (p. 295.) that *the Place is evidently corrupt*. I suppose, because it is *evidently* against you. But where are your MSS? Or by what Authority do you pretend to pronounce any Place *corrupt*, without the least Shadow of a Reason? You plead the Term πρωτότοκος. But, That if rightly understood, confirms the Reading rather than otherwise : For, if the Son was begotten before *all created Nature*, He must be *uncreated* †. And I doubt not but *Origen* chose πάσης γεννητῆς φύσεως, instead of πάσης κτίσεως, on Purpose to make it answer the better to ἀγένητος going before, and to preserve the Elegance of the Sentence. You urge γεννήσας αὐτόν, as if the same Thing could not be said to be ἀγένητος, and yet *begotten* : Which all the *Philosophers* had admitted, and nothing more frequent (as the Testimonies produced above show) than the Application of Both to the same person, or Thing : Not to mention that if Christ was a *Son*, in the strict and proper Sense (as all the Fathers have taught) He must have been *unmade*, or *necessarily-existing*. Your last Pretence is from Ge-

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\* *Sermous*, p. 59. See also *Le Moyne*, Not. & Observ. p. 447. *Wall’s Defense*, p. 37.

† *Dionysius*, of the same Age, thus reasons very remarkably upon the Phrase πρωτότοκος, &c.

Ποίημα ὁ πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, ὁ ἐκ γαστροῦ πρὸ ἰσοφόρου γεννηθεὶς, ὁ εἶπεν ὡς σοφία, πρὸ δὲ πάντων βελῶν γενεᾶς με; καὶ πολλάκις δὲ τῶν θεῶν λογίαν γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ’ οὐ γεγενῆσθαι τῶν ἰσῶν λεγόμενον εὐρεῖ τις ἀν.  
*Dionys.* Rom. apud *Athanas.* p. 232.

lenius, the Editor, rendring it *ab æterno genitus*: Which is descending low indeed. You might have urged the Authority of Dr. Clarke, if you had pleaded, which would have signified to me as much as Gelenius's. To imagine that ἀγέννητον stands for ἀειγέννητον is making any Thing stand for Any Thing: What Man that knows Greek would use ἀειγέννητ for ἀειγενής, which is the proper Word in such a Case? To read γεννητόν, as you pretend, is still worse, being flat, and scarce Sense: Besides that Origen, intending here to say the Highest Things that could be said of the Son, would never use any such Expression in This Place.

Mr. Whiston \*, I think, has two or three little Exceptions, more than you have mentioned. He appeals to Origen's known *Doctrine and Language elsewhere*. But neither has This Pretence any Weight, or Force in it. Origen's Doctrine can no way be better known than from this very Treatise; which is every where conformable with what He has here said †. And I have produced some Evidence of it above. There is Another Place, in This very Treatise, where Origen teaches the same Doctrine implicitly, while He clearly distinguishes and exempts the Son ἀπὸ παντὸς γενητῆ ‡, from all created Being: Which comes to the same Thing as the styling Him ἀγέννητ.

Mr. Whiston has one Plea more from the *Silence of Origen's Athanasian Vindicators*. But This is very slight, unless all that was ever antiently pleaded for Origen, were still extant; whereas, we have very little, in Comparison, remaining. But if Origen's Friends were silent on This Head, it may be, his Adversaries may have supplied the Defect: Among the Heads

\* Whiston's Reply to Lord Nottingham, p. 15.

† Bull D. F. Sect. 2. c. 9.

‡ Ἀμικτον πρὸς ὅτιποσούν γενητόν — παντὸς μὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γενητοῦ, προσαγάγη δὲ δι' ἐμφύχου καὶ ζῶντος λόγου, ὅς ἐστι καὶ σοφία ζῶσα, καὶ υἱὸς θεοῦ, τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεῷ. Orig. Contr. Cels. l. 3. p. 160.

of the Accufation drawn up againſt Him, This was one, *quod dixerit Filium innatum*, that He aſſerted the Son to be *unbegotten*<sup>a</sup>. It is no improbable Conjecture of the learned *Huetius*<sup>b</sup>, that They had reſpect to this very Paſſage; maliciously and captiouſly conſtruing ἀγένηται, *unbegotten*, inſtead of *unmade*. But enough of This Matter. It appears from what hath been ſaid, that there is no Reason at all for imagining the Place *corrupt*. You have no MS. no *various Lection*, no Plea from the *Context*, none from *Origen's* Doctrine in other Places (however not in this Treatiſe) no Argument of any Kind, but what is meer trifling: Nor have you been able to invent any *Correction*, or *Emendation*, but what either is not *Greek*, or makes the Sentence flat, and even ſilly in compariſon: ſo unfortunate and unadviſed a Thing is it, to play the *Critick* in a wrong Place.

*Origen*, as we have ſeen, has ſtil'd the Son ἀγένητος, *unmade*, or *uncreated* (for That is his own Interpretation<sup>c</sup> of the Word ἀγένητος:) And it is no Objection to This, that other Fathers have been ſparing of applying That Title to Chriſt. The reaſon is, becauſe the Word ἀγένητος was ambiguous, and was not applicable to Chriſt in every Senſe of it. For the like reaſon it is, that γενητός is alſo very rarely applied to Chriſt: Which tho' it might be applicable in one Senſe<sup>d</sup>, yet being more generally uſed in another, and too low a Senſe, was therefore avoided. It is once applied to Chriſt by the *Antiochian* Fathers directly, and again obliquely: tho' a Doubt

<sup>a</sup> Pamphili Apolog. p. 237. Ed. Bened. inter op. Hieron.

<sup>b</sup> Huetii Origeniana, p. 43.

<sup>c</sup> Ἀγένηται οὐσαι, καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κτισθῆναι. Orig. Contr. Celf. p. 187.

<sup>d</sup> Γενητός ſometimes denotes only a Thing's proceeding from another, whether eternally or temporally, whether by generation or creation.

Γενητὸν λεγέσθαι τὸν κόσμον ὡς ἀπ' αἰτίας ἄλλης παραγόμενον, καὶ ἐκ ἑντα αὐτόρου, ἔδ' ἀδιουρέσαστον. Crantor. apud Procl. in Tim. p. 87.

Γενητὸν, τὸ ὁπωσὺν ἀπ' αἰτίας ὑφισταμένου. Ibid. Cudw. p. 254.

may be made whether it should be γενητός, or γεννητός. And *Origen* (I do not remember any other of the *Ante-nicenes*) is charged by *Epiphanius* <sup>a</sup> with so applying it: Which, *Epiphanius*, as the Humour then ran, very partially wrests to an ill Sense, tho' He would have interpreted the same Word more candidly in any one but *Origen*, as He there declares. So much had the *Eustathian* Party prevailed in their unreasonable Clamours against *Origen*; notwithstanding the Endeavours of the wisest, and coolest, and best Men of The Church, and even *Jerom* amongst Them for a considerable Time. However, tho' the Phrase of γενητός Θεός might bear a good Sense, (and I doubt not, was so intended by *Origen*) yet I commend not his Discretion in the use of it; since it might also bear an *ill one*, and had been a Phrase applied by the *Platonists* to their *inferior Gods*, or to the *World*. It might be on account of some of these uncautious Sallies of *Origen*, that He was forced to purge Himself to Pope *Fabian*, in a Letter to Him: After which, as in his Treatise particularly against *Celsus*, He was more cautious, and kept closer to the Language of the Church. To proceed: I might produce other very clear Proofs of *Origen's* Faith in the *Necessary-existence* of God the Son, from the Attributes of *Immutability* <sup>b</sup>, *Omnipresence* <sup>c</sup>, *Impassibility* <sup>d</sup>, &c. which He ascribes to Him, as well as from other Topicks <sup>e</sup>. But I refer the Reader to Bp. *Bull's* accurate Account of Him and his Sentiments, and now hasten to

<sup>a</sup> Epiphani. Hæres. Origenist, c. 7, 8. p. 531.

<sup>b</sup> Origen. contr. Cels. p. 169, 170.

<sup>c</sup> Origen. contr. Cels. p. 63, 164, 209, 325.

<sup>d</sup> Origen. contr. Cels. p. 77, 170.

<sup>e</sup> *Viz.* The many strong Expressions of the Son's *real and natural*, or essential *Divinity* occurring in That Treatise of *Origen*. Τῆς Θείας φύσεως ἀπαύγασμα ——— τοῦ Θεῖς, p. 342. Τῆ φύσει κυρίε λόγος Θεοῦ, p. 392. Τῆς τοῦ Θεῖς λόγος φύσεως ἐντος Θεοῦ, p. 171. Ἀπαύγασμα φωτός αἰδία, p. 387. Τῆς ἀληθείας οὐσία, p. 386.

what is most material, to take off your famous, and almost only Objection drawn from what the Fathers have said about Christ's Generation being by the *Will* of the Father.

3. I am here to inquire, in what Sense, and by whom, *necessary* Generation, or *Emanation* was taught; and to account for the Son's being said to be generated by the *Will* of the Father.

Here, in the first place, we are carefully to distinguish between Those who asserted a *Temporal Generation* only, and those who asserted an *Eternal Generation*. As to the former, it may be allowed that They supposed the Generation to be by the *Will* of the Father, even in your Sense of *Will*: And all you now have to do, is to prove, if you are able, that Those Writers believed no *real* or *substantial* existence of the Son, antecedent to That Generation.

As to the latter, who held *eternal Generation*, your Business will be to show that They believed it to be an *Act* of the *Will* in your Sense of *Will*, if possible to be done: Or without This, you do nothing. It were sufficient to Men of Sense, and to Scholars, to have pointed out a way of solving all that you have, or ever can advance upon This Head: But because some Readers will want to see some Things more particularly cleared, I shall be at the Pains of tracing this Matter down, quite through the Fathers; showing you your Mistakes all the way. You will not expect I should take any Notice of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, so often and so unanswerably proved \* to be a patch'd, spurious, and interpolated Work. Nor shall I have any thing to do with *Ignatius's* interpolated Epistles, till you have confuted Bp. *Pearson*, and *Daille*. I refer you to a learned Fo-

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\* See Ittigius de Pseudepigraphis Apostolorum, p. 190.

Mr. Turner on the *Apost. Constitutions*.

Dr. Smalbroke.

reigner \*, in the Margin, for the Sense of wise and judicious Men in relation to Mr. *Whiston's* wild attempt to substitute the *larger* instead of the *smaller* Epistles. I proceed then to the genuine *Ignatius*, in the smaller Epistles. I allowed in my *Defense* †, that *Ignatius* supposes the Son to be a Son by the *Will* of the Father; and I showed in how many Senses it might be taken, without at all favouring your Principles. You imagine I was *greatly puzzled*; which I take to be an Argument only of your small Acquaintance with those Matters. You pretend that Three of the Senses have *no distinct Sense*. But are you to sit down in your Study, and make Reports of the *Antients* out of your own Head, without looking into Them, to see in what Sense They used their Phrases? I was not inquiring what you, or I should now express by the Word *Will*, but what Ideas the *Antients* had sometimes fixed to the Word: For, by That Rule we must go, in judging of the *Antients*. What think you of Those that gave the Name of *Will*, or the *Father's Will*, to the *Person* of the Son ‡? They

\* Quas solas genuinas esse, alteras vero illas quas Sinceras esse dixi, ab Athanasio decurtatas, inauditum & incredibile *Wilhelmi Whistonii*, novi Arianorum in Anglia Promachi, Paradoxon est, Singularem nuper Scripto proditum magis quam Demonstratum. Fabricii Bibl. Gr. l. 5. c. 1. p. 40.

The same learned Writer has also very lately given his Judgment of Mr. *Whiston's* Attempt about the *Constitutions*.

Quam parum feliciter Hoc ei Successerit, evidenter exposuerunt *Rob. Turnerus*, *Richardus Smalbroke*, *Jo. Ernestus Grabe*: Consulendus etiam *Simon Ockley*. Licet vero *Whistonus* identidem tueri sententiam suam conatus est repetitis scriptis adversus *Grabium*, adversus *Petrum Allixium*, adversus *Turnerum*, vix quemquam tamen Antiquitatis Ecclesiasticæ peritum confido esse futurum, cui illius Argumenta petita longius, & conjecturæ leves, rem tantam persuadere poterunt. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. Vol. xi. p. 11.

† *Defense*, p. 130.

‡ Ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἀγαθὸν βέλημα. Clem. Alex. p. 309.

Θέλημα παντοκρατορικόν, *Sovereign Will*, p. 647.

Ipsè erat Voluntas & Potestas Patris. Tertul. de Orat. c. 4.

Θέλημα

They had a meaning, tho' not such a meaning as you or I now understand the Word *Will* in. They must therefore be interpreted by the *Ideas* which *They*, and not *We*, affixed to the Phrase, or Name. And what think you of others who used the Phrases of *omnipotent* or *all-containing Will* (as we have seen above) had not *They* some different Idea of *Will* from *That* which you have? And must not *They* be interpreted accordingly? You are very *angry* at *Those* that have presumed (without your leave) to say the *Will of God is God Himself*, (pag. 259.) And yet, whether the Saying be right or wrong, when you would interpret the Doctrine of such as made *That* their Maxim, you must take their Words as *They* meant them, and according to *their* Ideas, and not your *own*. For ought I see, *They* spake more properly than you do in so often mentioning *Acts of the Will*. Does any thing *act* but an *Agent*; and is the *Will* an *Agent*? How absurdly do you speak? Not that I should blame you for using a common Phrase: only do not be so very severe and smart upon others; who knew how to speak as properly, or perhaps

Θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς χριστός. Hippol. contr. Noet. c. 13.

P. 15.

Charitatem ex Charitate progenitam.

Voluntas ex mente procedens—— Orig. περὶ Αρχῶν. Pamph.

Apol. p. 235.

Τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς βέλησιν. Constant. apud Gelaf. Part 3.

Βελη καὶ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς. Athanas. p. 613.

Sicut Sapientia, & Verbum, & Virtus Dei, & Veritas, & Resurrectio, & Via dicitur, ita etiam *Voluntas*. Hieronym. Com. in Eph.

I. p. 323.

Quidam ne Filium consilii vel voluntatis Dei dicerent, et genitum Verbum, ipsum *Consilium*, seu *Voluntatem* Patris idem Verbum esse dixerunt. Sed melius, quantum existimo, dicitur *Consilium de Consilio*, & *Voluntas de Voluntate*; sicut substantia de substantia, Sapientia de Sapientia. Augustin. Trin. l. 15. c. 38. p. 994.

Vid. Petav. Dogmat. Vol. 1. p. 229.

Cotelier. Not. in Recogn. p. 492.



more properly than you\*. It seems to be owing only to narrowness of Mind, and want of larger Views, that you would confine all Writers to your particular Modes of *Speaking*. The Word *Will* has been used by some of the *Antients* to signify any *natural Powers* of God †. *Will* in the Sense of *Approbation*, or *Acquiescence*, is very common with antient Writers: Nor was it thought absurd to say, that God had *Willed* thus or thus, from all *eternity*, and could not *Will* otherwise. Whether there be any Thing very edifying in these Notions or not, is not the Question. But when we are searching into the Sentiments of the *Antients*, we must carefully observe in what Sense They understood the *Terms* they made use of: otherwise we shall be apt to make very gross Mistakes in our Reports of Them. To return to *Ignatius*. To cut off Dispute, I admitted that *Ignatius* might understand by *Generation*, a *voluntary* antemundane Generation, or *Manifestation*, with several other Fathers. In answer to which, you tell me, that I should have proved that He had *somewhere* or *other* spoken of *Another higher Generation*; otherwise I have given up the Question. What Question? the Question of the *eternal* or *necessary* existence of the *Logos*? Nothing like it. I admitted that many of the Fathers speak of no *higher* a Generation than that *Ante-mundane* one: But still I insist upon it, that Those very Fathers acknowledged the existence of a *real* and living *Word*, a Word of God, eternally related to the Fa-

\* See Petavius's Dogmata Theol. Vol. 1. l. 1. c. 8. p. 61, &c. l. 5. c. 4. p. 211. c. 12. p. 239.

Where may be seen what Fathers said the Will of God was God Himself, and what They meant by it.

† Omnis Potentia Naturalis (Dei) est Voluntas. Mar. Victorini. adv. Arium, l. 1. p. 199. Basil. Ed.

Vid. Petavii Dogm. Vol. 1. p. 229.

Ταυτὸν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι φρόνησιν καὶ βέλγησιν εἶναι. Athan. Orat. c. 65. p. 613.

ther, whose *Word* He is: which *relation* to the Father as his *Head*, is all that any Writers ever meant by *eternal Filiation*. They therefore acknowledged the same Thing, but under another *Name*: There was no Difference in *Doctrine*, but in the *Expression*, and the manner of *Wording* it; as I observed in my *Defense*\*. *Ignatius*, of whom we are now speaking, owns an *eternal Logos*, and his *Necessary-existence*; as I have already proved: which is sufficient to my purpose; unless you can show that He meant an *Attribute* only, by the *Logos*.

I go on to *Justin Martyr*, who, as I before allowed, speaks of no Generation higher than That *voluntary* Antemundane Generation, otherwise called *Manifestation*: And I showed both from *Justin* and *Methodius*, that a *Manifestation*, might be called a *Generation* †. To the same purpose, I quoted *Hippolytus* ‡, who plainly makes a *Manifestation* to be the Son's *Generation*; As do also several others ||. Now, certainly there is nothing amiss in supposing God the Son to have been *manifested*, in the proper Season, by the *Will* of the Father. I allow then, that the *Logos* became a *Son* (according to *Justin*) by *voluntary appointment*: But I do not allow that He

\* *Defense*, p. 157, &c.

† Τότε γένεσιν αὐτοῦ λέγων γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐξότες ἡ γνῶσις αὐτοῦ ἐμελλε γίνεσθαι. *Justin. Mart. Dial.* 270.

Πρόντα ἤδη πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἐν τοῖς ἑρανοῖς, ἐοχλήθη καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ γενῆσαι, ὃ δὴ ἐστὶ πρόσθεν ἀγνοούμενον γνωρίσαι. *Method. apud Phot. Cod.* 237. p. 960.

‡ Ὁν λόγον ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ἀόρατόν τε ὄντα, τῷ κτισμένῳ κόσμῳ ἐρατὸν ποιεῖ, προτέραν φωνὴν φθεγγόμενος, καὶ φῶς ἐκ φωτός γενῶν. *Hippol. contr. Noet. c.* 10.

|| Cujus ex ore prodivit unigenitus Filius, Cordis ejus Nobilis Inquilinus; exinde *Visibilis* effectus quia humanum genus *Visitaturus* erat. *Zen. Veronens.*

Creata est ergo sapientia, imo *genita*; non sibi quæ semper erat, sed his quæ ab ea fieri oportebat. *Pseud-Ambros. de Fid. c.* 2. p. 349.

became *God*. The latter is what you are endeavouring to prove out of *Justin*. The Passage which you insist principally upon, is This, which I have explained in my *Defense* §, and elsewhere\*. “ Who according to his (the Father’s) Will is both God, being his Son, and an Angel also, as ministring to his Will †. Upon which I observed that Christ is not here said to be God, by the *Will of the Father*; tho’ if it were, it might bear a good Sense. For, supposing that to be the Case, *Justin* may mean no more than that the Son acted and appeared as *God*, with consent of the Father, who appointed Him so to appear and act, being every way qualified for so doing, as being *Son of God*, and so really *God*. This Sense the Words may reasonably bear, were it certain that *Justin* applied the Words *κατὰ βελήν* to the first part of the Sentence *θεὸν ὄντα*. Or if This be not admitted, *κατὰ βελήν* may mean no more than that the Son is God, and in perfect *Harmony* with the Father; not an *Anti-God*, not set up in opposition to Him: According to what *Justin* says elsewhere; ἀριθμῶ — ἕτερον, ἀλλὰ ἐ γνώμη ||, adding, that He never did any thing but what was perfectly agreeable to the Will of the Father. Neither of these Senses is any thing so improbable as your’s, that the Son was *God* by voluntary Appointment: which none of the other Fathers ever said, or thought; nor has *Justin* any thing elsewhere to countenance such a Notion. But besides what I have here pleaded, I farther urged that the Words did not necessarily require the application of *κατὰ βελήν* to Both the parts of the Sentence singly: But I understood them thus, that it was the Father’s good pleasure that He who before was *God*, as being his *Son*,

§ *Defense*, p. 131.

\* *Reply to Dr. Whitby*, p. 77.

† Τὸν κατὰ βελήν τὴν ἐκείνους καὶ θεὸν ὄντα, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄγγελον ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηρετεῖν τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ. *Dial.* p. 370.

|| *Justin Dial.* p. 164.

should now be *God* and *Angel* Both, by the addition of the *Office*. That He was one, was *Necessary*, but that He should be *Both* in one, This was a Matter of *voluntary* Appointment. In like manner, it may be said to be by the Father's good pleasure, that He is Θεός and ἀνθρώπος together, or Θεάνθρωπος. I do not yet see any thing either in *Justin's* Words, or in your Comments upon them, that should move me to recede from This Construction: However, I leave it to the Learned, to judge whether there be any thing harsh, or unnatural in it.

You charge me, (p. 264.) with *Self-contradiction*, for saying in a Note \*, that tho' the Son was God as being a Son, and a Son κατὰ βελην, yet He was not God κατὰ βελην. You should have let the Reader see what I had offered in the same Place \*, to clear up, and take off the pretended Contradiction. Let us consider whether a few Words may not set all right: He *proceeded from* (was not created by) the Father; therefore He is *God*. The *Procession* makes Him a *Son*, and is *voluntary*; but at the same Time, shows Him to have been always *God*. For, since He was not ἐξ ἑκ ὄντων, was not *created*, but *proceeded* as a *Son* from the Father; therefore He is of the *same Nature* with Him, and *God* from all eternity. Wherefore tho' He is a Son κατὰ βελην, and *God* because a *Son*, He is not *God* κατὰ βελην, which I asserted. And now where is the *Contradiction*? Your objecting (p. 255.) that the *supreme God* could not minister as an *Angel*, has been often answered: So we may dismiss such quibbling for the future. As to Christ being κύριος δυνάμεων by the Father's Appointment, I have allowed it above, in *Justin's* Sense; which comes not up to the Sense of the *Hebrew*. As to the Father's being *Lord* of the *Son*, *Justin* explains it by his being *Cause*, or *Fountain* of the *Son*: in which all *Catholicks* are agreed †. You object that

\* *Defense*, p. 131. See also *Reply to Dr. Whitby*, p. 78.

† *Ibid.* Bull. D. F. Sect. 4. c. 2. p. 259.

the Generation (compared with one Fire lighted from Another) was yet *δυναμι καὶ βελῆ αὐτῶ*. I do not well apprehend what you have been doing for a Page and a half. You seem to think that I have some where denied the *highest* Generation, spoken of by *Justin*, to be *temporal*; whereas I have constantly allowed it: And so you do not dispute against me.

The Son proceeded *ὡς ἐκ φωτός*, in Time, according to *Justin*, and according to many more besides Him; particularly *Hippolytus*, and perhaps even the *Nicene* Fathers. Well, but then you'll say, what becomes of what I call *eternal Generation*? I answer, that before the *Procession*, the λόγος was ἐν γαστρὶ\*, as *Justin* wou'd have expressed it; *in Corde, pectore, utero*, as others †. And This is the same Thing which *Post-nicene* Fathers called *eternal Generation*; viz. that eternal Relation and Reference which He had to the Father; *in whom*, and *with whom*, and *of whom*, He always was. So that there is still no more than a Difference in Words between *Justin's* Doctrine of the Generation, and *Athanasius's*: For *Athanasius* own'd the *Procession* which *Justin* speaks of, as much as He.

You had cited a second Passage from *Justin*; which, by your leaving out a material part of the Sentence, was made to run thus; *He hath all these Titles, viz. Son, Wisdom, Angel, God, Lord, and Word, from his being begotten of the Father by his Will.* The Thing that offended me here, was to find *Angel* brought in among the other Names, as given Him on account of his being *begotten*. For, if this were the Case, He would be an *Angel* by *Nature*, and not by *Office* only; which is directly making a *Crea-*

\* *Ἐκ γαστρὸς γεννηθῆναι.* Just. Dial. p. 85.

† *Ἐν κορπῷ Θεοῦ.* Theoph. Antioch. p. 129.

† *Cordis ejus nobilis Inquilinus.* Zen. Veron.

Ex ore quamlibet Patris sis ortus, & Verbo editus, Tamen paterno in pectore Sophia callebas prius. Prudent. Hymn. xi. p. 47.

ture of Him, suitably to your Sense of *begotten*: And you will remember that you had produced this Citation, among others, to prove that the Son was *brought into existence*; it is your very Expression. I had therefore just reason to complain of your leaving out the Words, *from his ministering to his Father's Will*, which shewed the Name *Angel* to be a Name of Office, and gave a new Turn to the whole Sentence. The Censure I passed upon your quoting so *carelessly*, or *partially*, was only this; *The Account you give is such as must make one think either that you never saw the Book you mention, or else*——with a Stroke: Which you are pleased to call *wrathful*, and *unchristian*; as it is natural for a Man, when He is detected, to fly in the Face of the calmest Rebuke, and to give hard Names. You now tell me, you had no Design in the Citation more than this, to show that the Son was *begotten by the Will of the Father*. Had that been all, you should have had no Contradiction from me: For I had again and again allowed it to be *Justin's Doctrine*. But if you did not *design*, you had really *done* more, in that *partial* Citation; which I saw, at least, if you did not: And could I imagine you so unthinking, as not to perceive how the *Alteration* was exactly fitted to your purpose? But as you best know what you intended, let it pass: Only the more I allow to your *good meaning*, the less must be attributed to your *Sagacity*. You proceed, in a very abusive manner, to misrepresent my Words, and to throw Dirt where you have very little Occasion. You charge me with omitting a material Word in a *Marginal Translation*; (which yet you know was *no Translation*) and you intimate I know not what Artifice in leaving out *Σελήσεις*, tho' it appears in the *Greek*; and I could not possibly have any ill Design in the Case, because I

frankly admitted that the Generation of the Son was *Θελήσει*, by the *Will* of the Father, and had no dispute with you on That Head. But your Warmth of Temper here carried you too far: and you were resolved, it seems, not to be outdone in *wrathful* and *unchristian* Expressions: at the same Time not considering the Difference between a *just Censure*, and an *injurious Calumny*.

*Tatian*, who was *Justin's* Scholar, may come next. I allow Him to speak only of a *Temporal Generation*, or *Procession*; in like manner as *Justin*. If you can do any thing here, it must be to prove that the *Word* was no more than an *Attribute*, before the *Procession*. But Bp. *Bull* \* is beforehand with you; having demonstrated the contrary. You have but little to say, and That scarce worth notice. You observe that *Tatian* says of the *Word*, that He was ἐν αὐτῷ, (not πρὸς αὐτόν) which shows (as *St. Basil* argues against the *Sabellians*) that by the *Word* is meant an *internal Power* or *Property*, (p. 282.) But *Basil* was never so weak as to argue that ἐν αὐτῷ must necessarily denote an *Attribute*; but only that πρὸς αὐτόν is a stronger Expression to signify *Personality*; as I have also my self argued in another Place †. ἐν αὐτῷ may indifferently serve either for *Person*, or *Attribute*: πρὸς αὐτόν will not. When *Christ* says, *I am in the Father, and the Father in me*, doth it follow that neither of them is a *Person*? There is therefore no Force in your Remark about ἐν αὐτῷ, more than This, that the λόγος in *Tatian* might be an *Attribute* agreeably enough to That Expression; were there not other very convincing Reasons to the contrary.

The Words of *Tatian* (*Θεληματιτῆς ἀπλότητ' αὐτῆς προπηδᾷ ὁ λόγος*) you have rendred *two* several ways, and

\* *Bull*, D.F.N. Sect. 3. c. 6. p. 209.

† *Sermon* I. p. 11.

Both of them wrong. The first you have, p. 110. *By the simple efficiency of his Will This Reason, or Word, proceeded forth*: where I complain of your putting in *efficiency*, to serve your *Hypothesis*. The second is, p. 270. *The Word proceeded from the simple Will of the Father*: where I complain of the Words *from the simple Will*, to intimate to the *English Reader*, as if nothing but a *simple Act* of the *Will* was concerned in That Matter. Let the Words appear as they lie in the Author, without the mean Artifice of giving them a false Turn. *By the Will of his simplicity, the Word proceeded forth*.

I admit the same Thing of *Athenagoras*, as of *Justin* and *Tatian*, that He speaks of no higher Generation than the *Procession*: yet he believed the existence, the *eternal*, and *Necessary existence* of the λόγος, as before proved. Here you can have no pretence, except it be to imagine that the λόγος was an *Attribute* only, before the *Procession*; As to which, Bp. Bull\* has effectually prevented you: And as to what little Observations you had to make, I have replied to them above.

*Theophilus* comes under the same Predicament with the Three Writers before mentioned. You have something to except against Bp. Bull's Reasons † for *Theophilus's* believing the Son to be a *real Person* before the *Procession*. His Reasons were these.

1. That very *Logos* which had been from all eternity ἐνδιὰθετος ἐν καρδίᾳ, becomes afterwards προφορικὸς ||. If therefore He was ever a *Person* (as is not doubted) He must have always been so.

2. The λόγος who spake to the Prophets, and was then undoubtedly a *Person*, was the same individual

\* Bull D. F. Sect. 3. c. 5.

† Bull D. F. Sect. 3. c. 7. p. 215.

|| Γούτος τὸς λόγον ἐγέννησε προφορικόν. Theoph. p. 129.



λόγος which was always with the Father ὁ ἀεὶ συμπαρῶν αὐτῶ \*.

3. He was the Father's *Counsellor*, σύμβουλος, before the Procession; and therefore a *Person*.

4. He is said to have been *with Him*, and to have *conversed with Him*, which are *personal* Characters.

5. Even after the Procession, He is still supposed to be perpetually (διὰ παντός) in the *Heart* of the Father; not separate from Him, but exerting Himself *ad extra*, in the Work of the Creation; which is the meaning of *Procession*, and becoming *προφορικός*.

6. *Theophilus* goes upon the same Principles with *Athenagoras*, *Tatian*, and others; whatever therefore could be pleaded for those Writers, in the Case, would be at the same Time pleading for *Theophilus*.

You pass over all those Reasons, except the *third*, and *fourth*: tho' Bp. Bull † principally insists upon the *first*, and *second*. And what you have to say, p. 116. to the 3<sup>d</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>, reaches only the *fourth*. For Bp. Bull had allowed, that sometimes, in *common Speech*, (such as *Tatian* sometimes uses) a Person may be said to be *with Himself*. But He allowed not that a Person might be said to be *Counsellor* to Himself in the manner *Theophilus* speaks: Besides that tho' sometimes, and improperly, a Person may be said to be *with Himself*; yet more generally *being with*, denotes two Persons, as in *John* i. 1. It may therefore be used as an Argument which in the main is right and good; tho' admitting of some few particular Exceptions.

I had almost slip'd over your 284<sup>th</sup> Page, where you say, that *That Generation before which the Person generated was every Thing He could be after it, is no Generation*. But it is undoubtedly what Those Writers, and many after Them, call *Generation*: And

\* Theoph. p. 81, 82.

† Bull D. F. p. 216, 217.

therefore this is disputing not against *Me*, but *The*m. However, tho' The *Logos* was the same *essentially* before and after the Generation, He was not the same in respect of *Operation*, or *Manifestation*, and outward *Oeconomy*: which is what These Fathers meant.

*Tertullian* goes upon the same *Hypothesis*, in the main, with Those before mentioned; and so need not have any distinct Consideration: He has been before vindicated at large.

*Clemens of Alexandria*, whom I should have mentioned before, may be likewise allowed to speak of the *Procession*. And when he says the Word sprang, or arose, ἐκ τῆς πατρικῆς βελήσεως, <sup>a</sup> from the Will of the Father, it is plainly intended of his being sent out to Mankind, as observed above, (p. 91.) Tho' I am of Opinion that *Clemens* there means the same that other Fathers have expressed by ἐκ καρδίας, or ἐκ γαστρὸς, and might be rightly rendred in St. *John's* Phrase, from the *Bosom* of the Father, *John* i. 18.

*Irenæus* comes not under our Inquiry, having said little either of *eternal*, or *temporal* Generation. Only from what Hints we can gather, He seems to have asserted *eternal* Generation <sup>b</sup>. And you cannot show that He has said any thing of its being by the *Will* of the Father.

*Hippolytus* was undoubtedly in the *Hypothesis* of the *temporal* Generation, or *Procession*. And if you can show that the λόγος, before That *Procession*, was an *Attribute* only, according to Him; you will then take That Writer from us. You do endeavour it, p. 119. Bp. *Bull* <sup>c</sup> had observed, and I <sup>d</sup> after Him, that *Hippolytus* supposes God, before the *Procession*, to have been *one*, and *many*, because He had

<sup>a</sup> Clemens Alex. p. 86.

<sup>b</sup> See my Defense, p. 136.

<sup>c</sup> Bull, D. F. Sect. 3. c. 8. p. 219;

<sup>d</sup> Defense, p. 148.

the *Son* and *Holy Spirit* in Him and with Him <sup>a</sup>. You say, *That learned Prelate seems not to have sufficiently considered*, that (by the same reasoning) the *Power* also, and the *Counsel* mentioned in the same Sentence must have been *Persons*. But *That learned Prelate*, having a *Judgment* equal to his *Learning*, was used to *consider* Things with great exactness; and was not so prone to mistake as Those that too hastily pass their Censure upon Him. You have not considered, (tho' I gave notice of it <sup>b</sup>) that the Words ἀλόγος, ἀσοφος, ἀδύνατος, ἀβέβητος correspond to λόγος, σοφία, δύναμις, and βεβη, Names of the *Son* and Spirit, and all so applied, except βεβη (for which δέλημα is used, c. 13.) in That very Treatise. And *Hippolytus* speaks there just in the same way as many other both *Post-nicene* and *Ante-nicene* Fathers do upon the same Subject; several Testimonies whereof may be seen in a Note elsewhere <sup>c</sup>; and their Sense vindicated from such Exceptions as you have made to it. You add farther, that the Bishop *did not observe that it is the one unbegotten God, even the Father who is here said to be many*. I know not why you pretend the Bishop did not observe what no body can doubt of: Nor do I see of what Service the Observation can be to You, or your Cause. Allowing you that by μόνος is meant the *Father*, who was *many*, and the τὸ πᾶν: still it was the *Father* considered in the *Comprehensive* way, as a *Head* of a Family containing all; in such a Sense as I have explain'd above <sup>d</sup>. It was not *Hippolytus's* Way to exclude, or separate from the alone God and Father, what was *essential* to

<sup>a</sup> Ἄυτὸς δὲ μόνος ἦν, πολλὸς ἦν, ἔτι, γὰρ ἀλόγος; ἔτι ἀσοφος, ἔτι ἀδύνατος, οὔτε ἀβέβητος ἦν. Hipp. contr. Noet. p. 13.

Compare This of Gregory Nazianzen.

<sup>b</sup> Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅτε ἀλόγος ἦν, οὐδὲ ἦν ὅτε οὐ πατήρ, οὐδὲ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἀληθής, ἢ ἀσοφος, ἢ ἀδύνατος, ἢ ζῶης ἐνδύης, ἢ λαμπρότητος, ἢ ἀγαθότητος. Orat.

35. P. 574.

<sup>c</sup> Defense, p. 148.

<sup>e</sup> Sermon VII. p. 244, &c.

<sup>d</sup> P. 61, 90.

Him, and contained in Him; his *Logos*, or his σοφία, his own Mind (všs) which is the Name He gives to the Son, thereby expressing his inseparable Union, and Co-existence.

*Origen*, our next Writer, I cited <sup>a</sup> for *eternal Generation*: To which you have little to object, beyond what I have answered to above. If that Passage is to be depended on which you cite (p. 272.) from *Huetius's Origeniana*; then *Origen* has asserted, besides the *eternal Generation*, the *περόδυσσις* also.

*Novatian* I also considered at large <sup>b</sup>, which you pass slightly over. *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and the other *Dionysius* of *Rome*, I also brought <sup>c</sup> as evidences for *eternal Generation*: Whom you let pass without ever a Word, of any Weight or Moment.

*Methodius* <sup>d</sup> was Another Voucher for the same Doctrine: Which you do not, cannot gainsay. Only you endeavour to confront his known, certain, and genuine Doctrine with a *spurious* Passage out of his *Symposion*: a Piece very much corrupted and adulterated in the Judgment of *Photius*, as Bp. *Bull* had observed <sup>e</sup>, and you take no notice.

*Pamphilus* I also cited for the same Doctrine; and also *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, to whom you have some little Exceptions, which I have answered above, and which are perfectly foreign to the present Question.

*Eusebius* I did not cite, because some just Exceptions may be made to Him; And there is no reconciling Him perfectly with Himself, at different Times. This you must know; and yet, very deceitfully, you conclude, as you say, (p. 273.) the *Ante-nicene Wri-*

<sup>a</sup> *Defense*, p. 136.

<sup>b</sup> *Defense*, p. 137.

<sup>c</sup> *Defense*, p. 142.

<sup>d</sup> *Defense*, p. 143. See also my Reply to Dr. Whitby, p. 31, &c.

<sup>e</sup> *Bull*, Def. p. 166.

ters on this Head with the Judgment of the learned Eusebius, which may justly be esteemed to be the true Sense of the Antients before Him: producing a Passage from his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, wrote before the Council of Nice, and before He had well considered the Subject, and corrected in some material Points afterwards, as I have observed above p. 156.

And now we are come down to the *Arian* Times; in which Dr. Clarke and you think you have found something to your Purpose; artificially tacking together Testimonies of several kinds, some *Catholick*, some *Arian*, and some *doubtful*: Of which in their Order, that I may fully clear the Point I am now upon. But before I come to these Testimonies, I must strike out a little into History, to give the Reader a clearer Notion of what we are about.

I have elsewhere <sup>a</sup> given a brief Account of an Argument which the *Arians* made use of to prove the Son of God a *Creature*. They argued that the Father must produce his Son either *Volens*, willingly, (by which They understood *free choice*) or *Nolens against his Will*, which in Greek They expressed by *φυσικὴ ἀνάγκη*, meaning what we should now call *extrinsick Necessity*. The Argument is much the same with what Dr. Clarke urges in these Words; *Whatever proceeds from Any Being otherwise than by the Will of That Being, doth not in Truth proceed from That Being, but from some other Cause, or Necessity, extrinsick to, and independent of that Being* <sup>b</sup>. And in another place <sup>c</sup>, *Whatever is caused by an intelligent Being, is caused by the Will of That Being: Otherwise it is not (in truth and reality) caused by That Being at all, but by some superior Cause, be it Necessity, or Fate, or whatever it be, &c.*

<sup>a</sup> *Defense*, p. 126, 492.

<sup>b</sup> *Clarke's Reply*, p. 227.

<sup>c</sup> *Clarke's Reply*, p. 113.

This was the old *Arian* Argument, and That was their Sense of *Necessity*, or φυσικὴ ἀνάγκη: which I shall prove by plain Testimonies beyond Contradiction. *Athanasius* may be first cited, who writes thus\*: “They have Another way of saying the “Son is a *Creature*, by pretending *Will*, and arguing “thus; if He did not exist by *Will*, then God had “a Son by *Necessity*, and *unwillingly*. But who is “it, you Miscreants, that imposes *Necessity* upon “Him?”

*Ephraim* represents it Thus †: “They object “that He begat the Son *willingly*, or *unwillingly*: “and if we say *unwillingly*, then the divine Nature “is forced by *Necessity*, and not by Freedom of Will. He concludes that the Generation was neither *willingly*, nor *unwillingly*, but *naturally*.

St. *Ambrose* ‡, St. *Austin* §, and others §, represent the same Cavil of the *Arians*, much in the same way: Which being once well understood, we may easily deal with your pretended Authorities. The First is of the Council of *Sirmium* in the Year 351, which

\* Ἄλλως πάλιν κτίσµα λέγουν αὐτὸν εἶναι, βούλησιν προβαλλόμενοι, καὶ λέγοντες, εἰ μὴ βεβλήσει γένηεν, οὐκοῦν ἀνάγκη, καὶ μὴ θέλων ἔσχηεν ὁ Θεὸς υἱόν. Καὶ τίς ὁ τῶν ἀνάγκην ἐπιβαλὼν αὐτῷ, ποιητότατος; &c. Athan. p. 610 — ἀντίκειται τῇ βεβλήσει τὸ παρα γνάµµη, p. 611. ἄτερον ἐστὶ λέγειν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ ἀνάγκην.

† Θέλων ἂν ἐγέννησεν ἢ μὴ θέλων; ἐὰν εἴπωµεν μὴ θέλων, ἀνάγκη περιβάλλοµεν τὸ Θεῖον — καὶ ἐὰν εἴπωµεν ὅτι οὐ θέλων ἐγέννησεν ἄρα ἀνάγκη φύσει ἦται τὸ Θεῖον, καὶ οὐκ ἐλευθεριότητι θελήµατος. Epiph. Ancor. c. 51. p. 55.

Ἦν θέλων τοῦτον ἐγέννησε, οὔτε μὴ θέλων, ἀλλ' ὑπερβολῆ φύσεως ὑπερφάνει γὰρ ἡ θεία φύσις βεβλήν — οὔτε ἀνάγκη ἀγεται. Epiph. ibid.

‡ Subtexunt aliam impietatem, proponentes utrum *Volens*, an *invitus* generaverit pater — Sed nihil in Sempiterna generatione præcedit, nec velle nec nolle: ergo nec *invitum* dixerim nec *volentem* — non generat ex *voluntate*, aut *necessitate* Pater, sed super utrumquæ, hoc est *natura*. Ambros. de Fid. l. 4. c. 9. p. 540.

§ Interrogant (*Ariani*) utrum Pater Filium *volens*, an *nolens* genuerit. August. contr. Serm. Arian. p. 626.

§ Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. 35. p. 565, 566.

Cyrill. Alex. Theaur. p. 50. 52.

condemned *Photinus*. It is to be noted, in the first place, that this Synod of *Sirmium* was made up mostly of Men of suspected Faith, *Arians*, or *Semi-arians*: And tho' They did well in condemning *Photinus*, and tho' *Hilary* laboured much in putting the best Construction possible upon their *Confession* and *Anathemas*; yet *Athanasius* and others rank them in the Class of *Arians*; And it is certain, they stand not perfectly clear in their Character against some very just and weighty Objections. *M. Tillemont* says of them, that *They were the declared Enemies of the Church, the same Eusebians who had been condemned in the Council of Sardica\**: And it seems that *Hilary* Himself, who had once judged very kindly and candidly of them, saw reason afterwards to alter his Sentiments †. Having now some Notion of the Men, let us next see what They say, in relation to our present Point.

“ If any one say that the Son was begotten, and  
 “ the Father not willing, let Him be Anathema.  
 “ For the Father did not beget the Son, as being  
 “ constrained, or impelled by a *physical Necessity*, as  
 “ not willing; but He at once willed and produced  
 “ Him from Himself, begetting Him without Time,  
 “ and without *suffering* anything ‖.

The Expressions here are cautious and guarded: And tho' perhaps the Men had something more in their Hearts than They were willing to utter; yet

\* *Tillemont, History of Arians*, p. 144. a Book which I would particularly commend to the perusal of the English Readers, to give them a just Notion both of ancient and modern Arianism.

† See *Tillemont*, p. 145.

‖ Ἐἰ τις μὴ θελήσαντος ἑ πατρὸς γεννηθῆναι λέγοι τὸν υἱόν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω· οὐ γὰρ βίαιος ὁ πατὴρ ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης. φυσικῆς ἀχρεΐας, ὡς οὐκ ἦδεν ἐγέννησε τὸν υἱόν· ἀλλ' ἅμα τ' ἐβλήθη καὶ ἀχρεΐας καὶ ἀπαθῶς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ αὐτὸν γενήσας ἀπέδειξε. *Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 30. p. 126. Athan. de Synod. p. 744.*

Si quis nolente Patre natum dicat Filium; Anathema fit: non enim nolente Patre coactus Pater, vel naturali necessitate ductus, cum nollet, genuit Filium; sed mox voluit sine Tempore, & impassibiliter ex se cum genitum demonstravit. *Hilar. p. 1184.*

as They have explained the Father's *willing* the Generation in opposition only to his being *forced* βιασθεῖς, and (ἀχθεῖς) *impelled*; their Doctrine may pass. And so Hilary putting the mildest, and most candid Construction upon it, explained it to mean only that the Generation was not *volente Patre, against the Will of the Father*. And his Comment upon ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης φυσικῆς ἀχθεῖς, is, *nec coacta imperio naturalis Legis essentia est; His Essence was not compelled by the command of a natural Law*.

You ask me (p. 257.) *whether the Persons censured by the Council of Sirmium, or any others, ever were so stupidly senseless, as to think any thing that is necessary, to be therefore against the Will of God, as well as without it?* To which I answer, that the *Arians*, (whether *stupidly*, or *maliciously*, I know not) so interpreted the *Catholic Sense of natural and eternal Generation*; allowing no *Medium* between *free Choice*, and such *compulsive Necessity*\*. And there is one *Dr. Clarke*, who at this Day, (whether *stupidly* or otherwise I know not) charges the same Doctrine with the same Consequence (as I have shown) allowing no *Medium* in this Case, between what He calls *Will*, and *extrinsic Necessity*. You ask, *if God be omnipresent by outward Coaction, or against his Will, because not by it?* I like your Argument very well: Please to apply it to what I have quoted above from *Dr. Clarke*: It may serve as an Answer to Him, in Respect of *necessary Generation*. You are here arguing for me, and happen not to know it. You ask again, *is not He omnipresent by φυσικὴ ἀνάγκη, Ne-*

\* To the Testimonies before cited, I shall add one more, a very full and plain one, from the 8<sup>th</sup> Anathema of an *Arian Council*, in the Year 344, or 345.

Τὸς οὐ βεβλήσει οὐδὲ θελήσει γεννηθῆναι τὸ υἱὸν εἰρηκότας ἀνευλατῶς, ἀνάγκην δὲ δηλονότι ἀβέβητον καὶ ἀπροάριτον περιτελεικότας τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα ἕκων γενήσῃ τὸ υἱόν, δυσσεβεστάτας καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ζῆτος ἐπιγινώσκουσαν.  
Apud Athanas. Tom 1. p. 740.



*cessity of Nature*? He is omnipresent by *Necessity of Nature*, in the modern Sense of the Phrase: But φυσικὴ ἀνάγκη never stood for what we call in this Case, *Necessity of Nature*. I know not whether there be one Instance of it in all Antiquity: I have not yet met with any, no nor of the Word *Necessity* so applied. Certain however it is, that in the Places which we are now concerned with, φυσικὴ ἀνάγκη had no such Meaning, but That only which I have given. You go on arguing, and reasoning, what *Necessity of Nature* must signify: Which is only talking without Book and guessing what Words *antiently* meant, without consulting the *Antients* to know the Fact. But at length you come to argue somewhat more like a Scholar: You observe the *Opposition* made by ἐβελήθη on the one Side, and ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης φυσικῆς ἀχθεῖς on the other. That is well urged: But observe also, βιαθεῖς ὁ πατήρ. Can any Words be stronger? This determines φυσικὴ ἀνάγκη to the Sense I am pleading for; And therefore ἐβελήθη is rather to be interpreted by its *Opposition* to This. So *Hilary* interprets it, and construes ὡς ἐκ ἡθέλεν, *cum nollet*. But I will frankly tell you what my Opinion is, which I ground chiefly upon the Consideration of the Men concern'd in That Council, that They really meant by ἐβελήθη what you say, and yet by φυσικὴ ἀνάγκη what I say; admitting no *Medium*, any more than *Dr. Clarke* has done in this Case, between *Necessity* in the *hard compulsive* Sense, and *Free Choice*: And perhaps they intended, obliquely, to charge the *Athanasian Doctrine* (as the *Arians* used to do) with that hard *Necessity*, just as *Dr. Clarke* has been pleased to charge it as a *Consequence* upon ours. Thus, I think, we may fairly compromise the Dispute about the *Sirmian Synod*.

You next mention the Council of *Sardica*, meaning the false *Sardican Council*, or Synod of *Philopopolis*, in the Year 347: which condemned *Athanasius*, *Hosius*, *Julius*; As They themselves had been condemned by the true *Sardican Council*.

*Hilary*

*Hilary*\* bestowed the same kind Pains here that He used afterwards with the Decrees of the *Sirmian* Synod, to interpret their Confession to a *Catholic Sense*. And coming to the Words, *ex voluntate & consilio*, He understands them, not in the Sense of *free Choice*, but in Opposition to *corporalis Passio*, *corporal Passion*, that is, *extrinsic Necessity*. However, I am persuaded (knowing the Men) that *Hilary* was too kind in his Construction; tho' with a good Design, hoping by condescending towards the weak, to reduce them, by Degrees, and to gain them over to the true and sound Faith. He was forced to apologize afterwards for his good-natur'd and well-meant Endeavours; which had rendred Him suspected with some that were zealous for the Catholic Faith.

But let us now come to some better Instances than such as you have brought me from suspected *Synods*. Sure you do not expect I should take Notice of the *Arian* Council of *Antioch*. What if They condemn'd some *Arian* Tenets? has it not been common for *Arians*, being ashamed of their Leader, to condemn some of his Tenets in Words, at the same Time professing the same Things in other Terms? Give me Authorities from Men of steady Principles, known *Catholics*, and not from known *Arians*. You do pretend to Three such, *Marius Victorinus*, *Basil*, and *Gregory Nyssen*. Let us examine Them.

*Marius Victorinus* says, that the Generation *was not by Necessity of Nature, but by the Will of the Father's Majesty* †. Such are his Words: But when you enquire what He meant by *Will*, and what by *Necessi-*

\* *Hilarius de Synod.* p. 1172.

† Est autem Lumini & Spiritui Imago, non a Necessitate Naturæ, sed voluntate Magnitudinis Patris. Ipse enim seipsum circumterminavit, &c. Filius ergo in Patre Imago, & Forma, & λόγος, & Voluntas Patris ——— Sic igitur voluntate Patris voluntas apparuit ipse λόγος, Filius. *Mar. Victor.* l. I. Adv. Arium, p. 188. *Basil. Ed.*

ty, He is directly againſt you. *Will* is with that Writer a Name for any *natural Power*, or for God Himſelf\* ; So that Generation by *Will* comes to the ſame with Generation by *Nature*, which is what we now call *neceſſary Generation*: And it is plain, that He underſtood by *Neceſſity*, extrinſick Neceſſity, as oppoſed to intrinſick Nature. What is This to your Purpose? Whoever will be at the Pains to ſearch into the Sentiments of ſo obſcure, and perplexed a Writer, (whom I am not very fond of quoting) will perceive thus much at leaſt, all the Way through Him, that He believed the Subſtance of the Father and Son to be equally *neceſſarily-exiſting*. I ſhall content my ſelf with a few References †.

*Baſil* is alſo quoted by Dr. *Clarke*, as ſaying that the Father begat his Son, having his *Power concurrent with his Will*; and that the Son ſprings from the Father's *Goodneſs* ‡. If the Deſign be to deceive the Populace with the Sound of Words, there may be ſome Uſe in ſuch Quotations. But ſuch Things ought not to be offered either to Scholars, or by Scholars. Who knows not that *Baſil* is as expreſs as poſſible

\* A ſe movens Pater, a ſeſe generans Filius, ſed Potentia Patris ſeſe generans Filius; voluntas enim Filius, unde enim ſi ipſa voluntas non eſt a ſeſe generans, nec voluntas eſt: ſed quoniam Dei eſt voluntas, equidem ipſa, quæ ſit generans, generatur in Deo. Et ideo Deus Pater, voluntas Filius, unum utrumque, &c. *ibid.* p. 188.

† Una eademque Subſtantia, vi pari, eademque potentia, Majeſtate, virtute: Nullum alteri prius, niſi quod Cauſa eſt alterum alterius. p. 224.

Una eademque Subſtantia, & ſimul, & ſemper: Hoc eſt enim ὁμοῦςιον, ὁμοῦςιαν ἔχων, ſimul Subſtantiam habens, *paremque exiſtendi vim* atque virtutem, eandemque Subſtantiaæ naturam, &c. p. 225. *Vid.* p. 227, 234.

‡ Ο θεός σύνδρομον ἔχων τῇ βελήσει τὴν δύναμιν, ἐγέννησεν ἄξιον ἑαυτοῦ ἐγέννησεν ὡς αὐτὸς οἶδεν. *Baſil. Hom.* 29. p. 624.

Ὡς εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν γεννητὸν, ἐκ τῆς ἀγενήτου φωτὸς ἀπολάμψαντα, καὶ αὐτοζῶν, καὶ αὐτοάγατον ἐκ τῆς ζωοποιῦ πηγῆς, τῆς πατρικῆς ἀγαθότητος. *Contr. Eunom.* l. 2. p. 66.

for the *Necessary-existence* of God the Son; and directly denies and confutes the very Thing for which you are pleading? “*Will you not cease, you impious Wretch, (says He to Eunomius, who was pleading the same Cause that you now are) to speak of his not existing, who exists necessarily, who is the Fountain of Life; who gave Being to all Things that are* <sup>a</sup>? I render τὸν ὄντως ὄντα, *necessarily-existing, because it always signifies the same with what we express by That Word. Again, speaking of the Eunomians, He says, They blaspheme in pretending to say, the Son of God ever was not; as if He did not exist by his own Nature, but was brought into Being by the Favour of God* <sup>b</sup>. What is This, but directly, and flatly denying the very Thing which you are contending for? Against which you set an obscure Passage or two, which mean nothing of what you intend by them. As to Basil’s first Expression, of the Father’s having his Power concurrent with his Will, it signifies only, that his Will and his Nature are the same, coeval with each other, and equally necessary in this Case. Cyril of Alexandria thus expresses the same Thought, something more distinctly than Basil.

“ It were superfluous and silly to imagine the Father to be a Father either *unwillingly*, or *willingly*; but rather *naturally* and *essentially*. For He is not *unwillingly* whatever He is *naturally*: Having the *Will* to be what He is, *concurring* with the Nature <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Οὐ παύσῃ μὴ ὄντα προσαγορεύων, ὡ ἄθεε, τὸν ὄντως ὄντα, τὴν πηγὴν τῆς ζωῆς, τὸν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσι ἔειναι παρεκτικὸν; Basil. contr. Eun.

<sup>2</sup> p. 56.

<sup>b</sup> Μὴ εἶναι ποτε τὸν υἱὸν ἔθεοῦ βλασφημοῦντες, ὡς τῇ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φύσει μὴ ὄντα, χάριτι δὲ εἰς τὸ εἶναι ὑπὸ ἔθεοῦ παραχθέντα. ibid. p. 57.

<sup>c</sup> Περιττὸν ἂν εἶη καὶ ἀμαθές, τὸ γοῦν ἀνεθελήτως, ἢ θελητῶς γενήτορα ὑπάρχειν οἰεσθαι τὸν πατέρα, φύσει δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ οὐσιωδῶς· ἔστι γὰρ σὺν ἀνεθελήτως ἢ ἐστὶ φυσικῶς, σύνδρομον ἔχων τῇ φύσει τῆς θέλησιν ἔειναι ἢ ἐστὶ. Cyril. Dial. 2. de Trin. p. 456.

He means that the *Will* and the *Nature* are Both together, *coeval*, and *coeternal*: In like Manner as God always was what He would be, and always would be what He was. The like Thought we have before seen in *Lactantius* \*. Here is nothing in This, that at all favours your Principles.

As to the second Citation from *Basil*, the Passage it self leads to the Meaning. He there stiles the Son *αὐτοάγαθον* essentially good, as proceeding from the Fountain of essential Goodness, that is, from the Father Himself: Which is no more than saying, that He is *Goodness* of *Goodness*, in like Manner as *God* of *God*.

Come we now to *Gregory Nyssen*, where the Reader will admire at Dr. *Clarke's* Pretences, and yours, upon This Head; unless you take up Passages at second-hand, without ever looking into the Authors Themselves. The Words you have first pitch'd upon are these †.

“ For neither doth That immediate Connexion,  
“ between the Father and the Son exclude the *Will*,  
“ of the Father, as if He had the Son by some Ne-

\* Ex seipso est, & ideo talis est qualem se esse voluit. *Lactant. Inst.* l. 2. c. 8. p. 161.

*Plotinus*, before any of them, speaking of God, says that his *Will* was concurring with his Existence: and He and His Will are the same.

Σύνθεσμι αὐτὸς ἑαυτῶ. θέλαν αὐτὸς εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο ἂν ὅπερ θέλει, καὶ ἡ θέλησις καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν. *Plotin. Enn.* 6. l. 8. c. 13.

Τὸ εἶναι ἀγαθὸς τε καὶ ἐλεῆμων, ἔχει μὲν, οὐκ ἐκ βεβήσεως δέ· οὔτε μὲν ἀβελήτως ταῦτά ἐστι· θέλει γὰρ εἶναι· τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐστὶν αἰεὶ, καὶ ἔσται ἔτιω. *Cyril. Thef.* p. 56.

Ὅ μὲν ἀβελήτως καὶ ἀτελήτως ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς· ὃ γὰρ ἐστὶ, τοῦτο καὶ θεολητόν ἐστιν αὐτῶ. *Athan. Orat.* 3. p. 615.

† Οὐτε γὰρ ἡ ἄμεσος αὐτῆ συνάφεια ἐκβάλλει τὴν βέβησιν τῷ πατρὸς, ὡς κατὰ τινὰ φύσεως ἀνάγκη ἀπροαιρέτως τὸν υἱὸν ἐσχλητό. ἔτε ἡ βούλησις διέσσει τῷ πατρὸς τὸν υἱὸν, ὡς τι διάστημα μεταξύ παρεμπίπτεσα, ὡς μήτε ἐκβάλλει τῷ δόγματι τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν υἱῶν βούλησιν τῷ γενήσαντι, οἷα εὐχοχαρμῆται ἐν τῇ συναφείᾳ τῆς τῷ υἱῷ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐνόησι, μήτε μὲν τὴν ἀδιάσπαστον διαλύειν συνάφειαν, ὅταν ἐνδεωῆται τῇ γενήσει βούλησις. *Greg. Nyss. Orat.* 7. cont. *Eunom.* p. 206.

“ *cessity*

“ *cessity* of Nature, without his Will: Neither does  
 “ the Will divide the Son from the Father, so as to  
 “ make any Distance betwixt Them.

Thus far Dr. *Clarke* quoted; shaping his Translation, with little Hints and Parentheses, as near as He well could, to his *own* Sense; however opposite to the Author's. Let *Gregory* go on: “ Let us neither  
 “ exclude from our Notion The Father's *Will* about  
 “ the Son, as if it were straiten'd (or *burthened*) in  
 “ the Connexion of the Son's Unity with the Fa-  
 “ ther; neither let us dissolve the immediate Con-  
 “ nexion by considering the *Will* in the Genera-  
 “ tion. *Gregory* proceeds to tell us, that to Will  
 what is good is essential to, and inseparable from the Nature; as also to enjoy the Thing will'd, and that it cannot possibly be conceived without it. He farther illustrates his meaning by the Instance of *Fire*, and *Light* streaming from it; that if the Fire be imagined to have *Reason* and *Will*, it would chuse or will to send forth its Streams of Light, according to its Nature, with more to That purpose.

From hence it is manifest, that *Gregory* intended no more by *Will* than we mean when we say God *wills* his own Existence, or is what He would chuse to be. Whether this be a proper Sense of *Will* is not the question: But it was *Gregory's* Sense. And it is plain He does not mean by φυσική ἀνάγκη *Necessity* of Nature in the modern Sense, but such a *Necessity* as lays a *Restraint*, or *Burthen* upon the *Will*\*, would be an Imperfection, or a pain and uneasiness to the Person. I might show this farther by many

\* In such a Sense *Gregory* uses the Phrase elsewhere.

Ὁ δὲ ἀνάγκη φύσεως ὑπέκειμένῳ ἐνεργεῖ διὰ παντός, μᾶλλον δὲ πάσχει τὴν ὑπακοήν. Ἐὰν εἰ μὴ βούλοιο τοῦτο ποιεῖν συγχαρούσης τῆς φύσεως. *Greg. Nyss. contr. Eun. l. i. p. 44. Paris.*

*Vid. p. 49. 292.*

\* *Ανάγκη φυσική* is constantly spoken of as an Imperfection, or Mark of Subjection, or Servitude: for which reason it was not thought applicable to God.

and exprefs Proofs of the *Necessary-existence* of God the Son, occurring in This very Treatise, too tedious to recite at length: I may just refer to some in the Margin †.

Now for a Word or two of *St. Austin*: And then we may shut up our Enquiries into the Sense of the Antients on this Head. You tell me of a *childish* Quibble of *St. Austin's*, (p. 255.) I gave the Reader, in the *Appendix* to my *Defense*, an Account of what *Dr. Clarke* and you call a *childish* Quibble: By which it may sufficiently appear that the *childishness* is none of *St. Austin's*. It is no commendation of your Discretion to revive the memory of a Thing which can serve to no purpose, except it be to expose your unacquaintedness with Antiquity. You pretend to tell me, that I repeat the same Quibble in my *Appendix*, without attempting to answer the Doctor's Reasoning. But the Design of my *Appendix* was to show that the Doctor had committed an Error, in supposing that *St. Austin* was making an Answer to such Testimonies as the Doctor had produced; when He was answering nothing but a mean Quibble of the *Arians*, about *Nolens Volens*. As the Doctor had there made a slip, for want of knowing, or considering what *St. Austin* had been doing, and upon what Occasion He had said what He did; for the Doctor's Credit, you shou'd have let it drop, and have said no more of it. The Colour you would now give to it, is, that my Answer to what was objected of the Son's being generated by *Will*, was out of *St. Austin*: Which is only heaping Mistake upon Mistake, and defending one Error by Another. Look again into my *Defense*, (p. 125, &c.) and you will find, I was showing how *necessary Emanation* might be, and had been understood consistent with *Will*.

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† Θεός — κατὰ φύσιν, p. 1. τοῦ ἕντος ὄντος, understood of all the Three Persons, p. 3. αἰεὶ ὄντος ὅπερ ἐστίν, of the Son, p. 4. φύσει ὡν θεός: ὁ ὢν, p. 9. ἕντως ὄντα, p. 205, 272.

St. *Austin* came in by the bye indeed, but He was not cited as admitting either *Nolens*, or *Volens* in the Case; but as one who had contented Himself with *retorting* the Objection of the *Arians* upon Themselves. I therefore passed on (p. 127.) to others, who had allowed the Generation to be *by Will*, and I intimated in what Sense They allowed it: Not in any such Sense as Dr. *Clarke* intended, tho' He cited those very Men, (*Marius Victorinus*, *Basil*, and *Gregory Nyssen*) as favouring his Doctrine. He should not have opposed *Will* to *Necessary-generation*, when citing Men that asserted *Both*; and who understood by *Will* a quite different Thing from what He did. This was my Answer with respect to Citations of That kind. But as to other Authorities from *Justin Martyr*, &c. I allowed *Will* to be taken in the Doctor's Sense: And my Answer there was, that They intended it only of the  $\pi\rho\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , not of the *eternal Generation*.

Upon my saying in my *Defense*, (p. 126.) that you could not but have apprehended my meaning, about the Difference between *Will* and *arbitrary Will*, had you retained in mind what you must have observed in the reading of the *Antients*; I say, upon This you remark, that Those *Antients* were really *Moderns*, (p. 259.) and that I often *express my self in This ambiguous, and unfair manner*. Yet you your self take the liberty of calling the very same Writers, and Those of the same Age, *Antient Writers*: such as The *Sirmian Council*, *Hilary*, *Basil*, *Marius Victorinus*, and *Gregory Nyssen*; to whom Dr. *Clarke* had appealed in His Scripture Doctrine\*. It was to obviate Those Testimonies, that I referred you to the Writers of That Time, calling Them *Antients*; as you your self have since done, twice together: (p. 256, 257,) So easy is it to condemn Another, and to do the same Thing your self. It seems, They are *Antients* with you, while They

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\* Part. 2. Sect. 17.



furnish you with *Objections* : But when the same Writers, or their Contemporaries, afford *Solutions* also, then They become *Moderns*. But to return.

The Sum then of what hath been said is This : All the Fathers believed the *Necessary-existence* of God the Son : I have proved it of several, and might have done it of more, were it necessary. But the material Thing was to take off the Objection of the *voluntary Generation*. I have done it, by distinguishing between Those that asserted only a *Temporal* Generation, (where I allow *Will* to be understood in the strict Sense) and those that asserted *eternal*. As to the latter, none of them ever allowed Generation to be by *Will*, in your Sense of the Word. They sometimes admit it in the Sense of *Approbation*, and They always reject *Necessity* of *Nature* ; meaning by it extrinſick *Force*, *Fate*, or *Coaction*, never what we now understand by it when applied to God.

Having thus cleared the main Point, it remains only to take some Notice of a few incidental Objections you have made ; which could not before be brought in, without breaking my Method, and disturbing the Connexion.

You object, (p. 253.) that if this be the Case, that the Son *Necessarily* exists ; then He is *Self-existent* : that if the Sun were *Self-existent*, so also would be its Rays ; if a Tree, so also its Branches : — the same Thing partially considered : — *Derivation*, *Origination*, *Causality*, *Generation*, in such a Case, are *figurative*, *improper Expressions*.

By This then, I perceive, I have been doing nothing in searching *Antiquity* : You have some *Maxims* to your self that must over-rule all *Authorities*. I shall answer you what I think sufficient. 1. Allowing your Plea, the Consequence then is, that the Son is *Self-existent* as well as the Father : we change the *Name*, but retain the *Thing*. And, now we shall challenge you to prove either from *Scripture*,

or *Antiquity*, that the Son is not *Self-existent*; provided you keep steadily to what you have said, that whatever is *Necessary*, is also *Self-existent*. If This Maxim be certain, then the Son is *Self-existent*, tho' referred up to Another, and I have proved it in proving his *Necessary-existence*.

But, 2. I answer, you appear a little too late to be a Corrector of the Language of all the *Antients*, Philosophers, and Divines. They have constantly distinguished the *Ideas*; and where ever there is a Difference of *Ideas*, there is a Reason for assigning different Names. Who does not see that the Question *whence* a Thing is, and the Question *what* it is, are very different Questions? Or that *immutably* existing, and existing under This, or That *relation*, as a *Father*, or as a *Son*, are quite different Things? And tho' we do not say that Father and Son are the same Thing *partially* consider'd, where there are no *Parts*: yet we admit them to be the *same Substance* diversly considered, under distinct *Relations*, and Personalities.

You refer me, (p. 251.) to *Modest Plea*, p. 173. where I find it objected, that *if Generation were necessary, there would be no limitation to the Number of Persons*. Yes, the Number will be limited to so many as are *Necessary*: And no more can be *Necessary* than there are found, in fact, to *exist*.

It is farther objected, that *in Scripture, the begetting of the Son is always mentioned as an Act of the Father; and an Act cannot be necessary*. But show me that Scripture ever makes it an *Act*, in your Sense. I have heard of *begotten*, I never read that it was a *voluntary Act*, a Matter of *Choice*; which is your Sense of *Act*. Scripture represents it by the relation of *Thought to Mind*<sup>a</sup>, or by the ἀπαύγασμα, the shining forth of Light<sup>b</sup> from the luminous Fountain:

<sup>a</sup> See my Sermons, p. 5.

<sup>b</sup> See my Sermons, p. 155.

And so does all *Antiquity*. This answers to the *old* Sense of *begetting*, and *acting*: But do not invent *novel* Senses of them, and still pretend *Scripture*, and *Antiquity*. In your *new* Sense of *begetting*, and *acting*, there is no Proof either in *Scripture* or *Antiquity*, that the Father *begat*, or *acted*: And now what have you done, but altered *Names*, and left Things as before? Was there ever truer Pedantry about Words? You may call *Generation*, in our Sense, *Metaphorical*, if you please, tho' you have no Reason to give, why it is not *proper*: But when you have done, show, if you can, that this *Metaphorical* Sense was not the true and only Sense wherein it was understood both by *Scripture*, and *Antiquity*.

You object, that my *Distinction between Will, and arbitrary Will, is elusive and equivocating*. But, I pray, excuse it for the Doctor's sake; who makes the same Distinction <sup>b</sup>, in other Words, between Will of *Approbation*, and Will of *Choice*, which is all that I mean.

You object, that the Doctrine of *necessary Emanations* was *Gnostick* and *Valentinian*: Which you can never prove. But I must remind you that *Athanasius* charged upon the *Arians* two Things as *Gnostick* and *Valentinian*, which undoubtedly are so: One was their bringing in *δέλημα*, *Will*, between the

<sup>a</sup> Λόγον γεννώμενον. Just. M. Dial. 183.

Nec dubitaverim Filium dicere & Radicis Fruticem, & Fontis fluvium, & Solis Radium; quia omnis Origo parens est, & omne quod ex Origine profertur progenies est.

Γενᾷ μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ ἥλιος τὴν ἀυγὴν. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. l. 1. c. 12.

Lux splendorem generat. Ambros. de Fid. p. 540.

Ἀπαύγασμα γενᾷται. Basil. contr. Eun. p. 89.

<sup>b</sup> *Scripture-Doctrine*, p. 248. Ed. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Πτολεμαῖος γὰρ ὁ Οὐαλεντίνος ἔφη δύο ζυγὰς ἔχειν τὸ ἀγέννητον, ἔνοιαν καὶ θέλησιν· καὶ πρῶτον ἐνενόησεν, εἶτα ἠθέλησεν· καὶ ἄτερος ἐνενοίει, οὐκ ἠδύνατο προβάλλειν εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ ἡ τοῦ θελήματός τινος δύναμις ἐπεγενέτο· ἐνθεν Ἀρειανοὶ μαρτυροῦντες, θέλημά καὶ βέλησιν προηγέσθαι θέλουν τοῦ λόγου. Athan. p. 608.

Father and his *Word*: Another was their making a *Creature Creator* \*. *Philastrius* † farther charges them with borrowing another Principle from the Infamous *Apelles*, (of the *Marcionite* Tribe) which was the Making a *second God*, a *Creature* and a *Subject* of the *First*. Not to mention that *Bishop Bull* had run up your Doctrines to the old *Gnosticks* ‡, long ago; and was never yet confuted, nor ever will be. It might therefore have been more prudent in you, to have been silent on This Head.

Now we have mentioned the Matter of *Necessary Emanations*, it may be proper to hint briefly what has been the Church's constant Doctrine in That Article. It occurs not indeed any where under Those Terms: Neither does the *Necessary-existence* of God the Father. The *Antients* express'd not Either of the Doctrines in Those Terms: So the Question must be, not about the *Name*, but the *Thing*: And *Emanation* must be distinguished according to its Two Senses; as either signifying the *Person* emaning, or the *emaning* it self. They that spake only of a *Temporal Procession*, or *Emanation*, could not mean that such *Procession* was *necessary*. Only, as They held the *Necessary-existence* of the Person, proceeding in Time, but always existing in the Father to whom He belonged, and to whom He is referred; their Doctrine, however expressed, comes to the very same that has been since called *eternal Generation*, or *Emanation*. They that held *eternal Generation* were all in the Principle of *Necessary-emanation*, directly, and plainly. Only the Word *Emanation*, (if it stands for ἀπορροια) was either approved, or

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\* Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄγγελοι δημιουργεῖν δυνήσονται, κτίσματα ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ Οὐαλεντίνου, καὶ Μαρκίου, καὶ Βασιλείδης τοιαῦτα φρονᾶσι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνων ζηλωταὶ τυγχάνετε. Athan. Orat. 2. p. 489.

† Philastrius Hæres. c. 47.

‡ Bull D. F. Sect. 3. c. 1.

otherwise, according as understood: And *Generation* was the more common Name for it. All is summed up in This, that the Son is *Necessarily-existing*, but still of the *Father*, and referred to Him as his *Head*.

You pretend, that the Distinction of a *Threefold Generation* is groundless. If you mean that *single Writers* do not speak of *Three Generations*, it may be true of most of them, not *all*: for an Exception must be made for some \*, that plainly acknowledged *eternal Generation*, *Temporal Procession*, and Christ's *Incarnation*. But taking the *Fathers collectively*, there is Demonstration for That *Threefold Distinction* I have mentioned. And even as to *single Fathers*, tho' they did not give the *Name* to all the *Three*; They acknowledged the Things meant by that Name; as I have fully shown. Which of the *Three* is most properly called by the Name of *Generation*, is a very fruitless Question: It is manifest that That Name was given by *some*, or *other* of the *Antients*, to all the *Three*.

You object (p. 283.) that *Irenæus* argues against all *internal Generations*. The Reader may see that Matter handsomely cleared up in *Massuet's* previous Dissertations upon *Irenæus* †.

You object (p. 285.) that The Notion of *Consubstantiality* (I suppose you'll say the same now of *Necessary-existence*) is far from inferring *equal Supremacy*. But, having once sufficiently proved his *Necessary-existence*, and took off your Pretences about *Will* (which you chiefly trusted to) the rest will create no Difficulty with considering Men. As to your weak Charge upon *Tertullian*, &c. about *Angels* and *Souls* being *Consubstantial* with God, it has been answered. You have a pleasant Argument, (p. 271.) that *if the Son was generated, by the Will and Power of the Father,*

\* See Bull D. F. p. 232. Animadv. in Gilb. Clerke, p. 1054. Fabricius Not. in Hippolyt. Vol. 1. p. 242.

† Massuet. Præy. Dissert. p. 36, 128.

into a State of Sonship, either in Time, or from Eternity; 'tis sufficient to distinguish Him from the one supreme, self-existent, immutable God; who is incapable of any Change, even so much as in any Mode of Existence. Your Argument here turns upon a fanciful supposition that all Generation, whether *Temporal* or *Eternal*, implies *Mutability*, or *Change*. But be pleased to make Sense of what you have here said, on Either supposition. Suppose the Generation *eternal*, what Sense is there in conceiving a *Change* where there is nothing *New*, no State *antecedent*, no *Prius* or *Posterius*, which every *Change* implies? Suppose it *Temporal*; Then as it means no more than a *Manifestation*, *Exertion*, or taking a new *Office*, *Relation*, &c. What *Change* is there in all This, more than there is in God the Father, upon any new *Act*, *Manifestation*, *exertion* of Power, &c? There is no *Change* at all in it, no not so much as in any *Mode* of Existence.

I have now run thro all that I find material under This Query. Upon the whole it appears, that the *Antients* firmly believed, and professed the *Necessary-existence* of God the Son: As well Those who maintained the Generation to be *Temporal*, as Those that professed it *eternal*. And you have not been able to prove, either that the former thought the Son an *Attribute* only before his Generation, or that the latter ever made Generation to be by *Will*, in any Sense but what is consistent with what we now call *Necessary-existence*, and *Necessary-emanation*.

It may not be here improper to throw in a few Words about the several *Similitudes*, and *Illustrations*, made use of by the *Antients* to help Imagination, and to give Men a more lively Sense of divine Truths. They are all of Them *low*, and infinitely short of what they were intended to represent; some of them perhaps too coarse, and such as might better have been spared: But Writers are not always upon their guard. They had a pious Design in adapting their Comparisons to the very meanest Capacities.

cities. The *Resemblances* were These: *Mind* and *Thought*, *Light* and its *Shining*, *Sun* and its *Rays*, *Fountain* and *Streams*, *Root* and *Branches*, *Seed* and *Plants*, *Body* and its *Effluvia*, *Fire* and *Fire*, *Light* and *Light*, *Water* and *Steams*.

These Similitudes were intended to represent the *Consubstantiality*, or *Coeternity*, or *Both*, according as they were most fitly adapted, respectively, or most proper to represent Either, or Both.

The Comparisons of *Fountain* and *Stream*, *Root* and *Branch*, *Body* and *Effluvia*, *Light* and *Light*, *Fire* and *Fire*, and such like, served more peculiarly to signify the *Consubstantiality*: But Those of *Mind* and *Thought*, *Light* and *Splendor* (φῶς ἕ ἀπαύγασμα) were more peculiarly calculated to denote *Coeternity*; abstracting from the Consideration of *Consubstantiality*. For, *Thought* is not any thing *Substantial*: And I know not whether *Light*, ἀπαύγασμα, was ever taken to be so by the antient Fathers. It is certain that sometimes it was looked upon as a meer *Energy*, or *Quality* \*. I say then, that *Coeternity* was more fitly represented by Those Two Similitudes, than *Consubstantiality*.

Indeed, *Eusebius* would not allow that † *Coeternity* was signified in the Similitude of *Light* and *Splendor*; or, I may more properly say, *Luminous Body* and *Light*, for That is the meaning. But in This that great Man was very *Singular*. And tho' *Montfaucon's* Censure of Him, as commonly wresting Scripture, and the Church's Doctrine, to his own private Fancies ||, may seem ra-

\* Justin Martyr. Dial. p. 372.

Eusebius Dem. Evang. l. 4. c. 3.

Damascen. Vol. 1. p. 135, 137.

Theodorit. in Epist. ad Hebr. c. 1. v. 3. Hær. Fab. l. 5. c. 7. p. 256.

† Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. l. 4. c. 3. p. 147.

|| Nihil itaque insolens si *Eusebius*, qui plerumque Scripturarum & Ecclesiæ Dogmata ex sensu & opinione sua æstimare ausus est, in multis lapsus sit. Montf. Prælim. in Euseb. &c. p. 29.

ther too severe; yet it is certainly true of Him in This Instance: unless we could suppose That *Parenthesis*, or Digression (for such it seems to be) foisted into his Work by some other Hand. No *Catholick*, before, or after Him, ever talked in That way; but quite the contrary. *Origen* \*, *Theognostus* †, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and *Alexander*, (to say nothing of later Writers ||) give a very different Account of that *Similitude*: And They are more to be regarded than *Eusebius*, who stands alone in his Account of it, directly thwarting the Sense of all the *Catholicks* his Contemporaries, as well as of his Predecessors that have used it. But to proceed.

It is observable that Those who expressly maintain'd the *Temporal* Generation only, as *Justin Martyr*, *Hippolytus*, and several others, They also illustrate it by *Similitudes*; not by φῶς and ἀπαύγασμα, so far as I have observed, but by *Light of Light*, one *Fire* from another, *Fountain* and *Streams*. They have sometimes also the *Sun* and its *Rays*, which seems to me to amount nearly to the same with φῶς and ἀπαύγασμα. Those Writers considered The *Light*, not only as breaking forth, or streaming out from the Father *absolutely* (as They considered it, who illustrated *eternal* Generation thereby) but also *relatively*, in respect of the *Creatures*; upon whom it began to break forth and shine, when the *Son* exerted his Power in the Creation. Then was *Light* sprung up to *Them* from the Father, which

\* Θεὸς γὰρ φῶς ἐστὶ ἀπαύγασμα οὐκ εἶχε τῆς Διᾶς δόξης, ἵνα τολμῆσαι τις ἀρχὴν δῶ εἶναι υἱὸν πρότερον οὐκ ὄντῳ. Orig. ap. Athanas. p. 233.

† Οὐκ ἔφαθεν τίς ἐστιν ἐφευρεθεῖσα ἢ τοῦ υἱοῦ οὐσία, αὐτὸς ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ἐπέσχηθη· ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστίας ἔφυ, ὡς τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, ὡς ὕδατος ἀτμίς. Theogn. ap. Athanas. p. 230.

Ἀπαύγασμα δὲ ὄν φωτὸς αἰδέει, πάντως καὶ αὐτὸς αἰδέος ἐστὶ. Dionys. Alex. apud Athan. p. 253.

Τὸ γὰρ ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης μὴ εἶναι λέγων, συναίρει καὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον φῶς. Alexandr. Alex. apud Theod. l. i. c. 4.

|| See some Testimonies in my Sermons, p. 247.



Light had been before eternally in and of the Father, not manifested *ad extra*, not sent abroad, as They would express it.

You give Hints in your Preface, (p. 7.) and *Book*, p. 285. and elsewhere, that the Notion of the Antients was no more than that the Son was from *an internal substantial Power of the Father, by his Will*, without any *Division, Abscission, Diminution, &c.* as *one Fire is lighted from Another*: But you represent their Sense very partially, or at least very obscurely. Their plain meaning was, that the Son was *really*, and not *nominally* distinct from the Father; which They signified by *one Fire and Another*: And they meant farther to signify, that tho' the Son did in a certain Sense come out from the Father, yet He was not *divided* from Him, but remained still really in Him, and with Him. I have set the principal Passages in the \* Margin: which may serve to explain each other, and fully to ascertain the meaning.

\* Λέγον γεννώμεν, οὐ κατὰ ἀποτομὴν, ὡς ἐλαττωθῆναι ἢ ἐν ἡμῶν λόγον προβαλλόμενοι (leg. προβαλλόμενοι) καὶ ὅποιον ἐπὶ πυρὸς, ὁρῶμεν ἄλλο γινόμενον, οὐκ ἐλαττωμενε ἐκεῖνε ἐξ οὗ ἢ ἀναψις γεγεννηται, ἀλλὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μένοντο καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀναφθεῖν καὶ τὸ ὄν φαίνεται οὐκ ἐλαττωσάν ἐκεῖτο ἐξ ἑ ἀνήφθη. Just. Dial. p. 183.

Ὅτι κατ' ἀποτομὴν ὡς ἀπομεριζομένης τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας, ὅποια τὰ ἄλλα πάντα μεριζομένα καὶ τεμνόμενα, οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι ἀ καὶ πρὶν τμηθῆναι. Just. p. 373.

Γέγονε δὲ κατὰ μερισμὸν, οὐ κατ' ἀποτομὴν· τὸ γὰρ ἀπετμηθὲν τοῦ πρώτου κεχάρηται· τὸ δὲ μερισθὲν εἰκονομίας τὴν αἴρεσιν προσλαβὼν, οὐκ ἐνδία ἢ ἔθεν εἰληπται πεποιήκειν. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἀπὸ μιᾶς δαδὸς διὰ τὴν ἕξασιν τῶν πολλῶν δαδῶν οὐκ ἐλαττωταὶ τὸ φῶς· οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος προελθὼν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δυνάμεως οὐκ ἄλογον πεποιήκει ἢ γεγεννηκότα. Tatian. p. 22.

Πρὸ γὰρ τὴν γίνεσθαι τοῦτον εἶχε σύμμελον, ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν ὄντα· ὅποτε δὲ ἠθέλησεν ὁ θεὸς παιῆσαι ὅσα ἐβελεύσατο, τοῦτον ἢ λόγον ἐγέννησε προφορικόν, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, οὐ κενώθεις αὐτὸς τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλὰ λόγον γεννήσας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ διαπαντὸς ὁμιλῶν. Theoph. Antioch. p. 129.

Nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur ————— a matrice non recessit, sed excessit. Tert. Apol. c. 21.

ing. It wou'd be tedious here [to enter into the Particulars. Upon the whole, their meaning was, that the Son so came out from the Father, as itill to remain in Him: It was an *oeconomical*, not a *real* separation. And so the Father did not leave Himself *emptied*, as it were, of his Son, by his sending Him out to create, and to transact all Matters between Him and the Creature.

This, I doubt not to say, is the *certain*, and the *full* meaning of Those Fathers: And had it not been for some Persons coming to read them with the Notion of *eternal* Generation in their Heads, They could never have mistaken so plain a Matter as This is, of the Son's being sent out *oeconomically* from the Father, first to *make*, and next to govern the *Creatures*: which *Mission*, *Manifestation*, or *Exertion*, is, with those Writers, his *Generation*: As it was also so reckon'd even by many of the *Post-nicenes*, who may be seen in the Margin\*. It must be own'd, that *Hilary*

Hæc erit *Probola* veritatis, custos unitatis, qua prolatum dicimus Filium, & non separatum. Tertull. contr. Prax. c. 8.

Trinitas per confertos & connexos gradus a Patre decurrens, & Monarchiæ nihil obstrepat, & *Oeconomia* statum protegit. Tert. ibid.

Habes Filium in Terris; habes Patrem in cœlis. Non est *separatio* ista, sed *dispositio* divina. Tert. contr. Prax. c. 23.

\* Scirent Verbum in principio Deum, & hoc a principio apud Deum, & natum esse ex eo qui erat, & hoc in eo esse qui natus est, quod is ipse est penes Quem erat antequam nasceretur; eandem scilicet æternitatem esse gignentis & geniti. Hilar. in Mat. p. 742.

Procedit in Nativitatem, qui erat, antequam nasceretur, in Patre, —cujus ex ore prodivit unigenitus Filius, cordis ejus Nobilis Inquilinus: exinde visibilis effectus, quia humanum genus Visitaturus erat. Zen. Veron. apud Bull, p. 200.

Ortus habens initium in Nativitate, in statu non habens. *Phesbad*.

Hoc initium habeat Sapiencia Dei quod de Deo *processit* ad creanda omnia tam cœlestia quam Terrena; non quo caperit esse in Deo. Creata est ergo sapiencia, imo *genita*, non sibi quæ semper erat, sed his quæ ab ea fieri oportebat. Pseud. Ambros. de Fid. c. 2. p. 349.

lary seems to have changed his Language, and Sentiments too afterwards: Or else He held a *generation* prior to This, along with the *προέλευσις*. It must also be confess'd that the *Catholicks* Themselves were for some time pretty much divided about the Question of *eternal Generation*; tho' there was no question about the *eternal existence*. Whether the *λόγος* might be rightly said to be *begotten* in respect of the State which was antecedent to the *προέλευσις*, was the Point in question. *Athanasius* argued strenuously for it\*, upon This Principle, that whatever is of another, and referred to that other as his *Head*, (as the *λόγος*, consider'd as such, plainly was) may and ought to be stiled *Son*, and *Begotten*: Besides, the *Arians* had objected, that there would be two *unbegotten* Persons, if the *λόγος* ever existed, and was not in the Capacity of *Son*; And the Church had never been used to the Language of two *unbegottens*. These Considerations, besides the Testimonies of elder Fathers who had admitted *eternal Generation*, weigh'd with the generality of the *Catholicks*: And so *eternal Generation* came to be the more prevailing Language, and has prevailed ever since. There is nothing *new* in the Doctrine more than This, the calling That *eternal Generation* which others would have stiled the *eternal Existence* and *Relation* of the *λόγος* to the Father: which at length amounts only to a Difference in *Words*, and *Names*. This appears to me a fair and full Account of that Matter, after the most careful and impartial Search I have been able to

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\* Εγενήθη, μᾶλλον δὲ προῆλθεν αὐτός, καὶ πάντοτε ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ὄν, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένων διακόσμησιν. Constantin. apud Gelaf. p. 58.

Ex ore quamlibet Patris sis ortus, & verbo editus;

Tamen paterno in pectore *Sophia* callebas prius. Prudent. Hymn.

¶ 1. p. 44.

Verè enim & sine Voce natum, & omnia potentialiter continens Verbum, tum Pater actualiter *generavit*, quando Cælum & Terram, quando Lucem & cætera fecit. Rupert. Tuitiens.

\* Athanasius contr. Arianos, Orat. 4.

make into the Antients upon it; that I might not deceive either my self, or my Readers.

In conclusion; since you have been pleased to call upon me for *Satisfaction*, (p. 297.) which I shall be always ready to pay for any Injury I have really done to my Readers; I now leave it to your *Ingenuity to consider*, what *Satisfaction* you ought to make Your Readers, for the following Particulars.

1. For carelessly passing over the many, and plain Testimonies I produced for *eternal Generation*; from *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Novatian*, *Dionysius of Rome*, *Dionysius of Alexandria*, *Methodius*, *Pamphilus*, and *Alexander of Alexandria*: As to which, you have not attempted to show that I have misconstrued the Passages, nor have you endeavoured to *reconcile* Them to your Principles; contenting your self with *Objecting* only, instead of *Answering*, as usual with you.

2. For imposing upon us the *spurious*, or *interpolated* Constitutions: Which, you know, are of no value in This Controversy, with Men of Letters.

3. For representing the Councils of *Sirmium*, *Sardica*, *Antioch*, as undoubtedly *Orthodox*; tho' never so accounted, or received as such, by the *Catholicks* in general, but suspected as *Arian* by many, and That very justly.

4. For your several *unfair*, not to say, manifestly *false* Translations: Of the Words of the *Sirmian* Council, p. 258, 274. of *Hilary*, p. 259, 275, of *Tatian*, p. 270, 110. of *Basil*, p. 291.

5. For representing (p. 273, 287.) *Eusebius* as giving the Sense of the *Antients* upon a Point wherein all the *Catholicks* before, and in, and after his Times, are flatly against Him (as many as speak of it) and not a Man concurring with Him.

6. For your very slight, superficial, and elusive Answers to the many weighty Reasons I before gave in my *Defense*, (p. 148, to 155.) to prove that the *Logos* was a *real*, and an *eternal* Person (according

to the *Antients*) antecedently to his *Proceſſion*, other-  
 wife called *Generation*.



### Q U E R Y IX.

*Whether the divine Attributes, Omniscience, Ubiquity, &c. those individual Attributes, can be communicated without the divine Essence, from which they are inseparable?*

**T**O This, you say, *it is sufficient to answer, that individual Attributes can neither be communicated with, nor without the Essence.* Your reason: *Because communication of an individual, without the Communicator's parting with it, is supposing it to be not an Individual, and is consequently, a Contradiction in Terms,* p. 301. Thus far You: And you go on after This, with so peculiar an Air of Self-complacency and Satisfaction, that one would almost think you weak enough to imagine, you had said something considerable. The great Difficulty is still behind, to determine what makes an *Individual*, or to fix a *certain Principle of Individuation*. I called upon you for it before; knowing that very wise Men thought it as difficult a Problem, as to *square the Circle*. But to a Man of your Abilities nothing is difficult; you can solve the Doubt in three Words.

You undertake it, (p. 307.) telling me, that the *Principle of Individuation is a self-evident Thing*. To Those only, I presume, who have not Sagacity enough to see where the Difficulty lies: To such all Things are easy, as all Colours are alike to Men in the dark.  
 Let

Let us have this Solution. 'Tis *That*, by which any one Thing, be it simple or complex, is *That one Thing which it is, and not another*. That is to say, it is *That*, by which any Thing is an *individual*. And, pray, what is *That*? Are we not just where we were? If any should ask you what is the *Cause* of the *Motion* of the *Heart*; you would tell them, I suppose, it is *That*, by which the *Heart* is made to beat: Or, if you are ask'd the *Cause* of the *Tide*; it is *That*, by which the *Waters* are made to ebb and flow. Who would be the wiser for such Discoveries? You have not told me what makes an *Individual*; but you have signified, in other Words, what is meant by the Phrase, *principle of Individuation*; which I knew very well before.

Having laid your Foundation, such as it is, you proceed to build upon it. *Two Beings*, you say, may be one complex Being, but They cannot Either of them be *That one Being which This is*. *Two Substances* may be one complex Substance, but They cannot Either of them be *That one Substance which This is*. Wonderful edifying! But the great Defect is (and it is strange you should not perceive it) that we do not yet know what we are to call *One Being*, or *Two Beings*; *One Substance* or *two Substances*: If *That* were settled, Any Child could go on. We must therefore stop your Course a little, and bring you back again to the Place where you set out. To convince you of your being mightily out of the way, let me put a Case to you. Upon Dr. Clarke's Principles, of the *divine Substance* being extended, I desire to know whether *This Substance* which fills the Earth, be *One That Substance* which fills Heaven: This is bringing your Doctrine of *Individuals* to the Test, in order to see of what service it may be to us. By your Principles, so far as I yet perceive, *This Substance*, and *That Substance* must be two simple Substances, and one complex Substance. I wondered indeed why you chose the Word *Complex*, rather than *Compound*; which signifies the same.

same. But now I recollect that Dr. Clarke had declared \* against God's being a *compound* Substance. He may be *complex*, however, upon your *Hypothesis*: And so if we must have a *complex Deity*, it may as well be *with* a *Trinity* of divine Persons, as *without*. Clear your own Schemes, and you clear ours at the same Time.

Dr. Clarke's Notion of *individual Substance* appears plainly to be This; that if the Substance be but *spiritual*, and there be no *disunion*, then the Substance is *One*, one *simple* Substance. I approve of his Notion as very just: And since the Three divine Persons are supposed by us to be all *spiritual*, and *united* as much as possible, more closely indeed (being equally *omnipresent*) than you suppose the *Parts* of the divine Substance to be: I say, since these Things are so; the Three Persons may be *one individual* Substance, upon the Doctor's Principles, one *simple*, and *uncompounded* Substance; which is what we assert: And if the Substance be *individual*, the *Attributes*, we hope, may be so too: And then all is right. You are used to pay a Deference to the learned Doctor's Judgment, in other Matters; do so in This: Or if you are resolved to debate the Point, dispute it first with Him: He may, probably, give you good Satisfaction, and save me any farther Trouble.

You are displeas'd with me, (p. 309.) for mentioning *Parts* of the *divine Substance*. But let your Displeasure fall where it ought, upon the learned Doctor; who having subjected the divine Substance

\* Dr. Clarke's Answer to the *sixth* Letter, p. 4. His Words are.

“ The meaning of *Parts* is separable, compounded, ununited Parts,  
 “ such as the Parts of Matter; which for That Reason is always  
 “ a *compound*, not a *simple* Substance. No Matter is *one Substance*,  
 “ but a *Heap* of *Substances*. And That I take to be the Reason  
 “ why it is a Subject incapable of Thought. Not because it is  
 “ *extended*; but because its Parts are distinct Substances, ununited,  
 “ and independent on each other: Which, I suppose, is not the  
 “ Case of other Substances.

to *Extension*, has necessarily introduced *Parts*; there being no *Extension* where there are not *Parts*. Besides that the Doctor has expressly admitted *Parts*; provided only They be not *separable, compounded Parts*; which I charge you not with. You say, indeed, that instead of *Parts*, I should have said *partial Apprehensions of its omnipresence*. But, I beseech you, put me not off with *Words*; nor with such Answers as you would not your self admit in Another Case. I am talking of the divine Substance, which is not made up of *Apprehensions*, but of somewhat *real*; which (upon your, and the Doctor's *Hypothesis*) must be called *extended Parts*. You would laugh at us, if we should tell you that the Three Persons are three *partial Apprehensions*, when you ask us what They are; whether *Beings*, or not *Beings*. Do not therefore put us off with empty Sounds, when we ask you the like Questions about the *Parts* of the divine Substance; whether *Beings*, or *one Being*; and if one Being, whether one *individual Being*; and if so, whether *simple*, or *complex*. By That Time you have furnished out proper Answers to These Questions, all that you have objected about *individual*, will drop and dwindle into nothing. And it will be great Satisfaction to us to observe, how handsomely you can plead on the *opposite* side; and how ingeniously you can unravel your own Sophistry. You may at length, perhaps, be sensible, that all the Difficulties you have raised about *Individual, Numerical, Specifick, &c.* resolve only into This; that we know not precisely, in all Cases, what to call *Individual, or Numerical, or Specifick*. You have a very distinct Notion (in your way of thinking) of any *Two Parts* of the divine Substance: And yet you know not whether it be proper to say, that *This Part* is *Individually* and *Numerically* the same Substance with the *other Part*. You would be as much puzzled about *Specifick*; since you would hardly think it sufficient to say, that They are *specifically*



*scally* one and the same Substance. Learn therefore, from hence, to distinguish between Difficulties relating to *Things*, and Difficulties about *Names* only.

You attempt to answer what I had urged in my *Defense*, p. 294. where I had argued against the same *Wisdom*, *Goodness*, or any other Attributes being supposed to reside in infinitely distant Parts. I thought no Maxim clearer than This, that Attributes of any Subject reach not beyond their Subject: And therefore whatever Attribute is in *This Substance*, can not be also in *That Substance*; unless *This Substance* be *That Substance*. I did not urge these Things as being of any *real* weight in Themselves; but only as having the very same Weight as your Objections against the Doctrine of the *Blessed Trinity* have, or ought to have: And I was to convince you of the Folly of wading beyond your Depth. You have Answers, such as They are, ready for every Thing; either to show that you know *more*, or else know *less* than wise Men do: For, it is one Degree of Knowledge to be sensible of one's Ignorance. You tell me, that the *same individual Moment of Time is every where*, and the *same individual Truth is every where*. Admitting This, why then may not the *same individual Wisdom*, *Power*, &c. be in *Three Persons*? But, if I should ask you to give me any distinct Notion of the *same individual Moment*, or the *same individual Truth* being every where; possibly, you might be strangely confounded. Is *This Moment*, or *This Truth*, Substance or Attribute? If *Attribute*, what is the *Subject* of it? If the *divine Substance* be the Subject, how can these *Truths*, and these *Moments* reside in an extended Subject, without being *coextended*? And how can the Attributes of one part be the Attributes of another part, any more than the *Extension* of one is the Extension of Another? However, since you have been pleased to admit that *This individual Truth*, and *That individual Moment* are *entirely in the whole*, and

entirely in every part of the Universe; we shall want a good Reason why the same *individual Attributes* may not be *entirely in the whole Trinity*, and *entirely in every Person of it*. But you'll say, that you suppose the Attributes *common*, and not *communicated*: And so there will be a Difference between your *Hypothesis* and ours. But, as the main Difficulty lies in conceiving the *same Attributes* to be *entirely in the whole*, and *entire in every Person*; This being happily got over, the other will create no Difficulty. It is as easy to conceive the same Thing *common* in *This manner*, as common in *That manner*: For there is no other Difference but in the *manner*, between *common*, and *communicated*. Having thus dispatched the main Point, relating to the *Principle of Individuation*, (which stands just where it did) you will not expect any farther Answer to such Objections as turn only upon the uncertain meaning of *Individual*.

I freely own my Ignorance, that I am not yet got beyond the common School-definition: *Individa sunt quæ dividi non possunt in plura ejusdem nominis, & naturæ singularis*. Individual is something *undivided*, in such respect as it is conceived to be *one*: And *one* is something *single*, and not *multiplex*, in that respect wherein it is conceived to be *one*. I pretend not to make any Man wiser by such an Account as This: But it is proper to confess our *Ignorance* where we know nothing. This, however, I pretend to be certain of, that every *individual* is, upon your Principles, made up of *Parts*: and that all *Oneness*, or *Sameness*, is by *union* of *Parts*: Otherwise there is nothing in the World that you can call *one Substance*, or *same Substance* at all. Now, if *Union* makes *Oneness*, or *Sameness*, you will be extremely puzzled to find out any *Union* closer, or stronger, or higher than *That Union* which we conceive to be among the *Three Persons*. Why then may They not be *one individual Substance*, *Being*, *God*? Or the

the *same* individual Substance, Being, God? I like what St. *Bernard* \* has said of this Matter; and leave you to confute it when you are able.

I may here take some Notice of the Author of the *Appeal to a Turk*, &c. who thinks it strange we should pretend to know that Three Persons are *one Being*, when, by our own Confession, *we know not precisely what makes one Being*, nor can fix upon any certain Principle of Individuation, p. 54. Now, as to the Fact, that Three Persons are *one God*, or *one Being*; we pretend to know it from Scripture: But as to the *manner* how They are *united*, we know it not at all. I suppose, we may know that Soul and Body are so united as to make *one Man*; tho' we understand not the Nature of the *Union*: or that the Parts of Matter *cohere*, tho' we understand not the *Manner*, or *Cause* of their *Cohesion*. And if we are puzzled in accounting for the *Union* of Things so familiar to us, and suited to our Capacities; what wonder is it if our Thoughts are lost in accounting for the *divine Union* of the tremendous Deity? It is one Thing to know that Three Persons are *one God*; another to know *what makes them one*. If the Author's objection lies only against calling the Persons *One Being*, as not being *scriptural*; we shall be content if He admits Them to be *one God*, or *one Jehovah*, which is evidently *Scripture-Doctrine*. His reasoning, p. 56. is of the same size for Acuteness, and Penetration, with what He has, p. 54. If we have no *Idea* of the manner *How* Two may be *one*, He will infer, that *we have no Idea either of Two Persons, or of one God*. That is to say, if we have no *Idea* of the manner *how* Soul and Body make *one Man*; we

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\* Inter omnia quæ recte unum dicuntur, arcem tenet Unitas Trinitatis; qua Personæ tres una substantia sunt: secundo loco, illa præcellit, qua, e converso, Tres substantiæ una in Christo persona sunt. *Bernard. de Conf. l. 5. c. 8.*

have no Idea of *Soul*, or *Body*, or of *one Man*. Now, the Case is This; we have an Idea of the *Persons* united, and we understand that They are *one*, having a confuse, general Idea of *Unity*: But as to the internal *Cause*, or particular *Manner* of the Union; we have no *Idea* of it. What is there strange, or surprizing in This; unless it be strange for *ignorant* Creatures to know only *in part*, and to be able to understand something without knowing every Thing? But to return to you.

I shall now look back, to see if there be any incidental Passage, under This Query, deserving Notice. Page 303, I find you endeavouring to prop up the Doctor's Aphorism, That *Necessary Agents are no Agents, and Necessary Causes no Causes*. This is also Strife about *Words*; in which the Cause is nothing concerned. For admitting all you would have, it comes to This only, that the Antients have *improperly* called the Father an *Agent*, or *Cause*, in respect of the *Generation*: The Doctrine will stand exactly as before, only in other *Terms*. And you must not pretend to *change* the Sense of the *Antients* in respect of the Words *Act*, or *Cause*; and still appeal to their Expressions as countenancing your *Novel* Notions: That will be affronting the Readers indeed. But let us enquire a little into This *New* Philosophy. I asked, whether an infinitely *active* Being can ever *cease* to Act? To which you answer not a Word. I asked whether God's *loving Himself* (which is loving every Thing that is good, and which general Love, or *natural Propensity*, seems to be the *prime Mover* in all the divine Acts) be not *acting*? To which you reply nothing. I believe, we are almost out of our Depth here, and might more modestly leave the *divine Acts* to that divine Being who alone understands the Nature of Them. But since you pretend to be wise in such high Things, I may put a few Questions to you concerning Them. You say, *The essence of Action is exerting of Power,*  
and

and the *Will* is the *Original* of all exerting of *Power*. Well, let *Action* be exerting of *Power*: Does God never *naturally*, or *necessarily*, exert any *Power*? Who can be wise enough to know these *Things*? But, the *Will* is the *Original*: And is not the *Will* it self determined by essential *Wisdom*, *Goodness*, and *Truth*? And why is not That as much the *Original* which determines, as That which is determined? How is it that God cannot but *will* good, cannot but *will* Happiness: as, on the other hand, he cannot but *nill* evil, cannot but *nill* unhappiness? Are *approving*, and *disapproving*, the same with *knowing* good and evil? Or does He not rather *approve*, and *disapprove*, because He *knows* why? How hard a *Thing* then is it to distinguish between what shall be called *Acts*, or *Actions*, and what not? You have discarded all that in common Speech passes under the Name of *Action*. Walking, riding, running, are not *Acts*: They are *bodily Motions* following the impulses of something else that moves and actuates. Human *Acts* must be confined to what is *invisible*, to what passes in the dark *Recesses* of our *Minds*. And here our *Ideas* are very defective and obscure; and our *Language* almost all *improper*, and *metaphorical*; taken from *bodily Motions*, which are no *Acts*. We may divide the *Powers*, or *Faculties* of the *Mind* into *perceptive*, and *active*: And we may call the latter by the Name of *Will*. But still what is That perpetual *Activity* of the *Mind*, that general pursuit of *Happiness*, and avoidance of *Misery*, which is not merely *perceptive*, and yet is *necessary*, and *unavoidable*? It will be said, perhaps, that it is *natural*, resulting from our *Nature*; that is, from *God*, who gave us our *Nature*: And so herein we *act* not, but are *acted* upon. Be it so; let us next go higher, to the first Cause of all *Things*: Are there no *natural* and *necessary* *Propensities* There, no *natural* or *necessary* *Aversions*; in a word, no *Willing*s, and *Nillings*, which are as *necessary* as it is to

exist? Yet they are *Acts*, *internal Acts*; and the ground of all *external*: Or else we know not what *Acts* are. But enough of This Matter, which, as I before observed, is intirely foreign to the Cause.

You object, that the Father is not  $\alpha\iota\tau\iota\textcircled{\text{G}}$ , (as *Basil* stiles Him) if the Son necessarily coexists with Him. But He is  $\alpha\iota\tau\iota\textcircled{\text{G}}$ , notwithstanding, in *Basil's* Sense of  $\alpha\iota\tau\iota\textcircled{\text{G}}$ , in the antient Sense of  $\alpha\iota\tau\iota\textcircled{\text{G}}$ , when necessary Causes were stiled *Causes*: And can any Thing be more ridiculous than to plead *antient Phrases*, and not to take them in their *antient* Sense? Could not I, in This way, quote *Dr. Clarke*, *Mr. Whiston*, *Mr. Emlyn*, (and indeed whom not?) as being perfectly in my Sentiments; let me but put a Sense upon their Words, as I please, however contrary to the known, certain Sense of the Authors? Was there ever a wilder Method of supporting an Hypothesis?

You have something, *p. 305*, which is reasonably put, and deserves Consideration. I had pressed you with insuperable Difficulties relating to the *Omnipresence*, and other undoubted Truths. To which you reply, that the *Omnipresence* is a *Truth demonstrated by Reason*, and affirmed in *Scripture*; which our Doctrine is not, at least not so certainly: That therefore tho' the *Difficulties* be equal, Here and There, yet the *positive Evidence* is not. You'll forgive me, for putting your Argument somewhat clearer, and stronger than you had done. Now, to This I answer, that our *positive Evidence* from *Scripture* is very great and full; as hath been often shewn. I will here mention but one Argument of it, *viz.* That you have not been able to elude our Proof of the *Son's Divinity*, without eluding, at the same Time, every Proof of the *Father's Divinity* also; as I have shown above\*. Is not This a very sensible, and a very affecting Demonstration of the Strength of our *Scripture-Proofs*? You add far-

\* *Pag. 246, 247, &c.*

ther, that our Doctrine is *impossible to be understood*. A groundless Calumny, which I confuted at large\*. Is *Omnipresence* impossible to be understood, which you say can be *demonstrated*? or is our Doctrine more hard to be conceived than That is? But you pretend an *insuperable* Difficulty in our Scheme, that it makes more *supreme Gods* than one: Which is another Calumny as groundless as the former. You ask, are not two supreme Gods, tho' undivided, two supreme Gods? Yes certainly; but two *supreme Persons*, that is Two equally supreme in *Nature*, (tho' not in *Order*) and *undivided* in Substance, are not *Two Gods*, but *One God*. You add, that making *one Substance* is not the same Thing with making *one God*: To which it is sufficient to say, How do you know? Or how came you to be wiser, in this Particular, than all the Christian Churches early, and late? The *Heathens*, you tell me, did not pretend that their subordinate Deities, tho' *Consubstantial*, were equally *supreme*. They were therefore the more silly in supposing them *Consubstantial*, and not *Supreme*; that is, of the *Same Nature*, and yet of a *different Nature*. But the Heathens were farther wrong in making more *Deities* than *one*, supreme and inferior: Wherein you copy after Them, adopting their *Polytheism*, and *paganiizing* Christianity as Dr. Cudworth expresses it.

You accuse me (p. 311.) as *presumptuously* calling my Doctrine, *the Doctrine of the blessed Trinity*, in Opposition to yours. But why will you give your self these affected Airs? Great *Presumption*, indeed, to believe that the *Catholic Church* has kept the true Faith, while *Eunomians*, and *Arians* made Shipwreck of it. But

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\* Defense, Quer. xxi. p. 308, &c.

it is high *Presumption* in a few private Men to revive old *Heresies*, and to talk as confidently of them, as if they had never been confuted. A modest Man would be apt to distrust his own Judgment, when it runs counter to so many eminent Lights of the Christian Church, and has been so often condemned by the wiser and better Part of the Christian World. A becoming Deference would appear well in a Case of this Nature: Nor do I know any Thing short of *Infallibility* that can either warrant, or excuse this big way of talking which you affect to appear in.

You intimate (p. 311.) that it is not *Reason*, but *Scripture* you appeal to; and that you will here *join Issue with me*, apart from *metaphysical Hypotheses*. Agreed; Discharge then your *Metaphysicks* for the future; let us hear no more of *Self-existence*, to divide the Father from the Son, when *Scripture* tells us They are *One*. Let us no more be told, that *Begetting* is an *Act*, and every *Act* is of the *Will*: This is all *metaphysical*. Wave all farther Discourse about *specifick*, and *individual*, and *intelligent Agent*, and the like; to hinder plain Christians from seeing that *Scripture* makes no more Gods but *one*; never supposes the Son *another God*, nor admits Father and Son to be *two Gods*. Drop your Pretences about Subordination of *Offices*, as implying distinct *Authorities*, *unequal Power*, *Independence* on one Hand, *Subjection* on the other: Such Reasonings are *metaphysical*. Let us hear no more, that Three *divine Persons* must be Three *personal Gods*, Three *Beings*, Three *Substances*; and that there can be no *Unity of Godhead*, but *Identical personal Unity*, confined to one Person solely: These are *Metaphysicks*; deep, profound *Metaphysicks*. Tell us no more that *Derived* and *underived Powers* cannot be the *same Powers*, nor any *Equality* stand with the distinct *Relations* or *Offices* of a *Father* and a *Son*. Give up your famed *Dilemma* against the *Unity*, that each Person must be either



the *same, whole, identical* Substance, or else an *Homogenous undivided Part* of That Substance: And your other *Dilemma*, That the Persons must either have the *same identical Life*, or distinct *identical Lives*; neither of which (you imagine) can stand with our Principles. These are abstract *metaphysical* Speculations, such as never disturbed the Church of Christ, till many Years after They had professed their *Faith* in, and paid their *Worship* to, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost as the one true God. Wave these Things for the future, and we shall readily join Issue with you upon *Scripture* alone; and shall then believe that you mean what you say, when you hereafter plead for the laying aside of *Metaphysicks*. We desire no *Metaphysicks* but in our own necessary Self-defense: If You begin in that Way, We must also enter the Lists in the same Way, and oppose *false* *Metaphysicks* with *true*; to show the World your Wandrings, and your Inconsistencies, even in what you most rely upon, and (tho' you will not own it) almost solely trust to.

## Q U E R Y X.

*Whether, if they (the Attributes belonging to the Son) be not individually the same, they can be any thing more than faint Resemblances of them, differing from them as Finite from Infinite; and then in what Sense, or with what Truth can the Doctor pretend that all divine Powers, except absolute Supremacy and Independency, are communicated to the Son? And whether every Being, besides the one Supreme Being, must not necessarily be a Creature and Finite; and whether all divine Powers can be communicated to a Creature, Infinite Perfection to a Finite Being?*

**I** Find nothing in your farther Reply (which is no Reply) to This Query, but what I have fully obviated in my *Defense*, and now in my Answer to the other *Queries* above. All that the Reader can learn from what you have here said, is, that if the Question be, what it is not, viz. *Whether the Son be the Father*; you have something to plead for the Negative: But if it be, as it really is, *Whether the Son be a Creature and finite*; you have nothing to say to it. The Evidence is so full and strong against you, that you dare not submit it to a fair Hearing. Allow you but to wrap your self up in *ambiguous Terms, Supremacy, Self-existence, Individual, &c.* and you are willing to hold on a frivolous and tedious Dispute of no Benefit to the Readers: But bring you down to plain Sense, and fixed Terms; then you draw off, and take your Leave. A Conduct suitable to such a Cause, but very unworthy of the Hands ingaged in it.

Q U E R Y

QUERY XI.

*Whether if the Doctor means by divine Powers, Powers given by God (in the same Sense as Angelical Powers are divine Powers) only in a higher Degree than are given to other Beings; it be not equivocating, and saying nothing: Nothing that can come up to the Sense of those Texts before cited, or to these following?*

Applied to the one God.

*Thou, even Thou, art Lord alone; Thou hast made Heaven, the Heaven of Heavens with all their Host, the Earth and all Things that are therein, &c. Neh. ix. 6.*

*In the Beginning, God created the Heavens and the Earth, Gen. i. 1.*

To God the Son

*All Things were made by Him, John i. 3. By Him were all Things created; He is before all Things, and by Him all Things consist, Coloss. i. 16, 17.*

*Thou, Lord, in the Beginning, hast laid the Foundation of the Earth; and the Heavens are the Works of thy Hands, Heb. i. 10.*

**T**HE Questions here were, what Dr. Clarke meant by *Divine Powers*, and whether his Meaning comes up to the Texts here cited. I am now told, that the *Divine Powers* of the Son are *not only in a higher Degree than Angelical Powers, but totally of a different kind: For* (let us observe the Reason) *to the Son is committed all Judgment p. 316: Well then, the Son's Divine Powers are at last dwindled into his Offices given Him by God; therefore Divine*  
most

most certainly. This is the *Divinity* of God the Son, which you stand up so zealously for in your *Preface*; and for the Sake of which you are so highly affronted to be thought Opposers of Christ's *Divinity*. But let us go on. I insist upon the Son's having *Creative Powers*, according to the Texts cited, and as I have proved more at large in my *Sermons*. You have little to reply, but that *derived* and *underived* are not the same: Whereas they are the same, because they descend from one to the other: Were they both *underived*, They could not (at least according to the *Antients*) have been the same. *Derived* and *underived* may be the *same Substance*, as well as *greater* and *less*, *containing* and *contained* may be the *same Substance*: Which you are forced to allow in your *Hypothesis* of the extended Parts of the same Substance. And why must you be perpetually quibbling upon the different Senses, or kinds of *Sameness*, and using Arguments against us, which inevitably recoil upon your selves? Do but keep to that strict Sense of *Sameness* which you are using against us, in the Argument about *derived* and *underived*; and I'll demonstrate to you, upon your own Principles, as before hinted, that there is no such Thing as *One* and the *Same Substance* in the World.

In answer to hard Arguments, in this *Query*, you return me *hard Names*. *Heaps of Contradictions*, not treating the Argument seriously; in short, any thing that first came into your Head, being at a Loss for an *Answer*, and resolved not to be intirely silent. You are cavilling at the Account I gave of the *Antients*, as assigning to three Persons their several Parts and Provinces in the Work of Creation. I observed what Meaning they had in it\*, and that their Words are not to be strictly and rigorously interpreted. Have you a Syllable to object

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\* Defense, p. 184, 185.

to the Truth of this Report? not a Word: The Thing is too plain and evident to be gain-said. The Truth is, if the *Antients* are to be interpreted rigorously, The Father is not *properly* Creator at all, but the Son only; for He is represented as *doing* and *executing*, The Father as *issuing out Orders* only. But who can entertain so absurd a Thought, as that the Father did not *work* in the Creation as much as the Son? Again, the Father is represented as standing in *need* \* of the Assistance of the Son and Holy-ghost. How will this Suit with that *Supreme Dignity*, that *alone* Self-sufficiency, which you are contending for? If you interpret This rigorously, it must be as great a lessening to the Father as you pretend the *executing* of another's *Orders* is to the Son. It is plain therefore, that These Sayings of the *Antients* were intended only to preserve a more lively Sense of the *Distinction* of Persons; while they considered them all together as equally concern'd in the Creation, and equally working in it. You object that no ancient Writer ever said that the Three Persons *created in Concert*, p. 299. But what did the *Antients* || mean then, by understanding

\* Ὡς ἐσθησίας χεῖρων ὁ θεὸς εὐρίχεται λόγων ποιήσασμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ κατ' ὁμοίωσιν. ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ τινι εἴρηκε ποιήσασμεν, ἀλλ' ἢ τῶ ἑαυτῶ λόγῳ, καὶ τῇ ἑαυτῶ σοφίᾳ. Theoph. Antioch. p. 114.

Nec enim indigebat Horum Deus ad faciendum quæ ipse apud se prædefinierat fieri, quasi ipse suas non haberet manus. Iren. p. 253.

Si necessaria est Deo materia ad opera Mundi ut Hermogenes existimavit; habuit Deus materiam longe digniorem——Sophiam suam scilicet—— Materiam materialium—— quali Deus potuit eguisse, sui magis quam alieni egens. Tertul. contr. Hermog. c. 18.

|| Barn. Ep. c. 5. 6.

Herm. Past. Sim. 5.

Justin. Mart. Dial. p. 185.

Irenæus p. 220, 295.

Theoph. Antioch. 114.

Origen. contr. Cels. p. 63. 257.

Synod. Antioch. Labbè Tom. 1.

p. 845.

} See Dr. Knight's first Sermon.

the Text of *Genesis*, *Let us make Man*, of all the Three Persons? And what did they mean by giving the Son the Title of *σύμβουλος*\* *Counsellor* to the Father, in that Work? How much does this come short of what I said? Nor can you make any thing of *ἀυθεντία* (a Word which rarely occurs) or of *Auctoritas* †, (which is used oftner) than the Pre-eminence of the Father as *Father*, his Priority of *Order*. When you wrote before, you was confident that the Son was not stiled *ποιητὴς τῶν ὄλων*: And this you noted, to confirm your Fiction, that the Father only was *efficient Cause*, the Son *instrumental*. You have been since convinced of your Error by plain Testimonies given you in great Numbers ‡. But still you go on in your Pretence about *efficient and instrumental*, notwithstanding *ποιητὴς*, which you had before allowed to be expressive of the *efficient Cause*. Now the Defect is, that the Son is not *ὁ ποιητὴς*: And neither is That true, for I cited *Eusebius* for *ὁ ποιητὴς* applied to God the Son. I have spoke of *δια* before, and so here pass it over. You are persuading me that even *Cyril of Jerusalem*, whom I quoted in my *Defense* (p. 183.) is expressly against me. Ridiculous to any that know *Cyril*: You can mean This only for such as do not read. If there is Any thing to be suspected of *Cyril*, it is rather his excluding the Father from being *Creator*, than the Son from being *efficient*. But the late learned *Benedictine* Editor has sufficiently cleared up *Cyril's* Orthodoxy on That Head||. I

\* Iren. p. 292.

Clem. Alex. 769, 832.

Tertullian. contr. Hermog. p. 18.

Theoph. Antioch. p. 129.

Hyppolyt. Vol. 2. p. 13.

† Insinuatur nobis in Patre *Auctoritas*, in Filio *Nativitas*, in Spiritu Sancto Patris Filiique *Communitas*, in Tribus *Æqualitas*. Auguft. Serm. 11.

‡ Defense p. 189.

|| Differt. 3. p. 139. &c.

charged\* you with opposing *efficient* to *ministering* Cause; either very unskillfully, or very unfairly. Now you would seem to come off by making the Father *efficient*, by way of *Eminence*. Why then did you not allow Both to be *efficient*, and leave the *Eminence* only to the Father, that the Readers might understand you, and that I might save my self the Trouble of disputing That Point? Let but Both be equally *efficient*, and as to the *Eminence* of Order in the *Efficiency* (which is all you can make of it) I readily assent to it.

You tell me of *Origen's* making the Father *πρῶτος δημιουργός*, the *first* and *principal* Creator: As if *Origen* admitted two *Creators*. But if you mean not to deceive your Readers, you should tell them, that *Origen* never uses the Phrase of *πρῶτος δημιουργός*, but where He is retorting upon his Adversary *Pagan* Testimonies in the *Pagan* Style †. as was proper to do. But when *Origen* speaks in the *Christian* Style, and is delivering his own Sense; it is then *πρώτως δημιουργός* *primarily* Creator ‡. You have something more to urge from *Origen*, that the Son was *ἀντισεργός*, *immediate* Worker in the Creation. Well then, I hope the Son was *efficient*, and, by your Representation, more properly so than the Father, who only gave out *Commands*. Are you sensible of what you are doing? Or have you a mind, at length, thro' your great Zeal in attributing to the Father the *Commanding* Part only, to make Him properly *no* Creator at all? If you strain the Expressions of the *Antients* to the utmost Rigour, That must be the Consequence. Be content therefore to allow a proper Latitude of Construction, and a significant Mystery in These Things. But I have obviated all you have

\* Defens. 183.

† *Origen*. contr. Cels. p. 308.

‡ *Origen*. contr. Cels. p. 317.

said upon This Topick, about the Father's commanding, else where\*. You quote *Eusebius* again, his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, which is of no Consideration with me at all. What if He stiles the Son *ἄγαυον*, does He not stile Him *σημείωμα* too, in the same piece, tho' He contradicted it again afterwards? why must *Eusebius* be thought to speak the Sense of the *Antients*, especially in Things where He manifestly ran Counter to the antient Doctrine? You may see this very Notion of the Son's being *ἄγαυον* condemned by the famous Synod of *Antioch* † long before *Eusebius* wrote. I value *Eusebius* in many Things; but not where He attempted to deprave and corrupt the Doctrine of his Catholick Predecessors; perhaps to gratifie some Novelists, before He had well considered what He was doing. However, if any one has a Mind to see what mild Construction may be put upon That Expression of *Eusebius*, He may consult Bp. *Bull* and Dr. *Cave* ‡ For my own Part, I think, the best Defence to be made for him is, that he seems to have grown wiser afterwards. You charge *Basil* with Weakness, for making *Aëtius* the Inventor || of the Distinction between *ὑπὸ* and *διὰ*. But where was *Basil's* Mistake? You say, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and *Philo* insist upon it. But *Philo's* is only general, without Application to This Case: And *Origen's* and *Eusebius's* amount to no more than a *Pre-eminence* of the *Father* as such. They do not carry it to a Difference

\* Sermons p. 72.

† "Οὕτω δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντος, καὶ ἐνεργούντος, ὡς λόγος ἄμα καὶ Θεοῦ, δι' οὗ ὁ παῖρ πάντα ποιῆσκει, οὐχ ὡς δι' ὄργανου, οὐδὲ ὡς δι' ἐπιστήμης ἀνεπιστάτου γεννησαντος μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ὡς ζῶσαν ἐνέργειαν, καὶ ἐνυπόστατον, ἐνεργούντα τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι".

‡ Bull. D. F. p. 256. Cav. Diff. 3. p. 66.

|| Basil. de Sp. Sancto p. 145, &c.



of Nature, as *Aëtius* did\*; and you also do: You do it indeed under other Terms, but as plainly, while you deny the *Necessary-existence* of the Son. You will find none higher than *Aëtius*, or *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, to countenance you in it. There is nothing more that is material, under This Query.

You have not been able to take off the Force of what is urged from *Scripture* and *Antiquity* for the Son's *creative Powers*: And that *creative Powers* are *divine Powers*, in quite another Sense than the Doctor and you use the Phrase, in the equivocating way, will be seen as we pass on.

QUERY XII.

*Whether the Creator of all Things was not Himself uncreated; and therefore could not be ἐξ ἑντων, made out of nothing?*

AS to your complaint of my wording This Query, and my styling Christ the *creator of all Things*; I refer to my *Sermons* † where I have proved the Thing, and to my *Defense* ‡ where I have shown that it is the Language of All *Antiquity*, to stile Him *Creator*, and not barely in your deceitful way, Him, *by whom God created all Things*, while you inform us not what you mean by it. You say, you affirm not (nay, you blame those that presume to affirm) that the Son of God was created, or that He

\* The *Synodicon Vetus* agrees with *Basil's* Account of *Aëtius*.

Ὁ γὰρ μακαρίτης Ἐυσέβιος Ἀντιοχείας, ἐκ τῆς παρ' αὐτῆς ἐκτεθέντος ἀσέβους τέμους, ἀνόμιμον λέγοντος τὸ ἐξ οὐ, τῆς δι' οὐ, τὸν ἕψεν Εὐσέβιον δὴ λεγόμενον καὶ Αἰτίον. *Synod. Vetus*. p. 211. ap. *Fabric. B. Gr.* Vol. xi. p. 211.

† *Sermon* 2<sup>d</sup> and 3<sup>d</sup>.

‡ *Defense*, p. 187, &c.

was ἐξ ἑνός οὐθέντων, *out of nothing*. With what Sincerity you say This, let the Reader judge from the *Nine Arguments* I produced in my *Supplement*, to show that you make the Son a *Creature* \*. How you may *equivocate*, I know not: But I am sure you dare not tell us distinctly, what you mean by saying, you blame those that affirm that the Son is *out of nothing*: It is either a mean Quibble, or something worse that you are ashamed to own. You are pleased to give up some Criticisms of Dr. Clarke's in relation to a Passage of Origen which I had took notice of in my *Defense* †; so, That we have done with. Still you talk of *Ten thousand Passages* in Origen, as opposite to my Sentiments. When you were in the way of *Romancing*, (which has no certain Rule) you did well to take a large Number. I challenge you to produce a *single* Passage from any Piece of his, that is to be depended on, which either directly, or indirectly makes the Son a *Creature*. That, you know, was the Point here in Question.

The Remainder of This Query is filled with all the worthless Trifles you could rake up from *Sandius*, or others, to represent the *Antients* as making the Son a *Creature*. At the same Time, because you know They have been answered, and that you cannot stand by Them, (yet having a strong Propensity to make use of them, for the deception of ignorant Readers) you produce them with this faint, and disingenuous Censure upon them. *I think that the Writers I have here cited were mistaken in their judging about Consequences, when They thus charged with Arianism the most learned and most eminent Men the Christian Church ever had.* Permit me here, for a while, to chuse my self a new *Adversary*; one that *honestly* professes his Belief of the Son's being a *Creature*, and has produced those very Passages,

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\* Supplement, p. 20, &c.

† Defense, p. 198, &c.

most of them, as favouring those Sentiments; which He is not *afraid*, nor *ashamed* (while maintaining, as He believes, the Honour of the *great God*) to call his *own*. After long and deliberate considering the Question of the Son's being a *Creature* or no *Creature*, the Argument He mainly depends on\* with respect to the Sentiments of the *Antients*, is This: The universal Application of the Words in *Prov. viii. 22. The Lord created me the Beginning of his ways, &c.* by the antient Christians, to the *Creation* of Christ by God the Father. And indeed, hardly any thing can be brought out of the Antients, at all looking like it, but what is either the Application of, or allusion to This Text. The Argument then is This: The Text in the *Proverbs* has *ἐκτίσσει*, according to the *Seventy*: The Fathers, knowing little or no *Hebrew*, followed That rendring: *ἐκτίσσει* signifies *created*: Therefore the Fathers, in general, believed and taught that the Son is a *Creature*. The Argument would be irrefragable, if the Word *ἐκτίσσει*, as it might signify what is pretended, could be shown to have been so understood by the Fathers. But if *created*, may signify *appointed*, or *constituted* (as in good Latin Authors, *Consuls, Captains, Magistrates* are said to be *created*, and we sometimes use the Word in *English* of *creating* a Peer, or *creating* any Officer) and it may be certainly shown that some Fathers so understood it, and no Proof can be given that Any of them understood it otherwise; then there will appear such a Flaw in the Argument, as the Wit of Man will not be able to make up. We have it upon record, that This very Point came to be considered about the middle of the Third Century, by *Dionysius* of *Rome* †, (with his Clergy) who fearing, upon the rise of *Sabellianism*, lest some should run into the opposite extreme of making the Son a *Creature*, first condemns all such

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\* See Mr. Whiston's Reply to Lord Nottingham, p. 28.

† Apud Athanas. p. 232.

Doctrine, as highest *Blasphemy*, and next answers what had been urged by some from This Text, expressing Himself as follows: “ And what need I say more of these Things to you, Men full of the Holy-Ghost, and well knowing what Absurdities follow upon the supposition of the Son’s being a Creature? To which the Leaders in That Opinion seem to me not to have well attended, and so they have very much erred from the Truth; interpreting that place *The Lord created me the Beginning of his Ways*, not according to the meaning of the divine and sacred Writ. For, as you know ἔκτισε is a Word of more Senses than one, ἔκτισε created, here stands for ἐπέστησε appointed, over the Works (God) had made by the Son Himself. The Word ἔκτισε is not here to be understood to be the same as ἐποίησε: for ποιῆσαι and κτισαι are very different.” Here we find how That Text was understood by the most considerable Men of the Church about the Year 259.

And let it not here be objected, that the Piece is of doubtful Credit, because extant only in *Athanasius*: For no body that knows any thing of *Athanasius*, and is not strangely bigotted to an *Hypothesis*, can suspect any foul play in This Matter. It is the less to be suspected here, because, as I shall show presently, *Athanasius* did not intirely approve of this Construction of *Dionysius*, and would certainly never have forged an Interpretation different from his own. Besides, it is observable that *Eusebius*, in his famous Piece against *Marcellus*, interprets That Text in the very same manner as *Dionysius* had done; defending it at large\* by several parallel Places of Scripture. He interprets ἔκτισε by κατέταξεν, and κατέστησεν, appointed, or constituted. So that we have very great reason to believe that This was the prevailing and

\* Euseb. contr. Marcell. p. 150, 151.

current Construction of *Prov.* viii. 22. in the *Antenicene* Church. What confirms it is, that They all understood ἀρχὴν in the *Active* Sense, for *Head* or *Principle*, just as *Dionysius* and *Eusebius* do : And so the Sense is, that *the Father appointed the Son Head over all his Works.*

That this was the Sense of ἀρχὴν all along, may be proved \* from *Justin, Theophilus, Tatian, Clemens, Origen, and Methodius*, to name no more : Which Consideration is alone sufficient in the Case, when there is no positive Proof on the other side. Only I must add farther, that clear and strong Passages may be brought, from the Fathers in general, to prove that they believed the Son to be *uncreated*. Seeing then that This Text may bear such a Sense as has been mentioned ; seeing it was certainly so interpreted by some, and no reason appears for Mr. *Whiston's* Interpretation at all ; but the Sense of ἀρχὴν, as understood by the Antients, is intirely against Him, as also many clear Testimonies of the Son's being uncreated : These Considerations put together are enough to show, that there is no Force in the Argument drawn from the Fathers following the LXX, and reading ἔκτισε in That Text.

But I farther promised to give some Account of *Athanasius*, in relation to This Text ; because Mr. *Whiston* † has been pleased to say some very hard, and indeed unjust Things of Him, in relation hereto. *Athanasius* could not be at a loss to know the meaning of ἔκτισε, which had been so well explained both by *Dionysius*, and *Eusebius*. He therefore closed in with the common Interpretation, as signifying *Appointed*, or *Constituted* ||. But then He understood the *appointing* to be to the Work of *Redemption* only, not the Work

\* See Bull, D. F. p. 210.

† Reply to Lord Nottingham, p. 29.

|| Athanas. Orat. 2. p. 513.

of *Creation*: At least, He makes no mention of the latter. He seems to have been apprehensive that the Notion of *appointing* to the Work of *Creation* might sound too low: And indeed, many of the *Arians* scrupled not to say as much, at least, in Words. *Athanasius* thought the way of speaking not so proper, his Notion being that the Father could no more create without the Son \*, than exist without Him; Both being alike necessary: And therefore *Appointing* was not so proper a Word for it. This Principle He lays down in the very same *Oration*, where He at large comments upon *Prov.* viii. 22. Nevertheless it may be said, that This great Man might perhaps be too scrupulous in This Matter. *Cyril* † of *Jerusalem* (whose Orthodoxy is unquestionable) scruples not to assign Reasons why the Son was appointed to create: And it has been usual with all the Christian Writers to represent all *Offices* as descending from the Father to the Son. *Athanasius* Himself allows that God the Son wrought in the *Creation*, upon the Father's issuing out his *Fiat*, or *Command* for it: As also do several other *Post-nicene* Writers †. This in reality comes to the same Thing

\* 'Ουκ ἰδίωτο μὴ δι' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὰ δημιουργήματα. καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ φῶς τῷ ἀπαντάσματι τὰ πάντα φατίξει καὶ ἀνευ τοῦ ἀπαντάσματος οὐκ ἂν τι φατισθεῖν· ἔτω καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὡς διὰ χειρὸς, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐργάσατο τὰ πάντα, καὶ χάρις αὐτοῦ ἔδιν ποιῆ. Athan. Orat. 2. p. 498, 499.

† Cyrill. Hieros. Catech. 11. p. 160.

Πατὴρ βελβδέντος τὰ πάντα κατασκευᾶσθαι, τῷ ᾧ πατὴρ νόημα ὁ υἱὸς τὰ πάντα ἐδημιούργησεν. ἢε τῆρ' τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἀδεντικὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐργάσατο τῶν ἰδίων δημιουργημάτων, &c.

*Theodorit's* Account of This Matter, appears to be as just, and accurate as Any.

'Ουτε ὁ πατὴρ βελβδίας δέμενος κτίζει διὰ υἱοῦ, ἔτε ὁ υἱὸς βελβδίας χρίζων, κτίζει διὰ ᾧ πνεύματος, ἀλλ' ἢε ἐν τῶν δημιουργῶν διακρίῃ πατρὸς, καὶ υἱοῦ, καὶ ἀγίῃ πνεύματος ἢ ταυτότης. Dial. 4. adv. Macedon. p. 367.

‡ Athanas. p. 216, 499. Hilarius. p. 325, 837, 840.

Basil. de Sp. S. c. 16. Greg. Nyss. Tom. 1. p. 993. Tom. 2.

with what others intended by *appointing*, or *constituting* to the Work of *Creation*.

But here indeed *Athanasius* guards against the Notion of the Son's being *ὑπεργός*, an *underworker*, in the low *Arian* Sense: For otherwise He admits that the Father wrought *by*, and *in* the Son. And I doubt not but it was his Apprehension of the *Arians* misconstruing the *Appointing*, which made Him so scrupulous in relation to *Prov. viii.* The Expression however, when it is not abused, is very innocent; And some zealous *Athanasians* \* were not afraid to understand *Prov. viii. 22.* of God the Son's being *appointed* and *constituted* Creator, and Head over all the Works of God. *Faustinus*, That severe and rigid *Homousian*, of the *Eustathian* Party, and *Luciferian* Sect, understands That Text of Christ, as being appointed by the Father the *Head* and *Conductor* of all his Works, as well of *Creation*, as *Redemption* †. Let This suffice to have shown the Sense of Antiquity upon That Text.

Now I return to you, who are entertaining your Reader with a Collection of *Scandal*, and which you *know* to be such, for the greatest part of it. The *Scandal* is produced at length; and what should have been, and has been pleaded to remove and confute it, is disingenuously kept out of sight: Only it is said by you, *sufficient Apologies have been made* for This or That Father, to show that

\* Hoc Initium habeat Sapientia Dei, quod de Deo processit ad creanda omnia tam Cælestia quam Terrestria, non quo cæperit esse in Deo. *Creata* est ergo Sapientia, imo genita; non sibi quæ semper erat, sed his quæ ab ea fieri oportebat. Hilar. Diacon. apud Ambros. p. 349.

† Quod *creata* est Sapientia, ad *Mysterium* vel *rerum Creandarum*, vel *Humana Dispensationis* intellige: quam cum Dei Sapientia dignanter adsumit, *creata* dicitur. Faustin. contr. Arian. c. 6. p. 153.

Sapientia cum *Creata* dicitur, non substantia ejus quasi quæ non erat, facta est: sed Ipsa existens *creata est Initium Viarum in opera ejus.* Ibid.

He was not indeed of *Arius's* Notions. But what then? You pretend, that your Notions were not *Arius's*: So you would still have your Reader apprehend that Those Fathers might have been in *your* Notions; whereas Bp. *Bull*, in his Confutation of those *Scandals*, (most of them *Misreports*, and some of them malicious Tales and Lies) has effectually prevented their being really serviceable either to *Arius's* Cause, or Yours: Which in reality (however you disguise the Matter) are the very same. The Conclusion you draw from this heap of Stuff, is pretty remarkable: *It evidently shows, that those antient Fathers had not entertained such a confused Notion as you are labouring to introduce of the Creator of all Things*: Whereas it is evident, to a Demonstration, that my *confused Notion* (as you unrighteously call it) was the very Notion which all those Fathers had: Or, if you think otherwise, why did you not distinctly show where They contradict it, instead of producing a deal of idle Tales, which, (tho' you would have your Reader lay some Stress on) you your self dare not undertake to defend?

Where is the Consequence to be drawn from such Premises? As let us see. The *Apostolical Constitutions*, which are *spurious* and *interpolated* by some *Arian*, have said something; Therefore *Ec. Melito* is said to have wrote *περὶ πίστεως Χριστοῦ*, which learned Men doubt of; and neither *Rufinus* nor *Jerom* would allow; Therefore *Ec. Clemens* has been charged with some Things of which He was very *innocent*; Therefore *Ec. Dionysius* had Enemies that told *Lies* of Him, abused Him, and misrepresented his Words; and some honest Men were deceived thereby; Therefore *Ec. Gregory* likewise met with some that perverted his Words, (as many have perverted our *Articles*, or *Liturgy*) Therefore *Ec.* In short, several other very *Orthodox* Men have been either falsely charged, or wrongfully suspected: Therefore undoubtedly *Dr. Waterland* is mistaken in suppo-  
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sing Them to have been *Orthodox*. I refer the Reader to Bp. *Bull*, who has abundantly answered what relates to these trifling Accusations. Only, because you seem to insult and triumph the most, in respect of *Origen*; I shall be at the Trouble of giving the Reader some Account of That great Man and his Writings, and their hard Fate in the World.

*Origen* was one that wrote much, and sometimes in Haste: And it might be no great wonder if some uncautious Things might sometimes drop from Him; or if his Writings, passing through ignorant or malicious Hands, might be otherwise represented than He intended, or wrote. He complained of such Misrepresentations in his Life-time; and made an Apology for Things of that kind in a Letter to Pope *Fabian*, about the Year 248. The Doctrine of a coeternal and consubstantial Trinity could be no new Thing at That Time. It appears by the famous Case of *Dionysius*, but about Ten Years after, that it was the settled Faith of the Church; and that the generality, at least, were extremely jealous of the Appearance of any thing that seemed to break in upon it. *Origen's* Works however were still in great Esteem; and it does not appear that, for many Years after his Death, they were ever charged with Heterodoxy in That Article. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, and *Dionysius of Alexandria*, whose Orthodoxy in that Doctrine has been abundantly vindicated by Bp. *Bull*, were great Admirers of the Man, and of his Writings. *Methodius*, about the Year 290, (a Man of orthodox Principles) began to impugn some of *Origen's* Doctrines: but laid nothing to his Charge in relation to the *Trinity*. About the Year 308, He first began to have Articles drawn up against Him; and among the several Charges, there were some upon That Head. *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius* then undertook to apologize for Him; not by justifying any thing that seemed to lessen the Divinity of the Son or Holy-Ghost, but by showing from *Origen's* own Writings, that His  
Doctrine

Doctrin was on the side of Christ's Divinity, and against the Holy-Ghost's being a *Creature*. This appears from the Remains we have of That *Apology*, according to *Ruffin's* Translation; who professes solemnly that He did not add a Syllable, but made a just and literal Translation. So that tho' *Ruffin's* other Versions, where He professes to have taken a liberty, are the less to be depended on, This is of another kind, and may more securely be confided in: From whence I would take notice by the way, that even *Eusebius* at this Time, before the Rise of the *Arian* Controversy, appears to have been very Orthodox. I know there is an Objection to be made out of *Jerom*: which the Reader may see answered in Bp. *Bull* \*.

After *Pamphilus*, we find mention made of Another *Apologist* †, a very orthodox Man himself, in respect of the Trinity, even in the Judgment of *Photius*; who was used to judge too severely sometimes of the Antients, comparing their Expressions too rigidly with those in use in his own Times. That *Apologist* acquits *Origen* as to any erroneous Doctrin in the Article of the Trinity: Only He allows that *Origen's* Zeal against *Sabellianism* might sometimes draw Him into Expressions that seemed to go too far the other way. Let us now come down to the *Arian* Times. About the Year 330, or later, the *Arians* endeavoured to gain some Countenance from *Origen's* Writings: And some of the more zealous Catholics of the *Eustathian* Party, who were for professing one *Hypostasis*, had no Opinion of *Origen*. The Reason, I presume, was, because *Origen* every where insists upon the distinction of Persons very much, and seemed not very reconcilable to the *Eustathian* way of professing one *Hypostasis*. *Origen*

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\* Bull Def. F. p. 125.

† Photius. Cod. 117. p. 293.

therefore was much out of favour with That more rigid part of the Catholicks; who differed from the rest in *Expression* rather than real meaning, as appeared fully afterwards<sup>a</sup>. *Athanasius* all the while stood up for *Origen*, and vindicated his own Doctrine from *Origen's* Writings<sup>b</sup>. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Basil* were Both of them Friends of *Origen*; defending his *Orthodoxy* against the *Arians*<sup>c</sup>. This was about the Year 360. And tho' *Basil* thought *Origen's* Notion of the *Holy-Ghost* not to have been altogether sound, yet He objects nothing against Him in respect of God the *Son*: And as to the *Holy-Ghost*, He yet quotes Passages from Him where *Origen* spoke conformably to the Doctrine and Tradition of the Church<sup>d</sup>. And possibly, the other suspected Passages might not be *Origen's* own.

*Titus* of *Bostra*, another orthodox Man of that Time, was an Advocate of *Origen*.

About 370, flourished *Didymus*, who is known to have been very zealous for the orthodox Doctrine of the Trinity, and zealous also for *Origen*; looking upon Those as weak Men, and of small sagacity, that suspected *Origen* on That Head<sup>e</sup>. Hitherto we have found no considerable Men that condemned *Origen* as *Heterodox* in the Doctrine of the Trinity. The Catholicks of greatest Name and Reputation asserted the contrary.

Let us come a little lower, to the Year 380, and we shall now perceive a Storm gathering; chiefly, I presume, by the Means and the Interest of the *Eustathians*, who had disliked *Origen* from the first. *Epiphanius*, about this Time, was drawn in to be a

<sup>a</sup> *Vid.* Athanasium ad Antiochenos, p. 773.

Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. 22. p. 396. Or. 32. p. 521.

<sup>b</sup> Athanas. de Decret. Syn. N. p. 232.

<sup>c</sup> *Vid.* Socrat. Eccl. H. l. 4. c. 26. p. 246.

<sup>d</sup> Basil de Sp. Sanct. c. 29. p. 219.

<sup>e</sup> *Vid.* Hieronym. Tom. 4. p. 347, 355, 409.

Party in the Quarrel against the *Origenists*; and laid severe Charges against *Origen*, even with respect to the Doctrine of the *Trinity*. *Ruffinus*, at the same Time, was a zealous Advocate for *Origen's* orthodoxy; Himself, as is well known, a strict *Athanasian*. *Jerom* being now about 50 Years old, was also a great admirer of *Origen*. Nay, in the Years 388 and 391, when past 60, He still retained the same kind Opinion of *Origen* and his Writings: As appears by his calling Him the *Master of the Churches, second to none but the Apostles themselves*\*. He declares that Those who had in *Origen's* Life-time, censured Him, did it not for any *Novel* Doctrine, or *Heresy*, but for *Envy*; because they could not bear the Reputation He had raised †. Now, could *Jerom*, so orthodox a Man Himself, and that had translated *Didymus* in Defense of the *Divinity* of the *Holy-Ghost*; could He ever have thus commended *Origen*, had He, at that Time, believed Him Heterodox in the Doctrine of the *Trinity*? Impossible. He gives no better a Name than that of *barking Dogs*, to those that then charged *Origen* with *Heresy*: tho' at the same Time *Avians*, or *Macedonians*, and all impugners of the *Divinity* of *Christ* or the *Holy-Ghost*, were *Hereticks* in *Jerom's* Account. To do *Jerom* justice, He stood up for *Origen* with Resolution and Courage, some Time; till finding the Stream run strong, He thought it convenient to tack about: And then (as is the Nature of *new Converts* in any Case) He grew zealous, and vehement on the opposite side. Then He set Himself, meanly, to run down the Man whom before He had so much commended. He fell

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\* *Origenem*, quem post Apostolos, Ecclesiarum Magistrum nemo nisi imperitus negabit. Hieron. Præf. in Nom. Hebræ.

† Non propter Dogmatum *Novitatem*. non propter *Haresim*, ut nunc adversus eum rabidi canes insimulant; sed quia Gloriam Eloquentiæ ejus & Scientiæ ferre non poterant; & illo dicente omnes muti putabantur. Hieronym. Tom. 4. p. 67.

to criticizing his Works, sometimes manifestly perverting his Sense, sometimes representing it by Halves; always putting the worst Constructions He possibly could upon his Writings: As did also *Epiphanius*, and *Theophilus*, who were afterwards joined with *Anastasius* Bp. of Rome, and many other Bishops of the West. Still *Origen* was not intirely destitute of some good and great Defenders; as *Gregory Nyssen*, the great *Chrysoptom* (bred up under *Meletius*, and never of the *Eustathian* Party) *Theotimus*, and *John* of Jerusalem. *Severus Sulpitius*, of That Time, is a kind of Neuter, passing a doubtful and moderate Censure. *St. Austin* \* appears doubtful; but, taking his Accounts from *Epiphanius*, or other Adversaries, leans to the severer side. *Vincentus Lirinensis* † inclines to think that the Plea about *Origen's* Writings being adulterated || might be very just. *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, of the fifth Century, defend *Origen's* Orthodoxy; and think He had been greatly misrepresented. *Theodorit*, of the same Age, has been justly looked upon as a favourer of *Origen*; because He reckons not the *Origenists* in his List of *Hereticks*: As neither did *Philastrius*, who wrote 60 Years before Him. What followed in the *sixth* Century, un-

\* Origeniani:— Mortuorum Resurrectionem negant. Christum autem & Spiritum Sanctum *creaturam* dicunt — Hæc quidem de *Origene*, *Epiphanius* refert. Sed Defensores ejus dicunt *Origenem* Patrem & Filium & Spiritum Sanctum *unius ejusdemque substantia* docuisse; neque resurrectionem repulisse mortuorum. Sed qui ejus plura legerunt, contradicunt —

Dicit præterea ipse *Origenes* quod Filius Dei Sanctis Hominibus comparatus veritas sit, Patri collatus mendacium, & quantum distat Apostoli Christo, tantum Filius Patri. Unde nec Orandus est Filius, &c. Augustin. Hæref. 43.

† Sed dicat aliquis, *corruptos esse Origenis Libros*. Non resisto, quin potius malo: nam id a quibusdam & traditum & Scriptum est; non Catholicis tantum sed etiam Hæreticis. Vincent. Lirin. c. 23.

|| See *Ruffinus's Plea about the Adulteration of Origen's Books*, handsomely defended against *St. Jerom*, by the learned *Huetius*. *Origeniana*, p. 187, 188.

der *Justinian*, is rather too late to come into Account.

From what hath been said, it appears, that tho' Antiquity were much divided in their Sentiments of *Origen's* Orthodoxy, in respect of the Trinity; yet the most early, and the most valuable Men down to the Times of *Jerom*, (and for a long while *Jerom* Himself) had acquitted Him on That Head. This Account is a sufficient Answer to what you have raked together in Pages 327, 328, 329, 330. And I must observe, that were it really Fact that *Origen* had taught what you pretend in respect to the Article of the Trinity, it would by no means follow that He was therein a true Interpreter of the Church's Doctrine in That Instance; any more than in the other Articles laid to his Charge by his Accusers: Many of which are known to have been directly contrary to the standing Doctrines of the Church, as well before, as after his Time: Such was the denial of the Resurrection of the Dead, imputed to Him, among other Errors, by his Adversaries; as St. *Austin* observes: Who, in the same Place, mentions some other erroneous and uncatholick Tenets of *Origen*. At last, the Question of *Origen's* Faith in the Trinity, may be certainly determined out of his Treatise against *Celsus*, (still remaining, and free from Corruption.) And it is from thence chiefly, that Bp. *Bull* has demonstrated that *Origen's* Doctrine on That Head was found and just, directly opposite to the Principles which you are now espousing.

I may take notice of your citing, (p. 335.) a second-hand Passage of *Eusebius*; as if He had made the Son created in the vulgar Sense of created in this Question; directly contrary to what *Eusebius* has argued at large, in his Piece against *Marcellus*. I hope, you did it ignorantly. However, to prevent the like for the future, I shall here give you *Eusebius's* own Words. Commenting on *Prov. viii. 22*. He says thus: " Though  
 " He says created, He does not say it, as if He came  
 " from

“ from *non-existence*, into *existence*; nor as if He also,  
 “ like as the rest of the Creatures, were from *Non-*  
 “ *entity* (as some have erroneously imagined) but He  
 “ was living and subsisting, prior and pre-existing to  
 “ the creation of the Universe: And being *appointed*  
 “ of The Lord his Father to bear rule over the Uni-  
 “ verse; *Created* here stands for *appointed*, or *constituted*\*.  
 He goes on to several Texts of Scripture, 1 Pet.  
 ii. 13. Amos iv. 13. Psal. ci. 19. to show that κτίσις,  
 or κτίζω, may admit that Sense of *Appointing*, or *Or-*  
*daining*, rather than *Creating*. And upon the Words  
 of the Psalm, *create in me a clean Heart, O God*, He  
 observes, that this is not said as if the *Psalmist's* Heart  
 was then to begin to exist, but what was before, should  
 be *cleansed*. You will please to remember how highly  
 you resented my quoting *Socrates* for *Eusebius's* Opi-  
 nion, seemingly contradictory to *Eusebius's* other Te-  
 nets. You have here quoted a short Sentence out  
 of an *Index* of a Book, not published to speak for it  
 self; and have given it a Construction flatly contrary to  
 what *Eusebius* undoubtedly taught in his Piece against  
*Marcellus*; namely, that *Prov. viii. 22.* was not to be  
 understood of *creating*, in the Sense you pretend. As to  
 what you cite from Him in respect of the *Holy-Ghost*,  
 I know not whether it may admit of a candid †  
 Construction. He was certainly mistaken, if He  
 took That Doctrine, such as you understand it, to  
 be the Doctrine of the Church. But it is out of my  
 Compass to treat of the *Divinity* of the *Holy-Ghost*.  
 To conclude; I refer'd || you to *Ignatius, Athena-*

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\* 'Εἰ δὲ λέγοι ἐκτίσθαι αὐτὸν, εἴη ὡς ἐκ τῆς μὴ ἄντ' εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρελ-  
 θῶν, τῆτ' ἂν εἶποι. εἰδ' ὡς ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς κτίσμασι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ  
 τῆς μὴ ἄντ' γεγονώς, ἢ τινες ἐκ ὁρῶς ὑπειλήφασιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑφ' ἑσῶς μὲν  
 καὶ ζῶν, πρῶν τε καὶ προὑπάρχων τῆς τῆς παντὸς κόσμου συστάσεως. ἀρχεῖο  
 δὲ τῶν ὅλων ὑπὸ κυρίου τῆς αὐτῆς πατρὸς κατατεταγμένῳ, τῆς ἐκτίσεν ἐνταῦ-  
 θα ἀντὶ τῆς κατέταξεν, ἢ κατέστησεν εἰρημένως. Euseb. Ecl. Theol.  
 p. 150, 151.

† See The Bishop of London's Letter defended, p. 56, &c.

|| Defense, p. 197.

goras, Irenæus, Origen, Dionysius of Rome, Dionysius of Alexandria, Theognostus, and Methodius; as express Authorities against the Doctrine of the Son's being a Creature. As to consequential and indirect Testimonies against it, They are numberless; and have been produced by Bishop Bull, Le Moyne, Nourry, and many others, in this Controversy. To This you have opposed such Evidence as Bishop Bull has already answered, and You will not stand by, or engage to defend; but have rather own'd to be indefensible. Only, you think some Advantage you should make of it; which *some Advantage* is yet very *unfair*, and not regularly or *distinctly* laid down by any certain Consequence, but is meerly a confused and *precarious* Conclusion. Upon the whole, every *Honest* Reader will easily perceive on what side He ought here to determine.



### Q U E R Y XIII.

*Whether there can be any Middle between being made out of nothing, and out of something; that is, between being out of Nothing, and out of the Father's Substance; between being essentially God, and being a Creature; Whether, consequently, the Son must not be either essentially God, or else a Creature?*

**I**F any Man wanted an Instance of the Power of Affections or Prejudice in holding out against *Conviction*; or if there were not too many lamentable Examples of it in History, *Sacred*, and *Profane*; I would recommend to Him the Perusal of what you have



have under this Query, to give Him a very lively Example and Idea of it. You begin with telling me, *there are many Dilemmas, in Metaphysics, Physics, and Theology, wherein it may be very presumptuous to determine absolutely which part of the Dilemma is the Truth.* Had you rested Neuter in This Controversy, your Plea would have appeared the better: But as you have determined on one side, and in Virtue of such *Dilemmas* as are neither half so clear, nor half so certain as This is, you have no Pretence left of That kind.

You should therefore tell me, what *Medium* there is between being *essentially God*, and being a *Creature*; or else own the *Son a Creature*. We do not thus shift and shuffle with You, when you press us with *Dilemmas*. *Derived or underived*, we say *derived*: *Being or not Being*, we say *Being*: *Necessary or not necessary in Existence*; we say *necessary*: *self-existent or not self-existent*; we say *not self-existent*. *Supreme God or not supreme God*: we say *supreme God*. And whatever *invidious Terms*, or however liable to be misunderstood, you put the Question in, still we answer frankly, and discover our Minds. And what can be the reason of the Difference between your Conduct and ours, but that We desire to be open, and plain, and You love disguises? We have a Cause which we know we can defend, You are conscious that you have not. We are justly sensible what Advantage you every where make by putting the Question, *whether God the Son be the supreme God, or That supreme God?*

1. The Expression is apt to insinuate to the Reader a Notion of *Two Gods*, supreme and inferior: On which supposition the Son certainly could not be the *supreme*.

2. It is farther apt to confound the Reader, as insinuating either that we suppose the Son to be the *supreme Father* Himself, or else that the *supremacy of Order*, or *Office*, belong'd equally to Both. Yet we

bear with your thus unequally, and partially wording the Question; being content to admit it with proper Distinctions, and to assert that God the Son is *The supreme God*, or even *That supreme God*, as you are pleased to word it for us.

And why should not you as plainly own, that you make the Son a *Creature*; there being no imaginable Medium between *uncreated* and *created*, between *God* and *Creature*? Yet you pretend to be arguing only against the Son's being essentially God, or *supreme God*, and not to be arguing for his being a *Creature*; tho' They come to the same Thing differently expressed. You say, p. 338, there lies a Fallacy in my Words, *essentially God*. As How? Show where the Fallacy is. You say, the Words ought to mean *self-existent* in such a Sense as the Father *alone* is. Well then; if you take *self-existence* and *necessary-existence* to signify the same Thing, you of consequence allow no *Medium*, but that the Son must either be the *Father Himself*, or else a *Creature*. Why do you not therefore say plainly He is a *Creature*? You will ask then, whether I would prove that the Son is the *Father Himself*, in proving Him to be *no Creature*? No. But when I have proved That Point (as is easily done, and has been done a Thousand Times) it will then be apparent how absurd and wild your Notion is, that there is no *Medium* between God the Father, and a *Creature*. I say then, that there neither is nor can be any *Medium* between being *Necessarily-existing*, and being a *Creature*: And therefore since you allow nothing to be *necessary* but the Father, you plainly make a *Creature* of the Son. Instead of answering This plain Argument, you do nothing but evade, and shift in such a manner, as shows only that you are afraid of coming to the Point, and of putting the Controversy on a fair Issue; which is highly disingenuous. Were I to abuse my Readers at This Rate, how would you insult, and look upon it as no better than giving

up the Cause. I told you before\*, and now tell you again, that you assert evidently, and by immediate necessary Consequence, "That the Maker, and Redeemer, and Judge of the whole World is a Creature, is mutable and corruptible, depending intirely on the good pleasure of God, has a precarious Existence and dependent Powers, finite and limited; and is neither so perfect in his Nature, nor so exalted in Privileges, but that the Father may, when He pleases, create Another, Equal, or even Superior to Him.

This is no *unrighteous Representation*, nor appealing to the *Prejudices of the ignorant Vulgar*: You know it is not: But it is laying down the plain naked Truth. And it ought to be sounded in the Ears, and rivetted in the Thoughts of all that come to read you; that They may be deeply sensible what you are doing, and whither it is that you are leading Them.

These are not Things shocking to the *Vulgar* only, nor so much to the *Vulgar* as to the wisest, and most considerate, and most religious Men. In short, they are such Weights upon your *Hypothesis*, as have ever sunk and bore it down among the sober part of Mankind: And they will ever do so, as long as true Piety, and sobriety of Thought, have any Footing in the World. This you are sensible of; and are therefore forced to wink hard.

You are next endeavouring to *retort*; which is your constant Method when you are non-plussed, and have no direct answer to give. I assert, you say, *many supreme Gods in one undivided Substance*. Ridiculous: They are not *many Gods*, for That very reason, because their Substance is *undivided*. Is there no Difference between charging *false* Consequences and *true* ones? Make you out the Consequence which you pretend, at your Leisure: Mine is self-evident, and makes itself.

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\* *Defense*, p. 205.

You run off (p. 341) to some foreign Things: which have been answered in their Place. You talk of *Authority*, and *Dignity*; not telling us what you mean by them, whether of *Order* and *Office*, or of *Nature*; tho' it is about the last only, that we are inquiring. I suppose, if there be ever so many Testimonies in Antiquity, for the Son's *Uncreatedness*, *Consubstantiality*, *Eternity*, *Necessary-existence*, *Omnipresence*, *Omnipotence*, and other divine Attributes; all must yield to a few Equivocations, and Quibbles, about *Authority* and *Dignity*: Which if you had once defined and fixed to a determinate Meaning (as every ingenuous Man would have done) it would have been presently seen whether Any Testimony you produce were *pertinent* or no; or rather, that *none of them* are *pertinent*. As to *Basil*, whom you pretend to cite, it is certain he did not mean by ἀξιώματι what you mean; for He absolutely denies, that the Father is *greater* in Respect of *Dignity*\*, meaning *essential* Dignity: And He particularly excepts against your Notion of making the Son *Subject*; and censures *Eunomius* smartly, for taking from Him the Dignity of Dominion, τῆς δεσποτείας τὸ ἀξίωμα. In Another Place, He spends a whole Chapter in Confutation of that very Notion you are contending for; proving that God the Son is united in *Nature*, in *Glory*, in *Dignity*|| with the Father, of *equal* Honour and Authority‡. I had told you, that *an eternal Substance, not divine, and a Son made out of it, was what you must mean, or mean nothing*†. This you confute by calling it a *Calumny*, *ridiculous*, and *un-*

\* Ἀλλὰ μέγιστοι μὲν ὁ πατήρ τοῦ υἱοῦ οὐκ ἂν λεχθῆναι μείζων, ἀσώμα-  
τος γὰρ — ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀξιώματι, οὐ γὰρ ἐγένετο ὃ οὐκ ἦν ποτὲ. Basil. contr.  
Eun. l. 4.

|| Τῷ ἀξιώματι συνημμένον.

‡ Σύνθετον καὶ ὁμότιμον — τὸ τῆς ἀξίας ὁμότητον. Basil de Sp.  
Sancto c. 6.

† Defense, p. 211.

just; which is a very easy way of Confutation. Let the Reader see the Reason why you had nothing to offer but *hard Words*. You deny the Son's being of the *same divine Substance* that the Father is; you allow Him not to be *necessarily-existing*; you deny his being *out of nothing*. Let any *Oedipus* make other Sense of This put together, than what I made of it\*.



### QUERY XIV.

*Whether Dr. Clarke, who every where denies the Consubstantiality of the Son as absurd and contradictory, does not of Consequence affirm the Son to be a Creature, Ἰε̅ς ε̅κ τι̅νων, and so fall under his own Censure, and is Self-condemned?*

HERE, being conscious that This Charge is just, you can give no direct Answer; but, as usual, must retreat to little Shifts, and poor Evasions. I sufficiently explained the *true Sense*, and *my Sense* of *Consubstantiality* in my *Defense*, p. 461, 462. Yet now you pretend to complain you understand not what I mean by *Consubstantiality*: Whereas, the Truth is; you understand it so well as to know

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\* Qui Filium de Patris Substantia natum denegant, debent utique dicere unde arbitrentur Dei Filium existisse: utrum *de nihilo*, an *ex aliquo*? Si *de nihilo* existit, Creatura dicendus est, non Creator. Si autem *de aliquo* dicatur, sic etiam id ipsum Deus fecit, unde Filium genuit. An fortè *coæternum* dicitur aliquid habuisse unde posset Filium generare? Si *coæternum* aliquid æstimatur, unde genitus Filius creditur, *Manicheorum* error hac adsertione firmatur. *Fulgent.*  
Resp. contr. Arian. object. 4. p. 58.

that This Query is unanswerable. But let us hear how you can *cavil*, where you cannot *reply*. Sometimes, you tell me, *I seem to mean, that the Father and Son are individually the same single, identical, whole Substance*. But where do you ever find me talking so weakly, and crudely? This you gather only from the Word *individual*; which is capable of a larger and stricter Sense, as I have often intimated. When you suppose That Part of God's Substance which fills the *Sun*, to be *individually* the same with what fills the *Moon*; do you mean that Both are *individually the same single, identical, whole Substance*? How often must you be reminded of your unequal Dealing in this Controversy, that Arguments must hold against the *Trinity*, which, in other Cases, have no Force with you at all? I may speak of *whole* and *Parts*, while I am arguing against a Man that brings every Thing under *Extension*: But as to the Catholick Doctrine of the Church, which I here defend, the Words are not proper; only this is certain, that *one Person* of the *Trinity* is not *all the Persons* of the *Trinity*. Yet because the Persons are *undivided*, They are one *individual Substance*; which is as far from *Sabellianism* as from *Tritheism*, and can justly be charged with Neither. You pretend, that Dr. *Clarke* does not deny such *Consubstantiality* as was taught by the *Nicene Fathers*. If This be true, then He admits, or does not deny, that the Substance of the Son is of the *same kind* with that of the Father, as truly as *Light* answers to *Light*, *Very God* to *Very God*, *uncreated* to *uncreated*, and so on\*: That is, He admits all that I do, and there is no longer any Dispute between us. For, I will easily prove to him, after he is advanced thus far, that whatever is thus *equal* in

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\* See my *Defense*, p. 452.

*Nature* to the Father, cannot be *unequal* in any essential *Powers* or *Perfections*: And so all that you have been doing, drops at once. If these be the Doctor's present Sentiments, I am very glad of it: They were not always so. You say, indeed, *whatever the Son's metaphysical Nature, Essence, or Substance be, all the Doctor's Propositions* (so far as you perceive) *hold nevertheless equally true*. Are you then so very *unperceiving* in a plain and clear Case? Turn to five of the Doctor's *Propositions* (5<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>d</sup>) where He denies the Substance, or Person, of the *Sen*, or *Holy-Ghost*, to be *Self-existent*: And compare your own Construction of *Self-existent*, by *necessarily-existing*, with them; and then tell me, whether the Doctor has determined nothing about the *Substance* of the Son. Doth He not make the Substance of the Father *necessary*, the other *precarious*; the one *Self-sufficient*, the other *depending*; the one *immutable*, the other *mutable* at Pleasure; in a Word, the one *infinitely perfect*, the other *infinitely short* of it? All This follows by self-evident Connexion from the Doctor's denying the Son's *Necessary-existence*. Now, certainly He has hereby determined their Substances to be intirely different in *Kind*: Or else I should despair of showing, that a *Man* and a *Horse*, a *Tree* and a *Stone* are not ἑτερογενεῖα, are not of the same kind. For, what is it we denote and distinguish *different kinds* of Substances by, but by their different essential Properties? Do not therefore now bring me the lame Pretence, about the Doctor's *Propositions* being the same on *Either* Supposition. I bore with it in the *modest Pleader*\* (tho' sensible how little *Sincerity* was in it) because I was then doubtful whether the Doctor should be charged with denying the *Necessary-existence*. You have eased me of That Doubt: And now the Plea is ridiculous, and will serve no

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\* See the Preface to my Sermons, p. 13.

longer. The Mystery is at length come out; and *Self-existence*, wherewith we have been so long amused, wants no unriddling.



### QUERY XV.

*Whether he also must not, of Consequence, affirm of the Son, that there was a Time when He was not, since God must exist before the Creature; and therefore is again Self-condemned, (See Prop. 16. Script. Doctr.) And whether He does not equivocate in saying, elsewhere, that the second Person has been always with the First; and that there has been no Time, when he was not so: And lastly, whether it be not a vain and weak Attempt to pretend to any middle way between the Orthodox and the Arians; or to carry the Son's Divinity the least higher than They did, without taking in the Consubstantiality?*

**I**T has been shown that the Son is, upon the Doctor's Principles, a *precarious Being*, which is nothing but another Name for *Creature*: And now the Question is only whether a *Creature* can be *eternal*. And This is of no great Moment to the Cause it self, but only to show the Doctor's *Self-condemnation*, in blaming such as have said *There was a Time when the Son was not*. If, for the sake hereof, you will maintain that a *Creature is eternal*, you shall dispute by your self, or else against Mr. *Whiston*\*.



*Whiston*\*; who justly calls it a *despised* and *absurd* Tenet: Only He happened to have his Thoughts a little wandring, when He called it an *Athanasian* Mystery, instead of calling it an *Arian* one. For I never heard of Any One *Athanasian* but what despised and rejected it. There were some *Arians* that formed a new Sect about the Year 394, under the Name of *Pfathyrians*, who have been charged with That Principle by *Theodorit*†; tho' I think *Socrates's* and *Sozomen's* Account‡ of them rather acquits them of it. Now, if you are inclined to maintain such wild Doctrine, say so plainly: If not, let us know the Meaning of the Doctor's censuring Those that should presume to say of the Son, that *There was a Time when He was not*||; and of his saying that the second Person has been *always* with the First. I am sensible there is something very *mean* and *disparaging* in the Way of *equivocating* upon so serious a Subject. A Man may well be ashamed to own it: So I press it no farther.

You was to find a *middle Way* between the *Orthodox* and the *Arians*; which I called a *vain* and *weak* Attempt, and proved it to be so. You do not care to own your Mistake here: But you say, *it is not material to determine*. That is, you find it has been evidently *determined* against you; tho' you are very unwilling to confess it. Next you come to your usual Method of misrepresenting my Notion, and

\* Nor do I quite despair of seeing such shrewd and cunning *Athanasians*, as Dr. W. driven to This last *Evasion*, and of hearing Them broach This other great *Athanasian* Mystery, how despised and absurd an one soever, that Any *Creature* whatsoever may be strictly speaking, in Point of *Duration*, *coeternal* with its Creator. *Whiston* Reply to Lord Nottingham, p. 30.

† Theod. Hæret. Fab. l. 4. Compare the Supposititious *Disputatio contra Arium* p. 211. Ed Bened.

‡ Socrat. Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 23. p. 300.

Sozom. Eccl. H. l. 7. c. 17. p. 303.

|| Clarke's Script. Doctr. prop. 16.

charging *Three supreme Gods*: Which trifling has been answered oftner than it deserved. What follows, p. 348, 349 is so exceeding low, that in pure Commiseration one would pass it over. P. 350, you come to dispute the Point, whether the Doctor's Scheme was condemned near 1400 Years ago by the Council of *Nice*? You pretend that none of his *Propositions* were condemned. But I insist upon it, that the Doctor, in denying the Son's *Necessary-existence*, evidently makes Him a *Creature*: And therefore all that is *material* in the Doctor's *Propositions*, all that we find Fault with, in respect of his Doctrine of God the Son, stands fully condemned by the *Nicene Council*. And do not imagine that the Point of Difference betwixt us lies only in *Authority*, or *Office*, and not in *Nature*: You make the *Nature* of the Son wholly of a *different kind* from the Father, as hath been shown. I told you of our Doctrine, that it has *prevailed for 1400 Years*: Upon which you remind me of my saying of the *Arians*, that the *World was once, in a Manner, their own*. In a Manner, that is, when They had got the *Emperors* of the World, in a Manner, on their side. You return to your Quibble about *individual Essence*. Please to observe *Essentia de Essentiâ, Substantia de Substantiâ*, was Catholick Doctrine all along: And This is the full Meaning of *individual Essence*: Not *Essences*, nor *Substances*, nor *Beings*; any more than you'll say *Substances*, while yet you admit *Substance* and *Substance*; or *Beings*, where yet you are forced to allow *Being* and *Being*\*.

You tell me, I acknowledge *Person* and *intelligent Agent* to be the *same*: I never acknowledged any such Thing; but always denied their being *reciprocal*. But because this Word *Person* is a Matter of

\* See my *Defense*, p. 168, 167, 299. And Reply to Dr. *Whitby*, p. 15.

much Dispute, I shall here endeavour, having nothing farther worth Notice under This Query, to give the best Account I am able of the true Notion of *Person*. I shall not here search into the Books of *Philosophers*, but into the common Apprehensions of Mankind, learned and unlearned; which appears to be the true Method of knowing what Ideas are affixed to the Word *Person*.

Our *Ideas* are at first all of them *particular*, and borrowed from what we daily converse with, from what we *see*, and *feel*. Our first Notion of *Person* is the Notion we have of a *Man*, a *Woman*, a *Child*. By Degrees we learn to *abstract* from the Differences of *Age*, *Sex*, *Stature*, &c. and so we form a more general Idea of an *Human Person*, meaning one of our own Species: And this *Idea*, perhaps, a rude Country-man would express, improperly, by the Word *Christian*, in Opposition to *Brutes*, or *inanimate Things*. From the Idea of *Human Persons* thus formed, we proceed to make a more *general* Idea, by leaving out what is peculiar to our *Species*, and taking in what we conceive *common* to us with *Angels*, suppose, or any intelligent Being. And now we take in *Rationality* only, or *Intelligence*: And a Person is *Something intelligent* in Opposition to the *Brutal Creation*. Indeed, there is something analogous to *Person*, even in *Brutes*: And so it is common to say, *He*, or *She* of Them, in like manner as we speak of *Persons*. But still the common Notion of *Person* includes *Intelligence*: And I think *Damascen*\* is very singular in bringing in τὸνδε τὸν ἴππον, under ὑπόστασις, and πρόσωπον, signifying *Person*. But perhaps He meant it of ὑπόστασις only, and did not nicely distinguish. Thus far we are advanced that *Person* is Something which is the *Subject* of *Intelligence*. But still we are not come far enough to fix the Idea

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\* Damascen. Dialect. c. 43. p. 46.

of a *single Person*: For an Army, a Council, a Senate is something which is the *Subject* of *Intelligence*, Something that *understands* and *aets*. We must therefore be more particular: And at length we may bring it to This: A single Person is an *intelligent Agent*, *having the distinctive Characters of I, Thou, He; and not divided, or distinguished into more intelligent Agents capable of the same Characters*. This Definition, or Description, will, I think, take in all the *Ideas* that Mankind have generally affixed to the Word *Person*, when understood of a *single Person*. I will shew this first *negatively*, and then *positively*.

1. *Negatively*. An *Army*, a *Senate*, &c. is not a *single Person*, because *divided* into more. The *Trinity*, upon the *Catholick Hypothesis*, is not a single Person, because *distinguished* into more intelligent Agents than one.

2. *Positively*. A *Man* is a single Person by the Definition.

An *Angel* is a single Person by the same.

*Father, Son, or Holy-Ghost*, a single Person by the same.

Any *separate Soul*, a single Person also.

The *θεοάνθρωπος*, or *God-Man*, a single Person: because not divided or distinguished into more intelligent Agents than one, having each of them the *distinctive Characters*.

To clear this Matter a little farther, we must next distinguish Persons into several kinds: As 1. *Divided* and *Undivided*. 2. *Simple* and *Compound*: Which, when explained, will, I hope, set This whole Affair in a true and full Light.

1. As to the Distinction of *divided* and *undivided*; all Persons, but the *three divine Persons*, are divided and separate from each other in Nature, Substance, and Existence. They do not mutually include and imply each other: Therefore They are not only distinct *Subjects, Agents, or Supposita*, but  
distinct

distinct *Substances* also. But the Divine Persons, being *undivided*, and not having any *separate* Existence independent on each other; They cannot be looked upon as *Substances*, but as one *Substance* distinguished into several *Supposita*, or intelligent Agents.

2. As to the other Distinction of *Simple* and *Compound*, it will appear what Reason there is for it. An *Angel*, or a *Soul*, (whether supposed first *pre-existing*, or afterwards *separated*) is a *simple* Person: And so is God the *Father*, or God the *Holy-Ghost*, upon the *Catholick* Scheme. But *Man* is a *compound* Person of *Soul* and *Body*. It is plain, that according to the common Idea of *Person* (which must here be our Rule) the *Body* goes to make up the *Person*: Otherwise we could not say *James*, or *John* is *fat* or *lean*, *low* or *tall*, *healthful* or *sickly*, or the like; such Things belonging to the *Body* only, and yet belonging to the *Person*. If we supposed *John's* *Soul* to have *pre-existed*, it would be a *Person* in that *pre-existent* State as much as after, having all that belongs to the *Definition* of a Person: And by taking a *Body* afterward, the *Soul* does not become *magis Persona*, but *major Persona*. That is, the *Person* is enlarged by the Addition of a *Body*, but still all together is considered but as one Subject with intelligence in it; and all is but one *Peter*, one *John*, one *I*, *He*, or *Thou*, which compleats the Notion of a *single Person*. Let *John* die, the *Body* is no longer Part of the *Person*, but the *Person* goes where the *Intelligence* rests; the *Soul* in this Case becomes, not *minus Persona*, by the Separation, but *minor*.

Our next Example of a *compound* Person, is the *θεὸς ὁ ὤν*, consisting of the *Logos*, the *Soul*, and the *Body*. The *Logos* was a *Person* before the Incarnation, as much as after. But by taking in a *Soul* and *Body*, the *whole* Person then is made up of all *Three*. And thus *Christ* is always represented in

Scripture in the same Manner as any *single Person* is represented; one *I*, one *He*, one *Thou*, whether *He* is spoken of with respect to what he is as the *Logos*, or as having a *Soul*, or a *Body*. The same *Christ made the World*, increased in *Wisdom*, was *pierced* with a *Spear*: In which three *Examples*, it appears that the *Logos*, the *Soul*, and the *Body*, all go to make up the one *Person*, the one *compound Person* of *Christ*. And hence it is, that the *Churches of God*, following the common *Idea* of a *single Person*, which they found to suit with the *Scripture Representation* of *Christ*, have rightly and justly included all the *Three Constituents* in the *one Person*\*.

These are my present *Thoughts* of the *Word Person*, and the *Ideas* contained in it. If any *Man* has any *Thing* to object to it, I shall be willing either more fully to explain, or else to alter the *Notion*, as I see *Reason* for it. You will perceive that *intelligent acting Substance* is implied in every *Person*; And more *Persons* are more *intelligent Substances*, whenever their *Substance* is *divided*, but not otherwise: And *Two intelligent Substances* are *Two Persons*, where *Both* have existed *Separately*, or have been severally capable of the *distinctive Characters*, but not otherwise. You will also perceive, that *intelligent acting Substance* (that is *intelligent Agent*, as you call it) is not equivalent to *Person*, neither are the *Phrases* reciprocal. But to *intelligent Agent*, add, its *not being divided*, nor *distinguished* into more *intelligent Agents* having the same *distinctive Characters*; and then, as I conceive, you complete the *Notion* of *Person*, according as it has commonly pass'd with *Mankind*. I suppose not any of the *Divine Persons* a *Person* in a *different Sense*

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\* Videmus duplicem Statum, non confusum sed conjunctum in Una Persona, Deum & Hominem Jesum. Tertull. contr. Prx. c. 27. τὸ θεῶν λόγος ἐνάσει, τῆ κατ' ὑπόστασιν φυσικῆ ἐκείνου τῆ σαρκί, &c. Irenæi Fragm. p. 347. Bened.

of the Word *Person* : They are *Persons* in the same common Sense of *Person* ; but *Persons* of a *different kind*, and differently circumstantiated from what *Human*, or *Angelical*, or any other kinds of *Persons* are. Thus *Person*, like *Triangle*, appears to be the Name for an *Abstract Idea* : And the *Name* is equally applicable to *every kind* of *Person*, as the Name of *Triangle* is to every kind of *Triangle*.



### QUERY XVI.

*Whether by these (of the first Column) and the like Texts, Adoration and Worship be not so appropriated to the One God, as to belong to Him only ?*

#### Divine Worship due

To the One God.

*Thou shalt have no other Gods before me,*  
Exod. xx. 3.

*Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve,*  
Mat. iv. 10.

To Christ.

*They worshipped Him,*  
Luke xxiv. 25. *Let all the Angels of God worship Him,*  
Heb. i. 6.

*That all Men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father,*  
John v. 23.

**U**NDER This Query I fully proved, in my *Defense*, that, according to *Scripture* and *Antiquity*, Adoration is due to *God alone*, in opposition to all *Creature-worship* whatever. You enter very little, if at all, into the Particulars of the Evidence which I produced: But you form two Objections against the Thing in general, leaving me the Part of

a *Respondent*, instead of undertaking it your self, as was proper in answer to *Queries*. Your Two Objections are These: 1. That if my Arguments prove any thing, they prove too much, *viz.* That Christ is the very Father Himself. 2. That They again prove too much in disallowing all *mediatorial Worship*; which, you think, is plainly warranted by Scripture, and Antiquity.

1. As to your first Pretence, it is founded only on the *personal* Characters, *I, Thou, He*; seemingly excluding all Persons but one. To which it is answered, that there is no Necessity arising from any pretended Force of the *exclusive* Terms, for excluding all other Persons\*: But there is a Necessity, from the very *End* and *Design* of the Law, for excluding all *other Gods*; and from the whole tenour of Scripture, for excluding all *Creatures*: So that my Argument proves what I intended to prove, and no more. And why have you not answered, after you have been so often called upon, the Reasons I had offered, in my *Defense*, and *Preface* to my *Sermons*, against the receiving *inferior Gods* to any Degree of *religious Worship*? Surely, it should be your Business to *respond* sometimes, especially in reply to *Queries*, and not merely to *oppose*.

2. As to your second Pretence, about *Mediatorial Worship*, first borrowed from *Pagans*, handed on by *Arians*, and brought to our own Times by *Papists*; I shall give it a large and distinct Answer presently. You have for some time (I mean you, and your Friends) amused unthinking Persons with a Phrase, never yet *distinctly* explained by you, but serving to delude such as can be content with *Sounds*, instead of *Sense*. I shall endeavour to search This Matter to the Bottom, once for all; And then show how easy it is to unravel your Speculations, on this Head.

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\* See my 4<sup>th</sup> Sermon.



By *Mediatorial Worship*, you intend some kind of Worship, to be paid to Christ; such as you have been pleased to invent for Him, rather than none. I do not find that you have secured Any worship at all to the *Holy-Ghost*, (who is no *Mediator*) tho' all Antiquity has paid Him worship. But you are so confused and undeterminate in your Account of *mediatorial Worship*, that it is not easy to discover what you precisely mean by it; Or perhaps you yourself do not yet know what you intend. There are but Two general Senses, so far as I conceive, to be put upon it; tho' These again are divided into many *particular* ones. The Two I speak of, are either, 1. The making Christ the *Medium* of worship; or, 2. The worshipping Him under the Character of a *Mediator*. We must examine Both These:

1. A *Medium of Worship* is a Phrase of some Latitute and Ambiguity. It must be explained by Instances, and Examples; that considering all Cases which can well be thought of, we may at last hit upon what you mean by *mediatorial* worship. An *Image* has been sometimes thought a *Medium* of Worship, when God is supposed to be worshipped by, and *through* an Image; as in the Instance of the *Molten Calf*, and in the Golden Calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*. Such *mediatorial* Worship as This, leaves very little Honour to the *Medium*: All is supposed to pass thro', to the ultimate Object. Thus the *Egyptians*, in worshipping the sacred Animals, supposed the worship to pass to the *Prototype*, to the Deity whereunto the Animals belonged. This, I presume, is not your Notion of *mediatorial* Worship: If it be, it is low indeed.

There may be a *second* Sense of making a *Medium* of worship: As, if we were to pray to Christ, to pray for us. This is near akin to the *Romish* Doctrine of praying to *Saints*, and *Angels*. If This be what you mean by *mediatorial* Worship, your Opinion of Christ may still be very low, as of one

that gives us nothing Himself, but only asks Another to give us. But, besides that there is no warrant for praying to any thing less than *God*, and so such a Practise must be wholly unjustifiable; I conceive that This is not what you mean by *mediatorial Worship*, it being so extremely low and dishonourable to suppose that He can Himself do nothing for us, especially having declared the contrary, *John* xiv. 13, 14.

There is a *third* Sense of a *Medium* of Worship: As if we ask the Father any thing by, and thro' the *Merits* of *Jesus Christ*. If This be what you mean by *mediatorial* Worship, I am afraid it will amount to no worship at all upon your Principles. You will not say that the *same* *Worship* is therein paid to Both: And unless you say That, you leave no worship at all for God the Son, in such Addressees, or Applications.

There may be a *fourth* Consideration of a *Medium* of worship, supposing Christ to be directly worshipped, but *to the Glory of the Father*: the Father being imagined to be glorified thro' Christ as thro' a *Medium*. Now here I must ask, Whether the worship supposed to be paid to Christ be *supreme*, or *inferior*? You will not say *supreme*: And if it be *inferior*, it cannot be presumed to pass on to the *supreme* Object, who would not be honoured but affronted with *inferior* Worship. It must therefore rest in the inferior Object, and so cannot be called *mediate*, but *ultimate* worship. I must add, that no worship of a *Creature* can terminate in the *Creator*, or be for his *Glory*, because He has absolutely forbidden all *Creature-worship*: And therefore, again, such worship as we are now supposing cannot be *mediate*, but *ultimate*, terminating where it is offered.

Indeed, the Scripture never makes any Difference between *directing* and *terminating* worship; but supposes it always to terminate in the Object to which it is directed, or offered. God interprets all *Image-worship*,

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or

or *Creature-worship*, as terminating in the *Image*, or *Creature*, to which it is offered. When the *Israelites* worshipped the *Calf*, they offered *Sacrifice* to an *Idol*, not to *God*; and They worshipped the *molten Image*, not *God*, in doing it; however They might intend, and mean it (as They certainly did) for the *Jehovah*. They are said to have forgot *God* their *Saviour*, (Psal. cvi. 21.) Notwithstanding their *Intention* to remember Him in it; because it was not remembering Him in a manner suitable to his *Commandment*, which was to offer worship to *God* only. So also *Jeroboam* is said to have made *other Gods*, and to have cast *God* behind his back, (1 Kings xiv. 9. 2 Chr. xiii. 11.) notwithstanding his *Intention* to terminate all the worship in the true *Jehovah*. I may add, that when *St. John* was preparing to offer worship to an *Angel*, (whether out of a sudden *Transport*, or not then knowing that it was a meer *Angel*) no doubt but He designed the *Glory* of *God*, and to terminate all worship there: And yet it is observable, that the *Angel*, notwithstanding, bad Him worship *God*; intimating, that it is not worshipping of *God*, unless the worship be directly offered to *God*. *Dr. Clarke* \* has a *Fancy*, that the *Idolatry* of such as worshipped the true *God* through *Mediums* of their own inventing, lay only in their making *Idol-mediators*, such as *God* had not allowed them to have. But This *Notion* is very peculiar, and has no *Foundation* in *Scripture*, or *Antiquity*. To pay religious worship to any thing is, in *Scripture* style, making a *God* of it. This is true, even of what is called *mediate*, or *relative* worship; as I have before instanced in the *Case* of the *golden Calf*, and the *Calves* of *Dan* and *Bethel*. And *Laban's* *Teraphims*, or *Images*, which were supposed to be no more than

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\* *Clarke's* *Script. Doctr.* p. 344. Ed. 2<sup>d</sup>.

*Symbols, or Mediums of the Worship of the Jehovah,* (for *Laban* worshipped, as some believe, the true God \*) are called *Gods* †; because worship was offered directly to them, instead of being offered immediately to God. To make any Medium of worship was setting up *other Gods*, not *other Mediators*; *strange Gods*, not *strange Mediators*; it was robbing God, not any *Mediator*, of his Honour; and making an *Idol-god*, not an *Idol-mediator*. The Idolaters are never charged with mistaking the *Medium*, but mistaking the *Object*; not with having false Mediators, but *false Gods*; not for worshipping those that were not *Mediators by Office*, but Those that *by Nature* were *no Gods*; for worshipping the *Creature*, not instead of the *Mediator*, but instead of the *Creator, who is blessed for ever*. Such is the constant Language both of Old and New Testament, which never fix the Charge upon the setting up false *Mediators*, or *Mediums* of worship; nor ever insert any Caution against it: So weak and groundless is the Doctor's Notion of *Idol-mediators*. What Then is the result, you'll ask, of this Reasoning? Does not the worship of Christ terminate in the Glory of God the Father? Admit that it does so: Then certainly the worship of Christ is not *Creature-worship*. For, since all worship terminates in the Object to which it is directed, or offered, if the same Act of worship, offered to Christ, terminates in God the Father; then the Case is plain that it terminates in *Both*, and *Both* are one undivided Object. Having considered the several Senses of a *Medium* of worship, and shown that none of them will answer your purpose. I come now,

2. To consider the worship of Christ under the Character of a *Mediator*, and to see what Sense we can

\* Gen. xxxi. 49, 53.

† Gen. xxxi. 30. Josh. xxiv. 2.

make of *Mediatorial worship* under That view. A *Mediator* may be considered two ways, according to the Antients, a *Mediator by Nature*, and *Mediator by Office*. The first and principal Sense of a *Mediator* (μεσίτης) between God and Man, is a Person partaking of the *Nature* of Both, perfect *God* and perfect *Man*. In This Sense, principally, the antient Christians constantly understood Christ to be a *Mediator*. So *Irenæus*, *Melito*, *Clemens*, *Hippolytus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Novatian*, and others of the *Ante-nicenes*; whose Testimonies I have placed in the Margin \*. As to *Post-nicenes*, since no doubt can be made of them, I content my self with refer-

\* Εἰ μὴ συνήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ θεῷ ἐκ ἀν ἡδυήθη μετασχεῖν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας. ἔδει γὰρ μεσίτην θεῷ τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, διὰ τῆς ἰδίας πρὸς ἑκατέρης οἰκειότητος εἰς φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τὰς ἀμφοτέρας συναγαγεῖν. *Iren. p. 211. Ed. Bened.*

Θεὸς γὰρ ἀν, ὁμῶς τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος τέλει, ὁ αὐτὸς τὰς δύο αὐτῷ ἐστίς ἐπιώσατο ἡμῖν. *Melito, Cav. H. L. vol. 2. p. 33.*

Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος θεός. καὶ τὸ θελημα τῷ πατρὸς ὁ μεσίτης ἐκτελεῖ. μεσίτης γὰρ ὁ λόγος ὁ κοινὸς ἀμφοῖν· θεοῦ μὲν υἱός, σωτὴρ δὲ ἀνθρώπων. *Clem. Alex. p. 251.*

ἵνα δὲ δευτέρῃ τὸ συναμφοτέρον ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν τε τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίαν καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει, μεσίτην θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἡμεῖς Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς. ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἔγινετο ἀλλὰ δύο. ἔδει οὖν τὸν χριστὸν θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, μεσίτην γενόμενον παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀρραβανῶν τινα εἰληφέναι, ἵνα φανῇ δύο προσώπων μεσίτης. *Hippol. vol. 2. p. 45.*

Hic sequester Dei atque Hominum appellatus; ex utriusque Partis deposito commissio sibi. In another place, *utriusque Substantia*. *Tertull. de Resur. Car. c. 51. contr. Prax. c. 28.*

Deus cum Homine miscetur. Hic Deus, Hic Christus est, qui Mediator duorum, Hominem induit quem perducatur ad Patrem. *Cypr. de Idol. Van. p. 15.*

Quoniam si ad Hominem veniebat; ut Mediator Dei & Hominum esse deberet, oportuit illum cum eo esse, & Verbum Carnem fieri; ut in semetipso Concordiam confibularet terrenorum pariter atque Cælestium: Dum utriusque partis in se connectens pignora, & Deum Homini & Hominem Deo copularet. *Novat. c. 18.*

Mediam inter Deum & Hominem substantiam gerens ——— Deum fuisse & Hominem, ex utroque genere permistum. *Lactant. l. 4. c. 13.*

ring to *Petavius*, who has collected their Testimonies †.

Now, if you would but please to understand *Mediatorial worship* conformably to this true, and antient Sense of *Mediator*; we might not perhaps despair of coming to some Terms of Agreement. For, *Mediatorial* Worship, thus understood, would nearly coincide with what we call *divine*. It would be worshipping Christ because, with the human Nature, He is possessed also of the *divine*, and is therefore strictly and properly *adorable*, as well as the Father.

But *Mediator* may be considered also in respect of *Office*, without considering the *Nature* at all: And This, I presume, is the Sense you contend for. Accordingly, for the most part, by *Mediatorial worship*, you seem to intend some *inferior* kind of worship payable to our *Lord* considered as *mediating*, or as executing the *Office* of a Mediator between God and Man. Now, we must confess that Christ is really Mediator by *Office*, as well as by *Nature*: But how this can ever justify you in making a *new*, and an *inferior* worship, and calling it *mediatorial*, we understand not. Fanciful Men will have their Peculiarities: And it is a wonder to me, you have not yet invented twenty several kinds of worship, *superior* and *inferior*, for God the *Father*. For the purpose; you may consider Him as *King*, and so you may present Him with *Regal* worship; or as *King of Kings*, and then it will be *Super-regal*. You may consider Him as *Judge*, your particular *Judge*, and so present Him with *judicial* worship: But if you consider Him farther as judge of *all Men*, nay, and as judge of *Angels*, or of the whole System of Creatures, the worship will be then most highly, and superlatively *judicial*. You may next consider Him as *creator*, ποιητής, without an *Article*, and then you are to present Him (pardon the Novelty of the Phrase) with *creatorial*

† Dogm. Th. Tom. 5. Part 2.

worship: But if you consider Him farther as *The Creator*,  $\delta \text{ ποιητής}$ , with an *Article*, the worship then becomes eminently *creatorial*. You may next consider Him as *Protector*, as *Deliverer*, or *Defender*, and each of These in a higher, or a lower Sense: And hence may arise as many *several worships*. Nay, when your Hand is in, every *Attribute* you consider Him under, will be a distinct Foundation of a *particular worship*: And so you will have *worships* innumerable, to pay to one and the same Person. But you will say, that These *many worships* are all but one worship of the One *divine* Father under variety of Conceptions. Right: And so, tho' the Son be considered as *Mediator*, as *Judge*, as *Creator*, as *King*, &c. in our worship of Him, These are all but one worship of the one *divine* Son, under variety of Conceptions. The worship then both of Father and Son centring in This, that They are Both *divine*, This makes it *divine* worship: And *divine* worship being one with it self, it is very manifest that the worship of Both is *One*.

Aye but, says the learned \* Doctor, *There is an Adoration due to Christ as Mediator, which cannot possibly be paid to the one supreme God*; supreme Father He means. And what is there in This, more than an affected manner of expressing what every body allows, that Father and Son have distinct personal *Characters*, and *Offices*? He need not have gone thus round about: The shorter way would have been to divide Adoration into two sorts, *Paternal* and *Filial*; and to plead that one of These *worships* can never be paid to the *Son*, any more than the other to the *Father*, because the Son must never be considered as *Father*, nor the Father as *Son*. But had the Doctor remembered that *Both* may be considered as *divine*, and that *divine*

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\* See Clarke's Script. Doctr. p. 343. 2<sup>d</sup> Ed.  
Modest Plea, &c. *continued*, p. 33.

worship is but one, He might have perceived that there is no foundation for the *Two worships* which He is introducing: Unless He has a mind to bring in a Hundred worships as well as Two; which may be easily done in the way He has taken. The Truth of the Case is this: Worship has an immediate respect to the *Divinity* of the Person to be worshipped. That must be presupposed in all *religious* worship: Otherwise such worship is *Idolatry*; as hath been proved. This Foundation being laid, whatever *personal* Characters, or Offices we consider the Person worshipped under; *Divine* goes along with all: It is a *divine* Mediator, a *divine* Priest, a *divine* Prophet, a *divine* King: And so our worship of Him never wants its proper Object, never moves from its proper Foundation, but remains constantly the same. Our considering the Son under the Character, or Office of *Mediator*, does not hinder us from considering Him as *God* at the same Time; (indeed *Mediator*, in strictness, implies it) any more than our considering the Father as *King*, *Judge*, *Preserver*, or *Rewarder*, hinders us from considering Him also as *divine*.

All the Acts and Offices of Christ, relative to us, are only so many manifestations of his Goodness, Power, Wisdom, and other *Attributes*, which Attributes are founded in his *divine* Nature, which Nature is *common* to the Father and Him: Thus all our Acknowledgments center and terminate in one and the same *divine Nature*; and all the particular *worships* amount to no more than *one worship*, one *divine* worship belonging equally to Both.

Having thus far cleared my way, I may now proceed to examine what you have done under This Query. But I should first observe to the Reader, what you have *not done*; that He may be the more fully apprized of your manner of Disputation: which is to answer Difficulties, by slipping them over without notice.



I urged the great Design of the *Law*, and of the *Gospel*, to exclude *inferior*, as well as other *supreme* Deities: You take no notice. I urged, that even *Miracles* could not suffice for the introducing *Another God*: You are profoundly silent. I pleaded, that the *Reasons* of worship which God insists upon, are such as exclude all *Creatures*: Not a Word do you give in answer. I showed, (p. 238.) that Any Man, with your distinction of *sovereign* and *inferior* worship, might have eluded every Law about *sacrificing* to the true God only: You have nothing to say to it. I pleaded the impropriety of *absolute* and *relative* Sacrifice\*, Vows, Oaths, &c. Not a Syllable do you reply. I pleaded several Texts of Scripture, and several Examples against *Creature-worship*, and against your Distinction made from the *Intention* of the worshipper: All is pass'd over. I farther pressed you with the Practice and Principles of the primitive *Martyrs*; of which you take no Notice. You have indeed something to *oppose* in favour of the other side of the Question: But is it *my* Business only, to answer Objections? I thought you had undertook to answer *Queries*; to *clear* something, and not to be always in the way of *puzzling*. But let us see however what you have in the way of *Objection*. I have answered your two principal Pleas already: I am now to seek for some of the slighter Pretences. You find fault with me (p. 357.) for making the *Nature* of God, not the *Person*, the object of wor-

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\* *Sacrifice*, without distinction of absolute and relative, supreme and inferior, the outward Act of sacrificing, was always looked upon as *appropriate* to God. Now, *Prayers* were of the same import with Sacrifice, in the primitive Church, and esteemed by Them as the purest and best Sacrifices.

See Just. Mart. Dial. p. 340. Jeb.

Irenæus, l. 4. c. 17. p. 249.

Clem. Alex. p. 848.

Tertull. ad Scap. c. 2.

ship. But, what if I make *Three Persons* the object (which is the Truth of the Case) on account of their *divine Nature*? Is there any thing more absurd in This, than in your making *One Person*, on account of his Perfections, that is of his *Nature*? And where is the Difference between You and Me, but that you worship *individual living Substance* which You confine to *One Person*; and I, *individual living Substance*, which I suppose *common* to more Persons? You the τὸ θεῖον in one Person; I the τὸ θεῖον in more than one?

You say, *the Texts of the Old Testament relate not to an indefinite Person, but definitely to the Person of the Father*. Yet many of them (in the judgment of all Antiquity) relate to the Person of the Son, as we have seen before: And that none of them are ever meant *indefinitely*, is what you can never prove\*. However, if you could, you would still be far from proving your Point. For, supposing *God*, or *Jehovah*, to be always taken *personally*, sometimes denoting the *Person of the Son*, abstracting from the Consideration of the Father, and sometimes denoting the *Person of the Father*, abstracting from the Consideration of the Son; it might still be nevertheless true that *Jehovah* is One, both Father and Son.

You attempt, (p. 360.) to prove that the worship of the Son is *subordinate, mediate, relative*. You quote *Heb. i. 6.* and infer that the Angels are to worship Him, *not as supreme, but by the command of the Father*. Wonderful! that if the Father has ever *commanded* any one to worship Himself (as He often has) his worship therefore is not *supreme*. Has not our Saviour *commanded* us to worship the *Father*; is his worship therefore not *supreme*? Sure, Arguments must run very low with you, or you would not trifle at this rate. As to *Heb. i. 9.* I have answered it above: And

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\* See my Sermons, p. 144, &c.

as to *John* v. 23. Christ is not worshipped because God committed Judgment to Him: But God committed it to Him for this End and Purpose, that Men might be sensible of the Dignity and *Divinity* of his Person, and thereupon worship Him. The Prophecy of *Daniel*, (Chap. vii. 13.) speaks of a *Kingdom*, and a *Dominion*, in a particular Sense; as *1 Cor.* xv. speaks of a Kingdom to be received by the Father: This is all *Oeconomical*, and makes nothing for your purpose. But your Argument is calculated for the *Socinian* Hypothesis, rather than the *Arian*. The antient *Arians* would have condemned such Men as you, for their low Thoughts of our Saviour. They did not worship Him meerly as having a *Judgment*, or a *Kingdom* committed to Him, but as being *Creator* \*. You throw together, (p. 361, 362.) a multitude of Texts, proving only that Christ is *Mediator*. Does any Christian doubt of it? There is not a Syllable about *absolute* and *relative*, *sovereign* and *inferior* Prayer: Which is what you was to show. A Mediator may be a *divine* Mediator notwithstanding: And so all your Pretences vanish into Air. And what if it be said, (*Rev.* v. 9, 12.) *Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive Power, and Riches, and Wisdom, and Strength, and Honour, and Glory*: And if it be said, *unto Him that loved us, and washed us, &c. be Glory and Dominion*, *Rev.* i. 5, 6. What are we to learn from thence? Here is nothing said of the *Foundation* of worship: But the Person is described under his proper and peculiar Characters, and such as may recommend Him to our *Affections*. Not a word is there of *Mediatorial* worship, or of any Thing like it. And if his being *God*, or *God supreme*, be not assigned as the Reason for worshipping Him, doth it therefore follow that He is not to be worshipped as *God supreme*? By the same

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\* Christum Colimus ut Creatorem. Serm. Arian, ap. Augustin. p. 623. Maximin. ap. August. p. 663.

Argument, you might as well prove that neither is the Father to be worshipped as *Supreme God*. We find it said, (Eph. iii. 20, 21.) *Unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the Power that worketh in us; unto Him be Glory in the Church by Christ Jesus, &c.* The Reason here assigned for worshipping the Father, is not his being *supreme God*, but only his being *able to do more than we can ask, or Think*. So again in the Book of Revelations (Ch. xix. 1, 2.) *Salvation, and Glory, and Honour, and Power unto the Lord our God; for true and righteous are his Judgments, &c.* Here the Reason assigned is not his being *supreme God*, but his being *true and righteous*. Again, in Chapter the iv<sup>th</sup>, Verse the 11<sup>th</sup>, *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive Glory, and Honour, and Power: For Thou hast created all Things, and for thy Pleasure They are, and were created.* Here the Reason assigned for worshipping the Father, is not that He is *supreme God*, but that He *created all Things for his Pleasure*: Which Reason, tho' not expressly applied in This manner to God the Son, is yet equally applicable in Virtue of *Heb. i. 10.* and *Col. i. 16.* I own that *supreme God* is implied in this last Title of *Creator*: Which however is equally true, either of Father or Son. I observed in my *Sermons*\*, how frequent it is for the Father Himself to insist upon what He had done for Men; claiming their Worship upon Those moving Reasons, or *Motives*: And what Wonder is it, if some much greater, and more endearing Works of God the Son be mentioned as *Motives* to our Worship of Him? The *Foundation* still of Worship stands as before; which is wholly to be resolved into the infinite Excellency and *Divinity* of his Person †. You pretend to say, that *the Worship*

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\* *Sermons*, p. 176, 177.

† See the Preface to my *Sermons*, p. 47, 48.

of the Father is founded principally in his *supreme, independent, underived Power, &c.* If you mean any Thing contrary to Me, you mean, on his *Self-existence*, or being *unbegotten*, as distinct from *Necessary-existence*. Show me one Text of *Scripture* for it, at your leisure. You do not pretend any: But you speak of *all Antiquity*; not knowing what you say, nor whereof you affirm. You should have shown me who, and what *Antients* ever founded his Worship in his being *Father*, or *unbegotten*; and not in his being *God*.

After abundance of trifling, you come at length to make some Reply to what I had urged from *Antiquity*\*: Only you first take notice of my charging you † with *slipping over a Difficulty*, by putting *Honour*, an ambiguous Word, instead of *Worship* and *Adoration*. The Reason I had for it, is, that *Worship*, and *Adoration* stand for *exterior Acts*; whereas *Honour* may stand for either *interior* or *exterior*, and is therefore more ambiguous. *Exterior Acts* have their Signification fixed and determined by Circumstances, and do not depend upon the *Intention* of the Mind to make their Signification *higher* and *lower*; as *mental Honour* does. This therefore was the Reason of my blaming you for changing *Worship* into *Honour*. The Difference of these Two is easily seen in This Instance: *Equality*, or *Inequality* of Honour are proper Expressions: But *Equality* or *Inequality* of *Sacrifice* (an outward Act) is very improper. Now, our Dispute was about *outward Acts*. The Foundation I went upon was This; that in order to have God's Authority and superlative Excellency owned, there should be some *outward visible Acts*, which we call *Worship*, appropriated to God, to put a *visible* Difference between *God* and the *Creature*. For, herein lies the *Manifestation* of that inward Sense we have of his superlative Excellencies and

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\* *Defense*, p. 248, &c.

† *Defense*, p. 235, 252.

Perfections: And the confounding This Difference, by applying these peculiar and *appropriated* Acts to any *Creature*, is the great Sin of *Idolatry*. The inward *Intention* is of no Moment in this Case: For, if the *outward Acts* be the same, how then shall God be *outwardly* distinguished (as He ought to be) in the Honours paid to Him, above the Creatures? This Consideration is alone sufficient to cut off every Plea and Pretence for offering *Religious Worship* to any but God. You have first a Distinction of *Supreme* and *Inferior*, of *ultimate* and *mediate Worship*: But That is utterly unserviceable, because it would not so much as exclude the Worship even of *Pagan Deities* (if considered as *inferior*) along with the true God. You may next say, that Worship should not be paid to any inferior Gods that stand in *Opposition* to the true and supreme God: And yet neither will This Restriction sufficiently answer the Purpose; since it does not exclude the Worship of *Saints*, or *Angels*, Friends of God, and not *opposite* to Him. You may retreat to a farther Restriction, that even *inferior* religious Worship must be paid to none but such as God has *nominated*, and allowed to be worshipped: Which, you may think, will effectually exclude all but *Christ*. But after you have thus far followed your own Inventions, in your several Restrictions, and Qualifyings of an *absolute* Command; there is still this invincible Reason against them all, that, whereas there ought to be some peculiar *outward Acts* (as *Sacrifice* was formerly) *appropriated* to God, as *exterior* Acknowledgments of his infinite Excellencies and Perfections above his *Creatures*; by these Restrictions and Limitations, all such *Peculiarity* of exterior Acknowledgments is taken away, and it is made impossible even for God Himself to prescribe any. Now you see why I found Fault; and that I had some Reason for it. But you ask me, *why then did I found Christ's Worship upon John 5. 23.* which speaks only of *Honour*? The Reason is plain:

plain: If I am to honour the Son, even as I honour the Father; I must signify it by the same outward Expressions, that is by *Worship*. The Text then is very much to my Purpose; tho' Honour and *Worship* are not the same Thing, but differing as the *internal Thought* and the *outward Manifestation*. Now let us come to the *Antients*, upon This Head of *Worship*.

I showed, by plain Testimonies, what their Doctrine was; *viz.* to worship God alone, the Creator, in Opposition to the Creature. You take no Notice of the last Particular; because it was very *material*, and pressed hard upon your Scheme. But you observe, by the *alone God* is evidently meant *The God and Father of all*. I am persuaded you, in the main, are right in your Observation: And now the Question will be, whether when They proposed the Father as the *only God*, they intended it in Opposition only to *false Gods*, and *Creature-Gods*, admitting a Latitude in the *exclusive Terms*; or whether They intended any Distinction of *Worship*, making it *supreme and inferior, absolute and relative, ultimate and mediate*. This is a Question which will admit of an easy, and a certain Decision, upon a due Consideration of Circumstances. There are but two Ways of making This Matter out: Either by admitting some Latitude in the *exclusive Terms*, so that the Father shall be understood to be the *only God* in Opposition to *Creatures* and *false Gods*: Or by admitting some Distinction and Degrees of *Worship*, that *supreme Worship* may be due to the Father as the highest God, and *inferior* to the Son as an *inferior Deity*. Now This, I say, will be easily decided. If, when the *Antients* speak of worshipping *one God*, the Father, They either say, that He alone is to be *Sovereignly*, or *absolutely* worshipped; Or if They found his Title to worship upon his being *Father*, or *unbegotten*, rather than upon his being *God*; Or if They admit any *inferior God*, or Any *other God* besides the Father;

C c

then

then you will have something to plead from the *Antients* for your Opinion. But, on the other Hand, if They never mention *two Worships*, or *two Gods*; if They mean, when They speak of Worship as due to *God alone*, not *sovereign* Worship only, but all *religious* Worship; if They suppose the Son not to be *another God*, but *one God* with the Father; and if They intimate their Intention to be to exclude *Creatures*, or *false Gods*, not *God the Son*; then the Case will be manifest, that They used the *exclusive Terms*, not with utmost Strictness, but with a proper Latitude; and This will be the true Way of interpreting the *Antients*. That This latter is really the Case, is evident to every Man that is at all conversant with the *Antients*: And He that thinks otherwise must either never have read them, or have read them with very little Judgment. Their Way was to speak of the *One God* in Opposition to all false Deities; and by the *One God* They meant principally the *Father*, as *first* in Conception, and *first* in Order; but always with a Reserve for the *Son* and *Holy-Ghost*, reckoned to Him, and included in Him: So that the *Father* considered with what *naturally* belonged to Him, was the *One God* of the Christians in Opposition to all *Other* Deities. This is so clearly and so evidently the current and prevailing Notion of the *Antients*, that I scruple not to say, that They who see not This, see nothing. I shall briefly consider the Testimonies I before gave, and then conclude This Article.

*Justin Martyr* says, *God alone is to be worshipped* \*. He does not say *sovereignly*, or *absolutely*, but barely *worshipped*: Neither does He say, worship Him alone as *supreme God*, to insinuate any *inferior God*: And therefore it is evident that *Justin*

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\* Θεόν μὲν μόνον προσκυνῶμεν. Apol. 1. c. 23. Τὸν Θεὸν μόνον δεῖ προσκυνῆναι. c. 21.



was not in your Scheme of *two Gods*, and two *Worshippings*, but in mine of *one God* and *one Worship*; considering the Father *primarily* as the *one God*, not exclusive of the Son.

*Athenagoras* ||| lays the Stress upon worshipping the *Creator*, in Opposition to *Creatures*: So that it is plain He was in my Principles, not yours: Besides that He says nothing of *sovereign* and *inferior* Worship.

*Theophilus*\* speaks of *Worship* simply, not *sovereign* Worship, as due to *God* alone: And the Reason He gives why the King is not to be worshipped is not because he is not *underived*, or *unbegotten*, but because he is not *God*.

*Tatian*† denies *Worship* (not *sovereign* Worship only) to the *Creatures*.

*Tertullian*‡ is express against any *inferior* Worship, any *Worship* at all but to the *one God*; in which *one God*, as every Body knows, He includes all the three Persons.

*Clemens Alexandrinus*|| has not a Word that looks favorable to the Distinction of *Supreme* and *inferior* Worship; but He confines all *Worship* to the *Creator*, excluding all *Creatures* from it, making no *Medium* between *Creator* and *Creature*.

||| Οὐ τῆτον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τεχνίτην αὐτῷ προσκυνῆσαν. Athen. p. 55. ἡ τὰς δυνάμεις προσκύνειν θεραπεύμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ποιητὴν αὐτῶν καὶ δεσπότην. p. 56.

\* Διὰ τί ἔ προσκυνῆς τὸν βασιλέα; ὅτι ἐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνῆσθαι γέγονε θεὸς ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος, &c. Theoph. p. 30. ἐκ ἄλλου ἔξεν ἔστι προσκυνῆσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ μόνου θεοῦ. Theoph. p. 33.

† Δημιουργὸν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ γεγεννημένην χερσὶν ἡμῶν προσκυνεῖν οὐ θέλω. Tatian. p. 18. σέβειν δὲ τῶν σαρκείων τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔτ' ἂν πειθεῖσθαι, &c. p. 79.

‡ Quod colimus Deus unus est. Tertull. Apol. c. 17. Præscribitur mihi ne quem *Alium* Deum dicam, ne quem *Alium* adorem, aut *quoquo* *Modo* venerer, præter unicum illum qui ita mandat. Scorpiace. c. 4. confer Prax. c. 31. Orat. c. 2. *cum* *nois* *Albaspinaxi*.

|| See the Passages in my *Defense*, p. 249. Comp. p. 257.

*Irenæus* \* speaks of *adoring* or *worshipping*; but not a word of *Sovereign*, or *absolute* Adoration: And it is reason sufficient with Him against the worship of Any thing; that it is a *Creature*: which you take no notice of.

*Origen* † also is express against the worship of any *Creature*; which you observe not, tho' before hinted. Neither does He speak of *supreme* worship, but *all* worship, when He confines it to the *Creator*, to the *divine Nature*, τὸ Θεῖον, to the eternal and *un-created Nature* of God. You pretend, that τὸ Θεῖον is a figurative way of speaking for ὁ Θεός, like the *King's Majesty* for *The King*, p. 356. But I affirm, on the contrary, (which is sufficient against your bare Affirmation) that it generally, if not always, signifies the *divine Nature*, or *Substance* ‡, considered as the *Subject* of divine Perfections.

As to *Origen* in particular, in his Piece against *Celsus*, I know not that He any where uses the Phrase of τὸ Θεῖον, but where it either must, or may bear the Sense I contend for. See p. 158, 159, 226, 321, 374, 375, 376, 377, 392. And, I think, if what *Origen* has in Page 342, be well considered, it may suffice to determine the Dispute about the Sense of τὸ Θεῖον in Him. For there He plainly uses

\* Dominum Deum tuum adorare oportet & ipsi soli servire, & non credere ei qui falso promisit ea quæ non sunt sua; *Hæc omnia tibi dabo, si procidens adoraveris me.* Neque enim *Conditio* sub ejus *Potestate* est, quandoquidem & ipse unus de *creaturis* est. *Iren.* p. 320.

† See the *Passages* collected in my *Defense*, p. 250, 251.

‡ The Reader may see several plain Examples in *Gregory Nyss.* *contr. Eunom.* It is not worth the while to search or cite many Authorities for a known Thing, which no body conversant in the *Greek Fathers* can doubt of.

*Greg. Nyss.* p. 89, 92, 93, 145, 147, 161, 162, 165, 166, 167, 168, 179, 180, 181, 191, 203, 264, 281, 291, 294, 301, 302, 303, 319, 327, 329, 412, 427. — 448, 451, 453, 457, 471.

τι Θεῖον to denote That which is *divine* in our Lord, (as distinguished from his *human* Nature) viz. The *Only-begotten of God*; intimating that his *Substance* is very different in that respect: Ἄλλ᾽ ὁ περὶ τούτου, καὶ τῆς ἰσότητος αὐτοῦ, λόγῳ ἐστὶν, παρὰ τὸν περὶ τῶν νοουμένων κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνθρώπου. And He afterwards gives the Name of τὸ Θεῖον, to That very *Divinity*, or *divine Nature*, which He supposes in our Lord together with the *Manhood*\*.

The like may be said of *Clemens's* use of the Phrase, who likewise includes the Son in the τὸ Θεῖον †, as observed above §. Other Places ‡ of *Clemens*, where the Phrase is also used, may be compared at leisure. Τὸ Θεῖον, and ὁ Θεός may sometimes indifferently stand for each other: But a judicious Reader may often observe τὸ Θεῖον to be used where ὁ Θεός would be very improper, and so *vice versa*. God considered *substantially*, as *Res divina*, is the proper Notion of τὸ Θεῖον, and not considered according to *personal* Characters, Acts, or Offices. It would be improper to say, for instance, that the τὸ Θεῖον begat, or sent his Son, or did Acts of *Mercy*, or the like. I need not give more Instances: An intelligent Reader will easily perceive, from the Circumstances, where τὸ Θεῖον is the more proper Phrase, and where ὁ Θεός. To return to *Origen*.

You translate ἀγένητον φύσιν in *Origen* ||, *unoriginate Nature*, instead of *uncreated Nature*: Which is the constant Sense of ἀγένητον in That Treatise of *Origen*, opposed to γενητόν, a Name for *created, mutable, and perishing Things*. You have no Instance in all Catho-

\* Τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ταῦτον καθὸ μὲν γενήσεται θεότητι ἐν αὐτῷ πραχθέντα, ἐστὶν ὅσια, καὶ ἔμαχόμενα τῇ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνόια. *Orig.*

P. 342.

† *Clem. Alex.* p. 452.

§ *Query* VIII.

‡ *Clem. Alex.* p. 50, 52, 58, 113, 704, 778, 829, 836, 841, 845, 848.

|| *Orig. contr. Cels.* p. 189.

lick Antiquity where Worship is put upon the *underrivedness* of the Father, any farther than as it implies *Necessary-existence*: Nor a single Example to prove a Distinction of *Two worships*, one *supreme*, and the other *inferior*. Some Pretences of yours relating hereto will be examined in the next *Query*.



### QUERY XVII.

*Whether, notwithstanding, Worship and Adoration be not equally due to Christ; and consequently, whether it must not follow that He is the One God, and not (as the Arians suppose) a distinct inferior Being?*

**Y**OU here begin with repeating your Argument from the *personal* Characters, *I, Thou, He*: Which has been often answered. You go on, (p. 368.) to argue for *Mediate* worship, because the worship of the Son is to the *Glory of the Father*. I might here insist upon it (as an ingenious Gentleman \* hath lately done) that the Words,  $\kappa\upsilon\tau\iota\ \textcircled{\text{C}}\ \text{I}\nu\sigma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \text{X}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \delta\omicron\zeta\alpha\nu\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ , may be justly rendred, *The Lord Jesus Christ is (or Jesus Christ is Lord) in the Glory of God the Father*: Which rendring, agreeable to the *Italick*, and some other Versions, would intirely defeat your Argument. But, allowing the common Construction, and that the worship of God the Son *terminates* in God the Father; still it is manifest, for that very Reason, that it is not an *inferior* worship, because then it could not terminate in the Father, being unworthy of Him. Nor indeed can any Act of worship extend to *Both*, unless Both

\* Mr. Wade's *short Inquiry into the Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 55.  
N. B. Cyprian, Novatian, Hilary, and other Latins, so read and understand Phil. ii. 11.

be *one Object*, as before shown. As to the same Act of worship, being considered as ultimately resting in the Father, it is because the *divine Nature* to which the worship is paid, is considered *primarily* in the Father, tho' belonging equally to *Both*. You object that, by This Account, no worship is paid to the *Father*, but to the *Substance* or *Essence* of the Father. Ridiculous; as if worshipping the divine Substance as *personalized* in the Father, were not the same thing with worshipping the Father's *Person*. Pray, what is the *Person* of the Father but living, acting, intelligent *Substance*? Do you mean, by *intelligent Agent*, intelligent and acting *Nothing*? *All worship*, you say, is *personal*: And I say every *Person* is *Substance*: therefore worship may as well be called *substantial*, as *personal*, amounting, in this Case, to the same Thing. And if worship be paid to *Three Persons*, is it not truly *personal*, as well as when paid to one? Your Quotation from Bp. *Pearson* is nothing to the Point in hand, but wide and foreign as possible. I had observed, in my *Defense*, that you had many things to say, *in hopes* to lessen the Honour attributed to the Son in Scripture. Upon This, you go solemnly to Prayers: *I pray God forgive you the Injury you here do me*. I thank you for your charitable Prayer, if really such. But had you put it up from you *Closet*, instead of sending it from the *Press*; there would have been less Suspicion either of *Affectation*, or *Malice* in it. As keen a *Satyr*, and as *bitter* a Revenge may appear in the shape of a *Prayer*, as in Any other Form. The great *Injury*, it seems, lies only in the word *Hopes*; an Expression perhaps not so exactly proper, or accurate: A *candid* Construction of it, would have been a much surer Token of a *forgiving*, and *charitable* Temper, than this unusual sally of *Devotion* thrown out upon so slight an Occasion. But let us pass on.

You tell me, (p. 371.) of *building my Notion of religious worship upon Metaphysical speculations*: Which is doing me a great Injury, and laying your own

Faults to my charge. I build my Notion upon *plain Scripture*, the universal suffrage of Antiquity, (till the Time that praying to *Saints*, and *Angels* came in) and upon the Principles and Practices of the *Jews* before Christ; who always looked upon *Creature-worship* as *Idolatry*. You build your *dissent* to such a cloud of Witnesses upon nothing, that I can yet perceive, but some *Metaphysical* Speculations about *Self-existence*, Generation being *Act*, Acts being all Acts of the *Will*, necessary Generation being *Coaction*, and the like. And when, in the strength of these Speculations, you have discarded God the Son from the *one Godhead*; then you have recourse to such Principles as *Pagans* first, and *Papists* since, have made use of in favour of *Idolatry*, to bring in the *worship* of the Son, at a Back-door; instead of fixing it where *Scripture*, and *Antiquity*, and all sober *Christians* have ever fixed it. You ask me, if I really think that the *worship of the Father* does as much terminate finally in the Son, as the *worship of the Son* terminates finally in the Father? But let me ask you; Do you really think that any *Creature-worship*, any *inferior* worship terminates in the Father? I have shown you that it does not, and cannot. Your own Argument therefore turns upon yourself. Either the supposed *inferior* worship terminates in the Son, and then it is *ultimate*; or it terminates in the Father, and then it is *supreme*: Chuse which you please. I say, what I take to be Sense and Truth, that it terminates in the *divine Nature*, considered *primarily* in the Father, and *derivatively* in the Son: And now all is right. You ask, if the Son's *glorifying the Father* means the very same Thing with the *Father's glorifying the Son*? Yes, the very same Thing: How can you doubt of it, when you read *John xvii. 1.* And as to *Phil. ii. 9.* I question not its meaning being the very same.

I allowed, that Prayers are *generally* to be offered rather *through*, than *to* the Son, because of his *being Mediator*. You ask, how This is consistent with the  
allowing

allowing no distinction of *mediate*, and *ultimate* worship? You should have shown how it is *inconsistent*: But you chuse rather to amuse your Reader with *Words*, where you give Him no distinct *Ideas*. Either the Son is not worshipped in This Case, or He is worshipped: If He is not, there is no *mediate* worship; if He is, then in worshipping the Father thro' Him, his *Divinity*, and *essential Union* with the Father (which alone can render our services accepted, and unite us to God) are at the same Time acknowledged. And so the worship of Both is *One*, being an Acknowledgment of the same *divine Excellencies* under a distinction of *Persons*, and *Offices*. Where do you find two *different* Worships, more than two *different Natures* in These Cases? Only the *worship*, as the *nature*, being *one*, is considered primarily in the Father, and secondarily in the Son: This is all you can make of it. You will never prove any thing of *inferior* worship, unless you can first prove the Nature of the Son to be *inferior* to the Father. Why then do you not come to the pinch of the Question, instead of amusing us with little Cavils wide of the Point? You fall to your usual quibbling with *abstract Essence*, which has been often answered. You proceed to repeat your Pretence about *derived* and *underived*; which indeed makes, in a manner, the sum total of your *Reply*; having little else to retreat to when press'd. Yet you love not *Metaphysical* speculations. Let us see, however, what These curious Things are: *That is, either derived and underived are the same, and the Son has the underived Perfections of the Father derivatively: or else Self-existence and underived Self-sufficiency are no Perfection at all.* Here is nothing in This Matter but quibbling upon the Word *Same*; which must admit of a closer, and larger Sense: Or else there is no such Thing as *same Substance*, or *same Perfection* in the World: I am sure in your way of considering every thing as *extended*, there is not. To answer

swer then more directly; the Perfections of the Father and of the Son are *equal*, and the same in *kind* (tho' differing in the *manner* of existing, *underivatively*, and *derivatively*) And They are also the same in *Number*, by reason of their inseparable Unity, and Co-existence. That *Union* is sufficient to make *Sameness*, numerical Sameness, you must allow, as I have often hinted: Otherwise How do you suppose innumerable extended Parts of Substance to make one *numerical* Substance? Or will you venture to say, that they are the same *specifically*, and no otherwise, making *many* Substances in *number*, tho' the same in *kind*? These *Metaphysical* subtleties therefore ought to be dismissed, as being of no use in our present Question. The same *Substance*, or the same *Perfections* may be both *derived* and *underived*; allowing such a Sense of *Same* as you admit, your self, in other Cases.

I charged you with begging the Question all the way, as confounding a *Distinction* of *Persons* with Difference of *Nature*. You have nothing to say to *Nature*. But what is the meaning of This shifting, but shutting your Eyes against a necessary *Distinction*, which at once discovers the Fallacy of your Reasonings, and leaves you utterly destitute of any farther Reply? It is not that you understand not *Nature*: But you understand it too well to be ever capable of getting over so clear and plain a *Distinction*. You have nothing further worth Notice, till you come to consider *Antiquity*, p. 375.

I began with *Justin Martyr*, showing that He maintains the *worship* of the Son; and upon *my* Principles, not *yours*. You cite some Passages out of Him to prove the contrary. I stand amazed at your Note, p. 375. wherein you insinuate, as if *Justin* were for the worship of *Angels*, nay, and had set Them before the Holy-Ghost. I little thought you would fall in with *Bellarmino* and other *Roman-Catholicks*, in an Interpretation which has been so often confuted



futed by learned *Protestants*. I will not do over again what has been done to my Hands. Let the Reader consult the Authors in the Margin\*, upon That Passage of *Justin*. *Justin* speaks of honouring the Son in the *second place*: He does not say with *inferior* worship: He says expressly *second in Order*. He says also, that the *Word*, who is of the *uncreated*, or *necessarily-existing* God † (intimating thereby, as I conceive, the *Necessary-existence* also of the λόγος Himself) *we worship, and we love next after God*. Next in *Order* again, He does not say with *inferior* worship, or *inferior* love. He adds the reason why we are to *love* Him, namely, on account of his *Merits* in our *Redemption*.

Your next Quotation from *Justin*, proves only, that God has *commanded* his Son to be *worshipped*: And so has Christ commanded us to worship his Father. What is This to the Point of *inferior* worship?

Your last proves, that we worship the Father *thro' Christ*; which I readily admit.

What you say to *Athenagoras*, and *Theophilus*, requires no farther Answer than what I have given more than once. As to *Tertullian*, I have shown before, that He is directly against *inferior* worship. You have nothing from *Clemens*, but that God is worshipped *through Christ*; which is wide of the

\* Le Moyne Var. Sacr. Not. p. 180.

Bull D. F. p. 72. Op. Posth. p. 962, 1037.

Clerici Histor. Eccles. p. 616.

Nourr. Appar. ad Bibl. Max. p. 414.

As to Angels being taught by God the Son, see

Clem. Alex. p. 769.

Iren. p. 163.

Cyril. Hierosol. p. 90. Ed. Bened.

† Τὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἀγενήτου (leg. ἀγενήτου) καὶ ἀρρήτου θεῶν λόγον μετὰ τὸν θεὸν προσκυνῶμεν, καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπων γέγονεν, ὅπως καὶ τῶν πατρῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων συμμέτοχοι γενόμενοι, καὶ ἰαῖσι ποιήσῃται. Apol. 2. p. 35.

purpose. As to the Place cited by you out of his *Protrepticum*, it has been considered above\*.

*Irenæus* is plainly on my side of the Question, as never making any distinction of *supreme* and *inferior* worship, never allowing worship to any *Creature*, asserting Father and Son together to be *One God*, and testifying that the same Acts of Adoration † under the Old Testament were applied to Both. You have two Objections to make against it, one that *Irenæus* makes a Prayer to God *through Jesus Christ*; which has no Difficulty: The other is, that every Knee, according to the *good pleasure* of the Father, is to bow to *Christ*; which scarce carries the Face of an Objection. For, why may not the Father, who, according to his *good pleasure*, makes known *Himself*, and demands worship to *Himself*, do the like for his Son?

Hitherto the Point in dispute is clearly determined on my side, by Antiquity. *Origen's* Principles appear more disputable: But when He is rightly understood, He will be also an Advocate on the same side. I shall first lay down the Arguments on my side, and vindicate the same from your Exceptions: And then shall consider what Counter-evidence you have pretended out of Him.

1. In the first place, *Origen* declares fully against the worship of all *Creatures* ‡ whatever; clearly distinguishing the Son from the *Creatures*.

This you say nothing to.

2. The *Reasons* which *Origen* founds worship on, are applicable to the Son, as well as to the Father. The *uncreated Nature*, ἀγέννητος & φύσις, is adorable as

\* Pag. 94.

† Qui igitur a Prophetis adorabatur Deus vivus; Hic est vivorum Deus & Verbum ejus, qui & loquutus est Moyfi, &c. — Ipse igitur Christus cum Patre vivorum est Deus qui loquutus est Moyfi, &c. p. 132.

‡ See my Defense, p. 250, 258.

such: But such is the Nature of God the Son: I have proved above, that He makes the Son *ἀγέννητος*. The *δημιουργὸς τῆ παντὸς*, creator of the Universe is adorable as such: But such also is the Son. To this you object, (p. 380.) that the Father is *primarily* Creator (so you ought to have rendred *πρωτῶς δημιουργόν*, and not *primary Maker*) the Son only *immediate* Maker, at the Father's command. But a difference in *Order*, or *Manner*, makes no difference in the Thing itself: Or if there be Any, the Son is more properly *Creator* than the Father, according to the strictness of the Expression in *Origen*.

*Origen's* Doctrine is, that He who *made all Things* is *adorable*, as such: And He asserts expressly, that the Son *made all Things*, the very Words\*. To which you again object, that He made them at the *Command of the Father*: which I allow in such Sense as the Antients meant it, explained above. But the Point of *worship* is not put upon the *primary* manner of making, nor upon the *commanding* to make, by *Origen*, but upon the *making*: so that in This respect there is no difference.

3. I farther pleaded *Origen's* supposing the Son to be *worshipped*, because God †. And I have above proved ‡, that He is to be worshipped as *One God* with the Father: Therefore their worship is *one*, not *two* *worshippings*, supreme, and inferior.

4. I pleaded, lastly, that the worship of Father and Son is *inseparably*, and *undividedly* one, according to *Origen*. His Words are: "Now He has ascended to the God of the Universe, who *undividedly, inseparably, unpartedly* worships Him through the Son, the *Word* and *Wisdom* of God,

\* See my Defense, p. 259.

† Origen. contr. Cels. p. 46.

‡ Pag. 69, 109.

“ seen in *Jesus*, who alone brings Those to Him  
 “ that *Ec.* \*”

You was sensible how strong this Passage was against your Principles; and therefore endeavoured to pervert the Sense, by foisting in a Word into your Translation. You say, *with an undivided, undistracted, unparted Affection*. Where do you meet with *Affection*? Or how came it in here, where the Author is not talking of the *undistractedness of our Affections*, but the *undivided worship of Father and Son*? He is commenting on 1 Cor. viii. 6. where it is said, *one God of whom are all Things*, and also *one Lord by, or through whom are all things*: And This made Him bring in the Discourse of worshipping one by the other *inseparably*. What follows in that Sentence, farther shows, that This must be his meaning; where He observes, that it is the Son only, who is the very *Word and Wisdom of God* (well therefore may He be *undivided* from God) that brings Men to God. This then may show you what worshipping the Father *through* the Son means in *Origen*: it is directing the worship to the Father; but so as to look upon the Son as *inseparably* worshipped in the same Act. I illustrated the Thought by a parallel place of the elder *Cyrill* †, which you take no notice of.

\* Αναδείχθη δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεόν, ὁ ἀσχιζῶς καὶ ἀδιαμέτῳ, καὶ ἀμερίστῳ αὐτὸν σέβαν διὰ τῶ μόνῳ προσάγοντῶ ἐκείνῳ υἱῶ, τῶ δεῦ λόγῳ καὶ σοφίῳ ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ θεωρημένῳ, &c. Orig. contr. Cell. p. 382.

† Μῦτε διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τὸν πατέρα νομίζου, ἐν τι τῶν δημιουργημάτων τὸν υἱὸν ὑποπτέουσαμεν, ἀλλ' εἰς πατῆρ δ' ἐνὸς υἱῶ προσκυνεῖσθῶ, καὶ μὴ μεριζέσθῶ ἢ προσκύνῃσι. Cyrill. Catech. 11. p. 143. Ox.

Μία γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ Θεότης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μία τιμὴ καὶ μία ἐστὶ προσκύνῃσι, ἢ ἐν υἱῶ καὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ γνωμένη τῷ πατρί· καὶ ὁ ἕτω προσκυνῶν, ἕνα Θεὸν προσκυνεῖ. Athan. Orat. p. 3. p. 555.

Dum ad folius Patris Personam Honoris Sermo dirigitur, bene credentis Fide, Tota Trinitas honoratur: Et cum ad Patrem, Litantis destinatur Intentio, Sacrificii munus omni Trinitati uno eodemque offertur Litantis Officio. Fulgent. ad *Monim.* l. 2. c. 5.

P. 31.

Having now seen what *Origen's* real and certain Doctrine was upon This Head; it will be the easier to take off the Force of your pretended Counter-evidence from the same *Origen*.

There is but one Passage, in his whole Treatise, that looks at all favourable to your Principles; and That being obscure, and of doubtful meaning, ought never to be set against *many*, and *plain* ones, but rather to be interpreted by Them. I gave a sufficient Answer to it before, producing the Passage in the Margin. You tell me that, *for a very good Reason, I thought not fit to translate it.* I must own, I do not love to abound in Translations, only to swell Pages; while I suppose my self writing more for the use of *Scholars*, than for the *Populace*, who are scarce competent Judges of our Disputes about *Antiquity*. I perceive, you are very full of *Translations*, out of *Eusebius* especially; as if you intended *Show* more than Any thing else: For, They are of no more real Weight, than if I were to translate as much out of *Alexander, Athanasius, or Cyrill the elder*, and throw it before the Readers. But This by the way. I return to *Origen*. The Passage, justly and literally rendred, runs thus: “ All Supplication, and Prayer, “ and *Intercession*, and *Thanksgiving*, are to be sent “ up to the God over all, by the High-Priest, who “ is above all Angels, being the *living Word*, and “ God. And we may also offer Supplication to the “ *Word* Himself, and *Intercession*, and *Thanksgiving*, “ and Prayer; if we can but understand how Prayer “ is taken in *propriety of Speech*, or in an *improper* “ Sense \*.

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\* Πᾶσαν μὲν δέησιν γὰρ καὶ προσευχὴν, καὶ ἑντευξίν, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ἀναπεμπτέον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεῷ, διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ πάντων ἀγγέλων ἀρχιερείας, ἐμψύχως λόγος καὶ θεοῦ· δεησόμεθα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τῆς λόγος, καὶ ἑντευξόμεθα αὐτῷ καὶ εὐχαριστήσομεν, καὶ προσευξόμεθα δὲ, ἐὰν δυνάμεθα κατακείναι τῆς περὶ προσευχῆς κυριολέξεως, καὶ καταχρήσεως. Orig. contr. Celf. l. 5. p. 233.

Vid. Bull D. F. Sect. 2. c. 9. p. 121.

Bingham Origin. Ecl. l. 13. c. 2. p. 45, &c.

What I gather from This Passage, is, that *Prayer* in the most *proper* Sense, is to be understood of Prayer directed immediately to the Father. This has been the most usual and common Method of *Praying*: Wherefore this kind of *Praying* has obtained generally the Name of *Prayer*, and is what the Word *Prayer* has been ordinarily used to mean. *Origen* does not say, that the *Prayers, Supplications, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings*, offered to God the Son, are none of them properly so called; but He makes his Remark upon *Prayer* only: And He does not say, that even *Prayer*, when directed to God the Son, is not proper *divine Worship*, or that it is *Another* worship, or an *inferior* worship: Nor can any such Consequence be justly drawn from his Words. All that we are obliged to grant, in virtue of This Passage, is that one part of *divine Worship* called *Prayer*, is most properly and emphatically *Prayer*, when directed to the *first Person* of the Godhead; in as much as That Method of *praying* has been most customary and prevailing, and has thereby, in a manner, engrossed the Name of *Prayer* to it self: Just as *Addresses*, by being most commonly offered to a Prince, come at length, by use, to mean *Addresses* of That kind only; and then *Addresses* to *others* are not so properly *Addresses*. *Prayer* then, properly, or emphatically speaking, is praying to the Father, to whom all Prayer *primarily* belongs. Allowing This to be *Origen's* meaning (and it is the very utmost that can be made of it) how will you prove *supreme* and *inferior* Worship from it?

I have before observed, that the worship of the Son, according to *Origen*, is properly *divine*; being offered to Him as *Creator*, and as *Necessarily-existing*, and as *God*: And I observed also, that Father and Son together are worshipped as *One God*. I observed farther, that even in Prayers directed to the Father *through the Son*, the Son is supposed, by *Origen*, to be worshipped *undividedly* in the *same Act*. How then do you  
make

make out your *Two worships*? Suppose the Prayer to pass *through*, or *by* the Son to the Father; still it is *one Prayer, one Worship*, considered as belonging to Both in a different manner. For, as the *one Work* of creating descends, as it were, *from* the Father *by* the Son; who are therefore *One Creator*: So the *one worship* ascends, as it were, *by* the Son to the Father; who are therefore *One Object* of worship. You should have proved two *unequal* worships: But you have proved no more than This, that *one* and the *same worship*, diversly considered, is paid to Both, in the very same Act: To the Father directly, as being *primarily* and *eminently* Creator, God, &c. and *supreme* in Order and Office; to the Son obliquely, or interpretatively, as being *equally* God, Creator, &c. but *God of God*, and *mediating* between God and Man. There is therefore no Difference in the worship it self, no *superiority* or *inferiority*, no Acknowledgment of *higher* and *lower* Perfections: But the same worship, the same acknowledgments of the same infinite Perfections, admit of a different manner of Application, to keep up a Sense of the Distinction of Persons, Order, and Offices.

You represent Bp. Bull (p. 383.) as making a Distinction of *one worship* paid to the Son as God absolutely, and *Another* worship paid to Him as God of God\*. This is not a just Representation of Bp. Bull, as if He admitted *one*, and *another* worship, *Two worships*, to God the Son; when He makes but *one worship* of all, due to Father and Son. This, I suppose, was to give some Colour to your own *Hypothesis*. Bp. Bull's meaning is plainly This; that the Son is considered as *divine* whenever we worship Him; and that That alone is the *Foundation* of his worship †. But we may consider Him barely as *divine*,

\* *Vid.* Bull D. F. Sect. 2. c. 9. S. 15. p. 120.

† *Vid.* Bull Prim. Trad. p. 36.

N. B. The Design of This Piece of Bp. Bull, is to prove that

*divine*, abstracting from all relations of *Order*, and *Office*; or *divine* in such an *Order*, or together with the *Office* of Mediator. The *divine Worship* is the same, under these *Three Conceptions*, because *divine* enters them all: But the additional Consideration of *Order*, and *Office*, in the two last, makes a Difference, not in the *worship it self*, but in the *Order*, and manner of *applying* it.

You proceed to cite another Passage of *Origen* \*, where arguing, *ad Hominem* (as the *Schools* call it) He pleads a *command* for the worship of Christ, against *Celsus*; who could plead no command for the worship of the Pagan Deities. This was indeed showing a very great Difference in the Two Cases, such as was worth insisting upon: But it does not from hence follow, (the contrary is very evident) that *Origen* ever founded the worship of Christ upon meer *command*, without reference to the Dignity and real *Divinity* of his Person. What you farther cite from the Piece  $\pi\epsilon\grave{\rho}\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\chi\eta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , whether *Origen's* own, or foisted in by some other Hand, is of no moment in the Case, being clearly contradicted in his Treatise against *Celsus*, which is certainly *genuine*, and contains *Origen's* last and maturest Thoughts upon the Subject. Do you ever find *Origen* placing the Son among the  $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  in his Book against *Celsus*? Doth He not constantly distinguish Him from Them, and set Him above Them, making Him  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , as I have proved? Or does He ever deny that Christ is to be prayed to at all; as This Author of the Piece  $\pi\epsilon\grave{\rho}\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\chi\eta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  does? No, but He frequently, plainly, and fully asserts the contrary.

the worship paid to Christ is properly *divine*, and not merely *Mediatorial*. From whence let the Reader judge with what *Truth*, or *fairness*, you represent Bp. Bull as differing from me, in the allowing *Mediatorial worship*, p. 120.

\* Orig. contr. Cels. p. 384.



What you add, (p. 386) about *Doxologies*, is low and trifling; especially after That Matter has been so carefully and accurately discussed by learned Hands. And your quoting the lying *Philostorgius* in a Matter of Fact of *Flavian's* introducing a new kind of *Doxology*, which He reports against the Faith of all History \*, is a great Affront upon your Readers.

I might quote you a better Authority than *Philostorgius*, namely, *Theodorit* †, to prove that *Arius* introduced a change of the antient *Doxologies*. But learned Men know that neither of Those Accounts is true: but that *Doxologies* of Both sorts were in use long before either *Flavian* on one side, or *Arius* on the other.

You go on to other Writers, endeavouring to prove, as you say, *mediate* and *ultimate* worship: That is your Phrase now, instead of *inferior* and *supreme*; because you imagine the Reader may more easily be *deceived* under Those Terms, than under These. For if the Father be but worshipped *through* Christ; presently you cry out *mediate* worship; tho' it be all one *divine* worship, not *Two*: And either the Son is not worshipped at all, in such a Case; or, if He is, the *same* worship is then offered to *Both*. The nature of the Worship is not altered by the manner of *Conveyance*; any more than a present of *Gold*, made to *Two* Persons, becomes *Brass* to one, and *Gold* to the other, only by being conveyed thro' one to the other. You will never be able to prove any Difference in the nature, or kind of the Worship, meerly from the *Oeconomical* manner of applying it. You begin with the *Apostolical Constitutions*; which you know are of no Authority: And so I shall not trouble my self to show, that the Passages, were they really genuine, are nothing to your purpose. You go on to *Polycarp*; who glorifies God *through*

\* *Vid.* Bull D. F. Sect. 2. c. 3. p. 51.

† Theod. Hæret. Fab. l. 4. c. 1.

Christ. *Cyprian* says, that the Father *commanded his Son to be worshipped*: Therefore his worship is *mediate*. Wonderful! *Novatian* says, if Christ be a *Man* only, why is He *invoked as Mediator*? Therefore again his worship is *mediate*. You did not consider *Novatian's* Notion of a *Mediator*, that He must be both *God* and *Man*: And so you lost the whole Force of his Argument; which was to prove the Son to be *God* from the *Invocation*, and not *Man* only, as some Hereticks pretended.

What you cite from *Lactantius*, I have answered above: Or, if I had not, you must be sensible that very little Stress ought to be laid, upon a few uncautious Expressions of a *Catechumen*, not yet perfectly instructed in the Doctrines of the Church, which was the Case of *Lactantius*. He had, however, learned so much of the Church's Doctrine, as to determine directly against you in the present Question; where He says, *one Honour* belongs to Both as to *one God*, and that their worship is *inseparable* \*.

As to *Eusebius*, your last Evidence, tho' I build little upon so late, and so suspected an Authority, (which, as I have often hinted, you ought no more to urge against me, than I to urge *Alexander*, *Cyril*, *Athanasius*, or *Hilary*, against you) yet neither had He any such mean Thoughts of God the Son, as you have: Nor did He found his *worship* upon any such low Principles; which I have shown above. He is, however, the first you could find, among such as have been ever called *Catholicks*, who pretended to say, that Father and Son are not *ισότιμοι*, the first that durst ever flatly contradict St. *John*, (or rather our Saviour Himself by St. *John*) where He says,

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\* *Unus est Honor* utrique tribuendus tanquam *uni Deo*: & ita dividendus est per duos, cultus, ut divisio ipsa *Compage inseparabili* Vinciat. Neutrum sibi relinquet, qui aut Patrem a Filio, aut Filium a Patre Secernit. *Lact. Epit. c. 49. p. 141. Ed. Cant.*

that all Men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father, John v. 23. I conclude with the same Declaration I formerly made, that "I desire only to have Things fairly represented, as They really are; no Evidence smothered, or stifled, on either side. Let every Reader see plainly what may be justly pleaded here, or there, and no more." Had you attended to these good Rules, which you are pleased to remind me of, and to favour with your Approbation, you might have brought your Book into a less compass; and perhaps have done as much real Service to your Cause, and less Hurt to your Character.



### QUERY XVIII.

*Whether Worship and Adoration, both from Men and Angels, was not due to him, long before the Commencing of his Mediatorial Kingdom, as he was their Creator and Preserver, (see Col. i. 16, 17.) And whether That be not the same Title to Adoration which God the Father hath, as Author and Governor of the Universe, upon the Doctor's own Principles?*

**I**T is proper the Reader should be let into the full Design and Purport of This Query, that He may be able to pass a more certain Judgment of the Pertinence, or Impertinence of your Answer. The Question is, whether the worship of Christ be founded upon any Thing antecedent to his Incarnation and Exaltation, or only upon the Powers then supposed to be given Him. If it was founded on Any

thing *antecedent*, then the Doctor, and you, have very impertinently cited *Matth. xxviii. 18. John v. 22, 23. Phil. ii. 10, 11.* and the like Texts, as carrying in Them the sole *Foundation* of his worship, after the manner of the *Socinians*: If it was not founded on any thing *antecedent*, what Account can you give of Christ's being *Creator*, of his being *God* before the Creation, *John i. 1.* of his having *Glory before the World was*, and the like? In short, the Doctor is here confounded between Two Schemes, *Socinian* and *Arian*; and very unskilfully endeavours to tack Both together; which is utterly impracticable. Either let Him found the worship of the Son upon what was *antecedent* to the Incarnation, and then He may tolerably go on upon the *Arian* Scheme: Or if He chuses to found it intirely upon the *subsequent Powers*, He is all over *Socinian*, and does not know it.

My Design is not to suffer you to take the Advantage of *Both* the Schemes, which are utterly inconsistent with each other. You must either drop your *Arian* Principles, and so settle in *Socinianism*: Or if you resolve to retain your *Arian* Tenets, you must drop your *Socinian* Pleas, to be all of a Piece. This is what you may easily be drove to; and That was the Design of This *Query*. If the Reader takes This along with Him, He will readily perceive how hard you are here press'd; and how elusive, and insufficient all your Answers are.

You say, whenever the *Mediatorial Kingdom* began, the *worship* however of Christ was by the *command* of the Father. That I allow: And so was also the worship of the Father first introduced by the *command* of the Father. Hitherto you are only shifting; and come not to the pinch of the *Question*; namely, *when* the worship began, or *whereon* it was founded. What follows, (*p. 392.*) is still evading, and running from the Point in *Question*. What comes nearest to it, is your saying, that *He by whom God created all Things,*

Things, has not the same Title to *Adoration* with Him who created all Things by Him. Well: but has He any Title at all upon the Foot of his being *Creator*? Or do you make Him a meer *nominal* Creator? If, according to *Heb. i. 10.* He laid the Foundation of the Earth, and if the Heavens were the Works of his Hands: And if He was God before the Creation, (according to *John i. 1.*) then show me, that the *power* of *Judging*, or any thing of like nature subsequent, ever could be a *higher*, or an *equal* Foundation of worship with what has been mentioned. You cannot show, that He was made a *God*, after his Resurrection: But it is plain, and you cannot gainsay it, that He was *God* before the Creation. Wherefore I insist upon it, that He had as clear and full a Title to *worship* before his Incarnation, as any you can show after: And therefore it is strangely inconsistent of you to *found* his worship upon the *power* of *judging*, &c. No one ever would do This that believed the Son to be *God*, and *Creator* (tho' in a lower Sense than the Father) before the World. The *Socinians* were shrewd Men, and showed some Parts and Sagacity in the working up their Scheme. They founded the worship of Christ upon the *power* of *judging*, and his *exaltation*: But then They were never so silly as to suppose Him *God* and *Creator* before. The *Arians* founded the worship of Christ upon his being *Creator*, and *God* before the World: But then They were not so weak as to found it upon the *power* of *judging*, &c. Whereas you, to give a Specimen of your great Dexterity in forming a Scheme, have marvellously tacked two parts together, one of which will suit only with the *Socinian* Scheme, the other only with the *Arian*, or *Catholic*; thereby betraying great unskilfulness, and want of Thought. Which of These Parts you will at length give up, I know not: But all Men of Sense, and common Discernment, will laugh at you for holding *Both*.

When I wrote my *Defense*, the Doctor had not determined that God the Father is ever called *God*, in Scripture, in the *metaphysical* Sense. Worship even of *Him* was to be founded only upon his *Office* (God was then a Name of *Office*) *relative* to us. I was therefore of Opinion, that if the Son was *Creator*, as great an *Office* as any, and as highly meriting of us, He must then, upon the Doctor's own Principles, have the same Title to Adoration as the *Father* Himself had: Nor do I see, that you have yet been able to baffle This reasoning. For you have been forced to allow (obliged thereto by the unanimous Current of Antiquity, *Eusebius* not excepted) that the Son is *immediate* Artificer, or *Creator*, of the Universe. This is meriting as highly of us as is possible; more one would imagine than meerly giving out *Commands*; which is an Honour you reserve peculiar to the Father. If therefore worship be founded, not upon any *Dignity* and *Excellency* of *Nature*, but upon *relative Offices*; it seems to me, that the Son's Title to our worship is as clear and full as possible, upon your *own* Principles; such I mean as They were at That Time. My Argument therefore was good when I made it; however you may have varied your Notions since. I add further, that my Argument, from the hand the Son had in *creating*, will remain impregnable for an *equality* of worship, whatever Principles you take up in hopes to elude it: tho' That particular was not the special Purport of This Query.

You had argued against *creating* being a just *Foundation* of worship, because *no Act of Dominion*: To which I replied, that the same Argument would hold with respect to the *Father* also; And so his *creating* the World would be no foundation for worshipping Him, being no more an *Act of Dominion* than the *Son's* creating is. To which you now reply, that the World was made by the Father's *Original absolute Authority and Power*. This is not defending your *first* Answer, but retreat-

ing to *Another*. However, This will not do, any more than the First. For, you will never be able to prove, that the Son is not as compleatly and fully *Creator* as the Father: And Scripture never finds worship upon the *original, underived* manner of Creating, which you speak of, but upon the *creating* it self\*. What you object from *Rev. iv. 10, 11. created for his pleasure*, has been answered above †. You go on upon This Argument of the Son's having the *same Title* that the Father has, tho' but a by-part of the *Query*. Not a word do you say to clear your self of *Socinianism*; not a Syllable to vindicate your inconsistency in *founding* the Son's *worship* upon his *Mediatorial powers* given after his *Resurrection*; at the same time admitting that He was *God* before the World, and *created* the World. This perhaps was too tender a Point to be touch'd.

To pursue you in your own way. I pleaded, *John xvii. 5. Glorify me with the Glory, &c.* not to prove that the Son had the *same Title* to *worship* which the Father has; but to show that the *Glory* He had after his *Incarnation* was *not greater* than He had before: And therefore it was a weak Thing of you to overlook his *former Glories* equal to any, and to found his *worship* upon what came after. To This you reply, (*p. 394.*) *His being restored to the Glory He had before, does not prove that the Power of judgment, &c. was not an additional exaltation.* Yes, but it proves something more; that even after *all judgment* was committed to Him, He was yet not invested with *That Glory*, not with *so great Glory*, (for why should He ask for less, if He had greater) as He had before the World was. But you add, that *if the Son had the same right to Glory that the Father had, it could be no more proper for the Son to pray to the*

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\* See my Sermons, p. 93.

† Pag. 182.

Father, to glorify Him, than for the Father to pray to the Son. But the Case is different, because the Son was *incarnate*, and not the Father: Therefore it became the Son to *pray*, but not the Father. Ay but, say you, could not the Son Himself have given it by his own Authority? Yes; But as the Father did not disdain to receive *Glory* from the Son, why should the Son refuse to receive *Glory* from the Father? As to *Irenæus's* Testimony, that the Son was of old worshipped together with the Father, it is a very plain one; and I have given it above †. The Father and Son together are there expressly stiled The *God of the living*: And it was the *God of the living* that the Patriarchs *adored*.

You have a pleasant Remark (p. 142.) on That Passage of *Irenæus*: You say, I take no notice of the *emphatical* Words, *Resurrectio autem ipse Dominus est*. Behold, now I have taken notice of them: of what use are They, I beseech you, in our present Debate? How do They at all lessen the Force of my Argument? Would you have it, that Christ was adored by the Patriarchs of old, as *God*, because He was to be exalted to be *God* 2000 Years after? You should speak out plainly, that a Reader may understand you: unless your Design be to give a Hint as if you had something material to say, when you have really nothing. It puts me in mind of the *Modest Pleader*, who once thinking Himself obliged to quote, at full length, a noted Passage of Bp. *Pearson* \*, which had been usually cut into halves, (The latter Half begins with *and therefore*) He claps This Note upon it: *What That learned Writer meant by the Word, Therefore, I submit to the judicious Reader* †. No doubt but He would have the *judicious Reader* imagine there is something

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† Pag. 396.

\* See it above, p. 202.

† Modest Plea, p. 212.



weighty in the Remark; tho' He can neither show *what*, nor *why*. But to proceed.

I had referred to *Eusebius* and *Athanasius*, as Both agreeing that God the Son was worshipped by *Abraham*, *Moses*, and the *Jewish Church*: It was therefore the Sense of the Antients in general (as we may safely conclude from These Two Writers, and their Agreement; were there no other Proofs) that God the Son had distinct worship paid Him long before his Incarnation: And therefore his *worship* (whatever it were) could not be founded on the Commission to *judge*, or the like, as you have founded it. After your many boasts of the *Antients*, groundless and shameless as I ever met with, here in a very important Point, the Point of *Worship*, wherein our Practice is nearly concerned; here, I say, you run counter to all the *Catholics* of the Primitive Church; nay, to all the sober *Arians*, who will hereafter rise up in Judgment, and condemn you, for founding Christ's worship so *meanly*, upon I know not what *Powers* given after his Resurrection. They founded it upon Reasons *antecedent* to his Incarnation, upon his being *God* before the World, and *Creator* of the World by his *own Power* \*.

You endeavour to show that *Eusebius's* Doctrine about the worship of Christ runs not so high as mine. Perhaps it does not: I did not cite *Eusebius* for That purpose. But I cited Him as an Evidence, to prove that all Antiquity is directly and fully against your way of founding Christ's worship in the *Power of judging*, &c. You have none of the Antients, except such as *Photinus*, or *Paul of Samosata*, to coun-

\* Christum Colimus ut *Creatorem*. Serm. Arian. ap. August. p. 663.

Antequam faceret universa, omnium Futurorum Deus & Dominus, Rex & *Creator* erat constitutus. Voluntate & præcepto (*Patris*) Cælestia & Terrestria, visibilia & invisibilia, corpora & spiritus, *ex nullis exstantibus*, ut essent, *sua virtute* fecit. Serm. Arianor. p. 622.

tenance you in it: The *Arians*, at least the generality of Them, would have been ashamed of it. This is what I before pressed you with; And you, in your Reply, dissemble and totally conceal it, leading your Reader off to quite other Things.

What you have from *Philo* is still diverting, and running off from the main Point: Nor are *Philo's* Notions, in This Case, of any moment in the Controversy; unless the Apostles and Primitive Christians had no better guide than *Philo*. *Philo* might hit upon some Truths, but shaded with Errors, and not breaking out with full Lustre and Brightness. A clearer and fuller Discovery was a Privilege reserved for the Christian Church. Your Remark, (p. 397.) about the *Angel* which appeared to *Manoah* is just: And had you looked into the last Edition of my *Defense*, you would have found that part corrected. For it is not my way, after I perceive any Mistake, to persist in it.

To conclude. The Reader is desired to observe, that you had been charged with taking in two inconsistent Schemes (*Arian* and *Socinian*) into one, and racking Them very absurdly together; that you have been called upon to declare which of the disjointed Parts you would give up, or else to show how it is possible to make them stand together; that after mature Deliberation, you have made no Answer to the Charge, but have passed it over in profound Silence. These are the *Facts*; let every honest Reader judge what to *infer* from them.



QUERY XIX.

*Whether the Doct̄or hath not given a very partial Account of John v. 23. founding the Honour due to the Son, on this only, that the Father hath committed all Judgment to the Son; when the true Reason assigned by our Saviour, and illustrated by several Instances, is, that the Son doth the same things that the Father doth, hath the same Power and Authority of doing what he will; and therefore has a Title to as great Honour, Reverence, and Regard, as the Father himself hath? And it is no Objection to this, that the Son is there said to do nothing of Himself, or to have all given Him by the Father; since it is owned that the Father is the Fountain of all, from whom the Son derives, in an ineffable manner, his Essence and Powers, so as to be one with Him?*

**T**H<sup>O'</sup> you have nothing under This Query but what I have before fully answered, or obviated; yet because you are pleased to repeat, I shall repeat also. Dr. Clarke's Pretence is, that Christ's Honour is founded upon the power of judgment committed to Him: I say, his Honour is founded on the *intrinsic* excellency, and *antecedent* Dignity of his Person; whereof the Power of Judgment committed is only a farther Attestation, and a provisional Security for the payment of his due Honour. It did not *make* Him *worthy*, but *found* Him so: And it was added, that such his high worth and dignity might

might appear to Men, and be acknowledged by Them.—*The Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all Men should honour the Son, even as They honour the Father.* This is not giving us the formal Reason, or Foundation of his Honour, but the final Reason, or moving Cause, why the Son is to execute Judgment rather than the Father Himself. It is because Men would hereby be apprized of his antecedent worth and dignity, and at the same Time be incited to pay Him suitable Honour, in external Acts of *Worship* and *Adoration*, as to the Father Himself. This is the obvious, natural Construction of the Place in *St. John*; as I before intimated. And I confirmed it by the Accounts which *St. John* has given us of his antecedent Dignity, his being God before the Creation, and his creating the World: Which makes it plain, that the committing of Judgment was no addition of new Dignity, but rather declarative of the old; that it might appear the more fully, and be the more secure of the effect upon Mankind. This Reasoning appearing to me very clear and just, demanded as clear an Answer. But you have little to say, except in the way of *Objection* and *Repetition*, about *derived* and *underived*: Which is not arguing from *Scripture*, but from *Metaphysical* Notions you have taken up about *Sameness*, and such as you allow not in any Case but This; contradicting that strict Notion of *Sameness*, as often as you make an infinite Number of extended Parts to be the *same* Substance.

To what you repeat from the *Modest Pleader* about the Father's being *Fountain*, I returned a sufficient Answer in a *Note* to a *Sermon* \*. You ask, can one Person commit Powers to Another who had already in Himself the same Powers? Yes, by voluntary *Oeconomy*, the exercise of Powers common to many, may devolve upon one chiefly; and may run in his Name. I gave you a

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\* *Sermon* 2. p. 51.

proper Rebuke in my *Defense*, p. 282. for your expressing great *Amazement* at my *Prejudice*, and *Blindness*, in maintaining only what had been held by all the Christian Churches. I reminded you of the many *wise, great, and good Men*, whom you charged through my sides. *This*, you say, *is not a right way of dealing with Scripture*. That was not the Point: But it might be a right way of dealing with a Gentleman who was gone beyond *Decorum*, and appeared too full of *Himself*; forgetting that a *modest Deference* is due to *wise, great, and good Men*, even where we *dissent* from them. But to pass on.

I charged your Interpretation of *John v. 19.* as *unnatural, and forced, making the Context incoherent. The Son can do nothing but by Commission: For* (observe the Reason) *He can do every Thing the Father does.* But if the Sense runs thus; *The Son being One with the Father can do nothing separately*, then the Context is coherent; *for, whatsoever the Father doth the Son does also, or likewise.* You say, *the Word*, *for, in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Verse*, is not the Reason given of what went before, but that the latter part is a *Parentbesis*. But who will give you the liberty of making *Parentbeses*, where there is no occasion, only to serve an *Hypothesis*? I showed, that you cannot make your Sense out of the Passage, but by supplying the deficiency of the Text with what the Text has not said. Which observation of mine you call *retracting* the Charge before made, when it is really *inforcing* it: And I preferred the Catholick Interpretation as more *natural*, and as arguing no *deficiency* in the Text. Besides that, admitting the Sentence to be elliptical, in order to make the Sense *coherent* in your way of Construction; yet I took notice farther, how very harsh and strange it must found for a *Creature* to be *commissioned to do all that the Creator does.* To which you have nothing to reply, but that your Interpretation does not suppose the Son *created.* Say then, that He is *uncreated,*  
and

and let us end the Dispute; provided only, you'll please to *mean*, as well as *say*. I accept, however, of your tacit acknowledgment, that my Argument against the Son's being a *Creature*, is unanswerable. How far you are concerned in it, the Readers will judge. You go on; *it must be odd, and strange, that the supreme God should be commissioned*. Nothing strange at all, that one who is *supreme in Order, and Office*, should give Commission to another *not supreme in Order, or Office*; tho' Both be equally *supreme in Nature*; which is the true Notion of *supreme God*.

I showed you what Answers had been formerly given to your Objections by *Hilary, Chrysoſtom, Cyril, and Austin*: in reply to which, you tell me, that *Novatian* and *Eusebius* were more *Antient* Fathers. But did I put it upon the *Authority* of the Fathers, which I cited? I insisted upon the *Reasons* They gave, against those very Pretences which you revive. And why did you not answer Them? Their *Reasons* were drawn from *Scripture*, and founded on the *Text* it self; against which neither *Novatian*, nor *Eusebius* is of any the least Weight. But Thus you love to disguise the true Matter in question, and to lead your Reader off to something wide and foreign. However, *Novatian* has not a word to your purpose; unless *copying out* the Father's Works (*imitator operum Paternorum*) proves the Son to be of a *different* Nature from the Father. *Tertullian*, antienter than either *Novatian* or *Eusebius*, understands the Son's doing *nothing of Himself*, of the intimate Conjunction of the Father and Son, the Son being *in the Father*, and seeing all that He does, or rather all that He *designs, or conceives*\*. He goes upon the old Notion, that

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\* Filius nihil a semetipſo poteſt Facere, niſi viderit Patrem facientem. Pater enim ſenſu agit; Filius vero qui in Patris ſenſu eſt, videns perficit; ſic omnia per Filium facta ſunt, & ſine illo Factum eſt nihil. *Tertull. conſtr. Prax. c. 15.*

that the *designing*, or *conceiving* part belongs peculiarly to the *Father*, the *executive* and *finishing* part to the *Son*: And Thus *Father* and *Son* were jointly concerned in every *Operation*. As to *Eusebius's* Authority, where He has not *Reasons*, nor elder *Fathers* to support Him, it is worth nothing. *Athanasius* has Writings extant older, probably, than Any we have of *Eusebius's*; except his *Oration* before *Paulinus* of *Tyre*, or what may be had in *Pamphilus's* *Apology*. And as to *Hilary*, there's about 20 Years difference between his Age and *Eusebius's*: A mighty Thing for you to boast of.

I excuse your citing, (p. 404.) a Sentence of the *Semi-arians* in *Epiphanius*; mistaking it for *Epiphanius's* own: I suppose you did it ignorantly. And it is the more pardonable, because *learned* Men had formerly made the same *Blunder*: tho', I believe, never since the Time that *Petavius's* Sagacity set That Matter right in his *Notes* to his *Edition*, the same that you made use of.

To your Argument drawn from the *Father's* loving the *Son*, I replied, that He *loves* also Himself; which is no Matter of *Choice*. You pretend, however, that *showing the Son all Things*, is *Free*: which you have no ground for saying, but it is purely *Fiction* to serve an *Hypothesis*. Your adding, his *giving Authority to do likewise*, is corrupting the *Text*, which says nothing of *Authority*; tho' if it had, it might

Τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων τὰς τύπας ἐσημαίνεται μὲν ὁ πατήρ, ἐπιτελεῖ δὲ ὁ λόγος, ἔ δελικῶς, ἔτ' ἀμαθῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπισημονικῶς, καὶ οἰκειότερον εἰπεῖν, πατρικῶς. Greg. Naz. Orat. 36. p. 584.

*Eusebius* has the like Thought, which He expresses however in Terms somewhat harsh.

Ὁ μὲν ἂν πατήρ διετόπε, καὶ ἠτοίμαζε διανοόμενος, &c. — ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἔ πατὴρ λογισμοῖς ἐνατενίζαν, καὶ μόνος ἐποπτεύων τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ βᾶθρον, δι' ἔργων ἐχώρει, τοῖς ἔ πατὴρ ἐξυπηρετῶμεν νεύμασι. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. l. 3. c. 3. p. 164.

be understood of such Authority, Power, and Perfections, as descend with his Nature from the Father to the Son.

You quote *John xv. 10.* of Christ's *abiding in his Love*. If you see any Consequence favourable to your Principles in That Text, you should have shown it: I can see none. You tell me of bringing *Hilary* in again: And you intirely slip over the Reasons I produced from Him, without any Answer. Is this dealing fairly with the Reader?

I had challenged you to show, that One Person may not be *Delegate* to Another, without being unequal in *Nature*. But you are frighten'd, as usual, with the Distinction of *Order*, and *Nature*; and run off in the utmost Confusion. A *delegated Power*, you say, *cannot be equally supreme and independent*. Come out of the Clouds, and tell me what you mean by *supreme*, and *independent*. If you mean as *great* a Power, and as *Necessarily-existing*, I shall tell you, there is no Difference between the *Father's* and the *Son's*: If you mean, that the *Son's* is *of the Father*, the *Father's* *from none*, I allow a supremacy of *Order*, and a different *Manner* of existing; and the Question is not *whence* the Son has his Powers, but *what* They are. As to supremacy of *Order* being only in placing of *Words*; I have showed your inconsistency on That Head above. Your blaming me for citing *Ruffin's* Translation, in a Case where it is all one whether the Words were *Ruffin's*, or *Origen's*, is low carping. You did not perceive that the Passage was brought in among several others of *Post-nicene* Writers; and intended only for Illustration. But you are still more offended at my stiling my Doctrine *The Doctrine of the Trinity*; as if others had not as good a Right to stile theirs so. Supposing you have, (which I deny) yet sure I may stile my own according to what I take to be right, and true. But your Trinity of a *great God*, a *little God*, and *no God*, must have some strong Figure to help it,



it, to make it a *Trinity*; which is a Word that has long stood for a quite different Thing\*.

I had retorted upon you your own Arguments against the received Doctrine of the Trinity; to show the World how *unequal* and *partial* you have been in the handling this Controversy. You had several Maxims about *Individual*, about *Sameness*, about *Substance*, about *Being*, which were to be urged as of great Force against the Doctrine of the *Trinity*; tho' of no Force in another Subject, upon your own Principles. You could allow Being and Being, where you could not say *Beings*; Substance and Substance, where you could not say *Substances*; *individual* Substance, where yet you could distinguish between *This* and *That*; and *same* Substance, where it is not the *same* in such a Sense of *same*, as you urge against us. *Sameness* by *Union* you can allow, where you have a mind: Only in our present Dispute, no such Thing was to be admitted. This unreasonable, and indeed shameful Conduct, in so momentous an Affair, I endeavoured to expose as it deserved. The Reader may please to look into my *Defense*, p. 292, &c. to see what I had to say on That Head: I have no mind to repeat. Pressed with the Difficulties of the *Omnipresence* retorted upon you, you now tell me, that my Foundation was wrong, in supposing *the Substance of God to be God*. This I am a little startled at: Let us hear what your Philosophy, can produce in Defense of so wild a Paradox, that *the Substance of God is not God*. I will give the Reader your Words at length, that He may marvel.

\* Τριάς ὡς ἀληθείᾳς ἢ τριάς ἀδελφῶν. τριάς δὲ ἔπραγματῶν ἄνισον ἀπαρίθμησις. — ἀλλὰ ἴσων καὶ ὁμοτίμων σύλληψις. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 13. p. 211.

Εἰ δὲ τριάς ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ἓν καὶ ἕσι, δίδεικται δὲ ἀδιαίρετον εἶσα καὶ ἐκ ἀνόμοιους. ἀνάγκη μίαν ταύτης εἶναι τὴν ἀγιότητα, καὶ μίαν ταύτης τὴν αἰδιότητα, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀτρεψίας φύσιν. Athanas. Ep. 1. ad Serap. p. 678.

God is neither the Substance of God, nor the Attributes of God, but He is that intelligent Agent whose Both the Substance and Attributes are. And as infinity, for instance, so every other Attribute, Power, or Perfection, of the omnipresent Being, is the individual Attribute, Power, or Perfection, of That one individual intelligent Agent, whose the omnipresent Substance is, p. 407. The Philosopher that fixed the Earth upon an Elephant, and the Elephant upon a Tortoise, and knew not where to go next, could not be more confounded than you appear to be here. The Substance, it seems, is to be fixed upon the Person (which is neither Substance, nor Attribute; but something between Both) And thus all Difficulties are wiped off at once, by making Person stand for no body knows what; an Idea, I suppose, or nothing. I have often suspected your Notion of intelligent Agent to be very confused; but never thought it so wild and unaccountable as This comes to. Do you consider that Intelligent, and Agent are two Adjectives, which suppose a Substantive, two Attributes that require Substance for their support? Say that Person is the Subject: But then what is Person, but either Substance, or Attribute, or Nothing? Resolve it into its several Ideas, and you will find that Person always implies intelligent and acting Substance; not intelligent acting Nothing. Now Intelligence, and Activeness, are Attributes only of God, that is, of the divine Substance; which is God, and what we mean by God, as often as we speak of Him, considered as the Subject of his own Attributes.

I know not whether you might not be led into the Mistake thro' the vulgar way of speaking about the Substance of God, or Substance of the Father; as if the Substance were not God Himself, or not the Father Himself, but something belonging to Him. The same way of speaking might be as good an Argument to prove, that the Person of the Father is not the Father, but something belonging to the Father. Such a  
Mode

Mode of Speech is very common in other Cases; as when we say the *Body of the Moon* for the *Moon*, or the *Matter of the World* for the *World*. Which kind of Language has its Reason and Foundation in our Way of forming, and ranging our *Ideas* for our more *distinct* Perception. For, not content with a *general confuse Idea* of any Thing, we take it, as it were, into Pieces, or Parcels, for a more distinct and particular View of it. The *Idea*, suppose, of God the *Father*, we divide into two *Ideas*, *Substance* and *Attribute*; and *Attribute* again into many *Ideas* still more distinct, and particular. And now *Father* stands for the *general confuse Idea*, while *Substance* and *Attribute* are considered as Parts of it, and belonging to it. This, I take to be the true Account of That way of speaking; as well in this, as in the other Cases above mentioned. So, tho' *the Person of the Father* be really nothing else but the *Father*; yet it is considered as something *distinct*, after we have once parcell'd out the *general confuse Idea* into several particular *Ideas*; as into *Person*, *Power*, *Goodness*, &c. for the greater *Distinction*. Then even *Person* is considered as but Part of that *confuse Idea* for which the Word *Father* stands; and it is conceived to belong to it, as a *Part* to the *whole*. Hence, as I apprehend, arises the way of speaking before mentioned; which is right and just in Respect of our *Ideas*, but very inaccurate in regard to the *Things* Themselves, for which the *Ideas* stand: Because indeed our *Ideas* are not *adequate*; being formed in a way suited to our own *Infirmity*, rather than to the *Truth*, and *Strictness* Things.



Q U E R Y XX.

*Whether the Doctor needed have cited 300 Texts, wide of the purpose, to prove what no Body denies, namely, a Subordination, in some Sense, of the Son to the Father; could He have found but one plain Text against his Eternity or Consubstantiality, the Points in Question?*

**Y**OU have little under This Query but *Repetition* and *Reference*: which requires no farther Notice. As to the *Form of Baptism*, which you mention in the Close, I have considered it in a distinct Discourse \*, which you had seen before you came to This Query. You have nothing to object but a Passage from the *spurious Constitutions*, of no value; and another from *Eusebius*, of very little. I content my self therefore with referring to my *Defense*, and *Sermons*.

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\* See my eighth Sermon.

## QUERY XXI.

*Whether he be not forced to supply his want of Scripture-Proof by very strained and remote Inferences, and very uncertain Reasonings from the Nature of a thing, Confessedly Obscure and above Comprehension; and yet not more so than God's Eternity, Ubiquity, Pre-science, or other Attributes, which yet we are obliged to acknowledge for certain Truths?*

YOU tell me, in the Entrance, that none of Dr. Clarke's Propositions, on which He lays any Stress, are drawn by mere Reasonings from the incomprehensible Nature of God. But what think you of five of his Propositions, where He denies the Necessary-existence, (for so you now understand Self-existence) of the Son and Holy-Ghost? Has the Doctor so much as one Text in the Scripture for any of them? Not a Syllable, either in Old or New Testament, but what he pretends to infer from very obscure and uncertain Reasonings about derived and underived, about Acts and not Acts, about necessary Agency being no Agency, about Will, Coaction, &c. profoundly Metaphysical, and Fanciful, with nothing solid or certain in them. The like may be said of the Doctrine contained in his 17<sup>th</sup> Proposition; which has no Text of Scripture to stand upon, tho' He lays great Stress upon it. In short, I observed in my *Defense*, and here repeat, that "the main Strength of the Doctor's Cause, lies first in his giving either a Sabelian, or Tritheistick Turn (admitting no Medium) to the Catholick Doctrine; and then charging it with confusion of Persons, Polytheism, Nonsense, Contradiction. Take away That (to which his

“ constant Resort is, whenever He comes to the  
 “ Pinch of the Question) and there will be little  
 “ left considerable.” For the Truth and Justice of  
 This Report, or Censure, I appealed\* to the Doc-  
 tor’s own Books, which is a fair Procedure: And  
 if you have any Thing to say in Vindication of the  
 Doctor, show that the Fact is otherwise than I re-  
 presented. Not being able to do Any Thing of this  
 kind, you endeavor as usual, to turn it off by *retort-*  
*ing*; and to put me upon the *Defensive*, having no-  
 thing to plead in Defense of the Doctor, or your  
 self. This may serve to *blind* a Reader, and to con-  
 ceal your *Shame*; but it is not answering *Queries*.  
 You fall again upon 1 Cor. viii. 6. which has been an-  
 swered over and over. What is That to the Point  
 now in Hand, the Doctor’s making *strained Inferences*,  
 except it be giving one Example more, by his wrest-  
 ing of That Text?

As to God’s *Eternity, Ubiquity, Prescience*, you  
 say, They *Themselves are the Subject of our Belief,*  
*not particular Men’s philosophical Explications of the*  
*Manner of them.* Well then, let it be the Subject  
 of our Belief, that the Father is God, the Son  
 God, and the Holy-Ghost God; and that they are  
 the *One God* of the Christians. But as to the  
*Manner* how They are *Three, or One*, let no body  
 concern Himself about it. If any one, under Pre-  
 tence of explaining the *Manner*, changes the *Sense*  
 of the Word *God*, making the Son a *nominal* God on-  
 ly, and the Holy-Ghost scarce so much; what is This  
 but doing the same, as if under Pretence of explain-  
 ing the *Manner of Eternity, Ubiquity, or Prescience,*  
 He should introduce the Doctrine of a *nominal* not  
*real* Eternity, a *nominal* Ubiquity, a *nominal* Presci-  
 ence; undermining the Doctrines themselves? Our  
 Dispute is about the *Sense* in which any of the  
 Persons is *God*: Let this be determined by Scripture,

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\* See my *Defense* p. 303 327.

and Antiquity, and proper Rules of *Criticifm*. Make no Objections from the *Manner* how The Thing ſhould be: For, all ſuch Objections are as improper, as it would be in the Queſtion of *Preſcience\**, *Eternity*, or *Ubiquity*, to leave Scripture, and ſuch approved Rules as ſerve to determine the Senſe of it, and to retreat to philoſophical Reasonings about the *Manner* how theſe Things are. This is the very Fault which you have perpetually run into. And

\* A late Author, in his *Appeal to a Turk or Indian*, being preſſed with the Inſtance about *Preſcience* and *free Agency*, has no Way of coming off, but by denying that there is ſo much as a *ſeeming Repugnancy* between the Two Ideas, p. 5. He is the firſt Man of *Parts* who, after conſidering the Subject, ever thought ſo. I could name Him many of the cleareſt Heads, and fineſt Wits among *Antients* and *Moderns* (ſuch as Dr. *Burnet* of the Charter Houſe, Mr. *Locke*, &c.) who have been ſo ſenſible of the *ſeeming Repugnancy*, as to deſpair of ever clearing it, or reconciling the *Ideas*. Is there no *ſeeming Repugnancy* in maintaining that the ſame Act is *certain* as being fore-known, *uncertain*, as depending on the *Will* of a Free Agent? I ſhould be glad to ſee the *ſeeming Repugnancy* answered, or took off any other way than by an humble Acknowledgment of our *Ignorance* in the *High Things* of God. And I would remind this Author, that This very Inſtance about *Preſcience*, and *Free-will*, carries much greater Difficulty in it, than the Doctrine of *Three* and *One*. For, there is no Argument, I know of, againſt the *Latter*, but what is capable of a juſt Solution: That is, it may be ſhown where the Argument has a *Flaw*, and where the *Chain* breaks. But in the other Caſe, I think, the utmoſt we can do is only to *prove* that the Argument muſt have a *Flaw ſomewhere*, tho' we ſee not *where*; being content to reſolve all into the inſcrutable Perfection of the divine *Preſcience*, which infinitely tranſcends our finite Capacities. With this Author's good Leave then, *There is a Difference between theſe two Caſes*: But the Advantage lies wholly on the ſide of the Doctrine of the *Trinity*, as being more eaſily defended than the other. And if he pleaſes but to point his *Logick*, contained in Page 6<sup>th</sup>, againſt *Free-will*, or *Preſcience*, with the ſame *Rigour* as he intends it againſt the *Trinity*; I dare promiſe Him an abſolute Victory *there*, tho' not *here*. But this, perhaps, the Author was not aware of; any more than of the *Difference* between ſaying, that few underſtand the *Doctrine* of the *Trinity*, and few underſtand the *Contraverſy* about the *Trinity*; committing the ſame Blunder twice p. 12, 153. See my *Supplement*, p. 76.

while

while we are bringing you plain *Scripture* Proofs for Christ's *Divinity*, as plain as can be brought for the *Divinity* of the *Father*; you are filling People's Heads with *Tritheism* and *Sabellianism*, with *specifick* and *individual*, with *identical wholes* and *undivided Parts*, with *Acts* and *no Acts*, with *Causes* and *no Causes*, with *derived* and *underived*, with *Coordinations*, *Three supreme Gods*, *Three Substances*, and I know not what; all cavils taken from the *Manner* of the *Thing*, and intended to undermine the *Doctrine* it self, which is and ought to be the *Subject* of *Belief*. You will say, perhaps, that we have not so full Proof of this *Doctrine*, as we have of *Eternity*, *Pre-science* or *Ubiquity*. Admit we have not: Yet let That Point, as to the Truth of the *Doctrine*, be decided by *proper Evidence*; discarding all vain *Pre-tences* about the *Manner*; and then we may bring it to a short Issue.

The *Directions*, you say, given in *Scripture* concerning the *Worship* of *God* and *Christ* (and not *philosophical Conjectures* concerning *Substances* and *Essences*) ought to be the *Guide* of our *Practice*. Let us then follow the *Directions* given in *Scripture*: Not *philosophical Conjectures* about *Self-existence*; nor *Pagan Distinctions* about *absolute* and *relative*, *ultimate* and *mediate Worship*; nor *precarious Suppositions* of one that had been *God* and *Creator* before, becoming *greater* by being appointed *Judge*. Let *Worship*, all religious *Worship*, be paid, as *Scripture* every where directs, to *God* alone, and to no *Creature*. Let none have *Worship* that *cannot* be proved to be *God*, nor any want it that *can*: And then there will soon be an end of all *Disputes*; And *Worship* will stand upon its old *Foundations*, as it had ever stood, before *Pagans*, *Arians*, and *Papists* perverted and corrupted the true *Notion* of it.

You state the main *Question* between us in These *Terms* (p. 413.) *Scripture*, you say, *tells us there's but one God even the Father*. Yes. *Scripture*



stiles the Father the *one or only God*: That is all you should pretend. The same Scripture stiles the Son *God*, ascribing also *divine* Titles, Attributes, Glory, to Him. Now let your Question be put: *In what Sense, these two Propositions are, according to Reason, and the Use of Language, best understood to be consistent.* I have at large considered This very Question, so stated, in a distinct Discourse\*; which was published before this Part of your *Reply* was put to the Press; as appears by your quoting my *Sermons* in the former Part. I have therefore just Reason to complain of your *Complaint*, which you have borrowed from the *Modest Pleader*; and which, whatever was then, you have now no Pretence for. I have shown abundantly that your Argument from the *exclusive Terms*, is not either, *according to Reason, or Use of Language*, of any Weight, in Comparison to the Proofs we bring of Christ's being God in the *Same Sense* as the Father is, and *One God* with Him. The 1<sup>st</sup> Cor. viii. 6. which you urge in such a Manner as if the whole Scripture was to yield to *One Text*, and That misinterpreted, has been often answered. You blame me for not expressing my Faith in any *Scripture-positions*: As if every Thing I assert as Matter of Faith, were not as much *Scripture Position*, according to my way of understanding Scripture, as yours is to you *Scripture-position* according to your Way: Only the Difference is, that mine is the *Catholick*, approved way; yours is partly *Arian*, and partly *Socinian*.

Under This *Query*, I entred into a Discourse about the Meaning of believing *Mysteries*, in answer to the Objection, that our Doctrine is *not intelligible*. I showed both of the Doctrine in *general*, and of the *Particulars* most usually excepted against, that They are *intelligible*; as intelligible, at least, as *Omnipresence, Eternity, Prescience, God's Simplicity,*

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\* Sermon iv.

*Self-existence*, &c. To the main of the Discourse you have nothing to reply: But here, and there you throw in some short Strictures upon such Parts as you think proper.

I had said, *the Learned are hardly agreed, whether Self-existence be a negative or positive Idea*: Upon which, you remark, *how absurd This is, I have already shown*. What is absurd? The Report I had made of learned Men, and their differing on That Head? No, the Fact is undoubtedly true. But it is absurd for any one to make the Idea *negative*: That I presume is your Meaning. And yet you here intirely mistake what I was talking about; and have certainly determined on the wrong side of the Question. For, the Question upon which the learned have differed, is This; whether when we say any Thing exists *of it self*, or is *self-existent*, the Words *a se*, or *of self*, have any *positive* Meaning, or mean only that it does *not exist of another*. Some have carried the Notion of its being *positive*, so far as to say God is the Cause of Himself\*, or even made Himself, as *Lactantius* expresseth it: Which is supposing the *Idea positive* indeed, and is manifestly absurd. Dr. *Clarke*, one of the latest Writers, and from whom one might have expected something accurate, yet appears to be all over confused upon This

\* The Expressions of *αὐτογενής*, and *αὐτοφύνης*, if strictly taken, lead to such a Meaning: As also *ex se ortus*, *ex seipso*, and the like. *Petavius* cites several Testimonies of this kind. De Trin. l. 5. c. 5. p. 294.

*ὁὐν ἑαυτοῦ*. Synes.

Solus Deus est, itaque Principium; qui ex Seipso dedit sibi ipse principium. Zen. Veron.

Deus—ipse sui Origo est; suæque Causa Substantiæ. Hieron. in Ephes. 3.

Id quod est, ex se, atque in se continens. *Hilar.*

Ex se principium cui contigit. *Hilar. alter.*

*ἔχει ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ εἶναι ὃ ἐστίν.* Zach. Mitylen.

Sui namque Principium.

Ex seipso procreatus—ipse se fecit. *Lactant.*

very Head in his famous *Demonstration* of the *Existence*. His professed Design there is to prove the Existence of a *First Cause a priori*. Which has no Sense without the Supposition of a Cause *prior* to the *First*: which yet is *Non-sense*. The Doctor was too wise a Man to say that God is the *Cause of Himself*: And yet He says what amounts to it unawares. He speaks of *Necessity of Existence*, as being *antecedently, in Order of Nature, the Cause or Ground of That Existence\**: Which is, in short, making a *Property, or Attribute* antecedent, in Order of Nature, to its *Subject*, and the *Cause and Ground* of the Subject. And He talks in his *Letters*, of this *Necessity absolute and ante-cedent* (in Order of Nature) to the Existence of the *First Cause, operating every where alike*†: As if a *Property* operated in *causing* the Substance; or making it to be what it is. All This Confusion seems to have been owing to the Doctor's not distinguishing between *modal, and causal* Necessity; and his not considering that *Self-existence, or Aseity*‡, as the Schools speak, is *negative*; and does not mean that the *First Cause* is either caused by any Thing *ad extra*, or by *it self* (much less by any *Property* of it self) but has no Cause, is absolutely *uncaused*. I was not therefore considering, whether any, or what *positive* Perfections are implied in *Self-existence*, or in any Being that is self-existent as you hastily apprehended, but whether *Self-existence* (having plainly a Reference to the Question *whence the Thing is*) is to be considered *positively*, or

\* See *Demonstration*, &c. p. 9, 10, 16.  
*Letters*, p. 35, 36, 16.

† *Letters* p. 20, 37.

‡ Hanc Dei proprietatem quidam ex recentioribus Philosophis *Aseitatem* vocarunt, quia Deus, eo quod principio caret, est a se, non ab alio; contenduntque eam esse *Positivum* Attributum; quod eodem quidem redit ac id quod diximus, sed vocibus novis sine *Causa* expressum est. *Clerici Pneumatol. c. 3. p. 150.*

*negatively* in Regard to the Cause of That Existence. I have now determined, I think upon plain Reasons, that it is *negative* only: And that we are not to suppose any Cause, *external* or *internal*, but absolutely *no Cause*; because there is no Cause *prior* to the *First*. The true way of ending the Dispute about the Attribute of *Self-existence* being *positive* or *negative*, is by showing what *Ideas* are supposed to be contained in it. No doubt, but *Existence* is a positive Idea: And the Question only is, whether the Manner of existing expressed by *self*, denotes any thing *positive*. It is plain it doth not, since it means existing from *no Cause*, which is *negative*; tho' such *Existence* implies all positive Perfections. Bp. *Stillingfleet* on the Trinity (p. 278.) says, " To be from  
 " *Himself*, in the Sense generally understood, is a  
 " meer *negative* Expression — And in This Sense  
 " only, learned Men have told us, that it is to be  
 " understood by those ancient and modern Writers,  
 " who have used That Expression, as when St. *Je-*  
 " *rom* saith, that God is *self-originated*, and St. *Au-*  
 " *stin*, &c.— All these and such like Expressions are  
 " only to be *negatively* understood. To return.

You proceed to make two or three little Exceptions (scarce worth Notice) to what you met with in my *Defense*. You declare that your Argument against the Son's being God, in the *strict Sense*, is not founded upon what *can*, or *cannot* be (which I am glad to hear) but upon 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. which I have often answered. You acquaint me farther, (p. 416.) that *Two Supreme Gods* cannot be *One Supreme God*; which I readily agree to: As neither can two Gods, supreme and inferior, be one God, or ever stand with the Scripture Doctrine of *One God*. But two Persons in *Nature* equal, and so equally supreme, may be *One Supreme God*.

You assure me, that you did set out upon the Foot of Scripture, and do continue upon That Foot still. I heartily wish you could mean, as well as say, and not revoke

revoke all again presently, by denying the Son and Holy-Ghost to be *necessarily-existing*: Which you have not the least Syllable of *Scripture* to countenance you in. And I wish you would not every where represent a Distinction of *Order*, or *Office* to be inconsistent with the *divine Unity*: Which again you have no *Scripture* for, but meer fanciful Speculations. You have the less Reason to blame me for mentioning *Office* in Respect of God: Because, you know, There was a Time, when the Word *God* was thought to be always a relative Word of *Office*.

As to *Lucian's Philopatris*, I have given my Thoughts of it above (p. 72.) Your Hints about a Passage of *Irenæus*, which I had sufficiently explained\* by another of *Novatian*, and a third of *Tertullian*, are very trifling. Those Hereticks thought it mean and degrading for *God* to become *Man*: Which made some of Them deny Christ's *Divinity*, and others his *Humanity*; all, the Union of *Both Natures* in *one Person*. Whether You, or I give the most Countenance to Those *Heretical Tenets*, I leave the Reader to judge.

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\* *Defense*, p. 325.



Q U E R Y XXII.

*Whether his (the Doctor's) whole Performance, whenever He differs from us, be any thing more than a Repetition of This Assertion, that Being and Person are the same, or that there is no Medium between Tritheism and Sabelianism? which is removing the Cause from Scripture to natural Reason; not very consistent with the Title of his Book:*

**Y**OU begin with telling me, that if two or more Intelligent Agents can be the same Being, or subsist in the same individual Substance (provided the Agent be not all of Them Self-existent) This will no way affect the Truth of Dr. Clarke's Propositions. The Reader is to know, that by the same Being, or Substance, in this case, is understood the same necessarily-existing Substance: For necessary and precarious, that is, uncreated and created cannot be called the same individual Substance. By Self-existent, as you have now explained your self, you mean necessarily-existing. The Sum then of what you have here said, amounts to This wise Sentence; "If Two or more intelligent Agents can be the same necessarily-existing Being, or subsist in the same necessarily-existing Substance (provided the Agents be not all of them necessarily-existing) This will no way affect the Truth of Dr. Clarke's Propositions. What is This to the Purpose? Do not you here plainly deny that two Persons can be one necessary Being, or Substance? And This is what Dr.

*Clarke*

Clarke has often denied\*; and could never give a sufficient Reason for doing it. Indeed the Doctor (or you for Him) seems at length to have given up his general Principle, which he first insisted upon, viz. that *Two Persons cannot be one Being*; which He chiefly grounded upon the Consideration of the imaginary *Composition* implied in it. I say, He appears to have given This up; being at length sensible that He has allowed, in another case, *Substance and Substance, Being and Being* to make *One Substance and one Being*, without any *Composition*. But what the Doctor (or you) insists upon now, is, that *Two such Persons cannot be one necessary Being or Substance*; or that *derived and underived cannot be Both* included in one *Necessary substance*. Which tho' it be putting the Objection upon a different Foot, yet wants to be proved as much as did the other: And is equally liable to the Charge I brought against the Doctor in this Query, his removing the Cause from *Scripture* to *natural Reason*; to a philosophical Question, whether the Ideas of *Self-existence* and *Necessary-existence* be the *same* or *different*, or whether *underived* expresses an essential Perfection, all that *Necessary-existence* does, or only a *Relation* of Order, and Mode of Existence. After all your Pre-  
tences to *Scripture*, you really resolve the Dispute into This *Metaphysical Question*: And you cannot

\* Three intelligent Agents in one individual, identical Substance, is so self-evident a Contradiction, that I think no Reasoning can make it plainer than Intuition. Dr. Clarke's Three Letters, p. 31.

Two Persons to be *one Being*, I think a manifest Contradiction in Terms. Clarke's Reply, p. 157.

Two Persons in one and the same individual *uncompounded* Being, is an express Contradiction. Ibid. p. 169.

Two Individuals cannot, without an express Contradiction, have an Identity of Nature. Reply, p. 184.

The Reason why our Saviour could not affirm that *He and his Father were one Being*, is because he would thereby have affirmed that they were *One Person*. Reply, 291.

advance your Cause at all by *Scripture*, but by the Help of your *Metaphysicks*. You take your Rise from 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. to come at *unoriginate*: Thus far is commenting upon *Scripture*. The rest is *Philosophy*, false *Philosophy*, drawing Inferences from *unoriginate* to *Self-existence*, from *Self-Existence* to *Necessary-existence*, from thence to the Father's being *alone* necessarily-existing, from thence to the *Exclusion* of the Son from being *necessarily-existing*, from thence to the making Him a *precarious Being* (tho' in Words you deny it) and from thence to his being a *Creature*: This is the Course of your Reasoning. Your *πρώτου ψεύδους*, or fundamental Error, lies in your *Philosophy*, confounding *unoriginate* (as did the antient *Eunomians*) with *Necessary-existence*; which you have no Foundation for: Or if you be allowed to make *Necessary-existence* the same with *Self-existence*; you will then never be able to prove, that the Father *alone* is Self-existent; or that the *Self-existence* of three Persons (so understood) is at all inconsistent with a *real Distinction* of *Order*, and *Offices*. It will be changing the *Names* of Things, and nothing more. It is manifest, from what I have observed, that *Scripture* is not the Thing you trust to, but *Philosophy*; because when we have granted you all you pretend to have proved from *Scripture*, *viz.* that the Father is the *first Person*, derived *from none*, you are still but where you were, till you call in *Philosophy* and *Metaphysicks* to make out the rest, and to determine the main Question. You are now pleased to put the Matter upon This, whether two supreme Persons can be one supreme God. You say (*p.* 420.) *Two equally supreme Persons united may be in the complex Sense, one Being, one Substance; but They will not consequently be one supreme Governour, one Lord, one God.* Now, here in the first Place, I very much blame your not attending to the Distinction of supreme *in Nature*, and supreme *in Order*. It is in the first Sense only, that we assert Two, or Three

*Supreme*



*Supreme Persons*; supreme in every Perfection, having no *higher* or *lower*, no *better* or *worse*, no Degrees of essential *Power*, *Wisdom*, or any other Attribute. At the same Time, Those Persons, thus *equally* supreme in *Nature*, are not equally supreme in *Order*; but Two of Them are *subordinate* to One, the *Head* and *Center* of Unity. And, because They are in *Nature* *undivided*, and in *Order* referred up to That one *Head* and *Fountain* of all, They are therefore, with Him, *One Governor*, *One Lord*, and *One God*. And tho' the Authority, the Dominion, the Power be considered always *primarily* in the Father, yet is it *common* to all; only with this *Order*, that the Father has it *from none*, They *from the Father*: So that all that remains peculiar to the Father, is a Pre-eminence, or Priority of *Order*. This is the *Catholick* Doctrine, which you are endeavouring to confute: But, instead of Arguments, you generally give us only ambiguous Words, and Names, to confound and perplex what ought to be kept clear and distinct.

You tell me of running counter to *Scripture* and *Antiquity*, in making more than one *absolutely supreme* over all. Here you are only doubling upon, or trifling with, the Word *Supreme*. I make Three *supreme* in *Nature*; I suppose One only *supreme* in *Order*, or *Office*: Show me either *One* Text of *Scripture*, or one *single* Testimony of *Catholick* Antiquity (I allow not *Eusebius* for such) that plainly contradicts *Either* of These *Positions*. They appear to me, Both of them, true and just *Positions*; founded in *Scripture*, and confirmed by the universal Suffrage of the *Antients*. If They appear not consistent in your *Philosophy*, own it frankly and ingenuously, as an honest Man would: But do not mis-report *Scripture*, and *Antiquity*.

What follows in p. 421, is only repeating your own *Fictions* both of Me, and of the *Antients*;

I had appealed to the Prophet *Isaiab*, as interpreted by St. *John*, making Father and Son *One Lord of Hosts*. You tell me bluntly, *There is no such Thing in the Texts*; referring me to Dr. *Clarke's Scripture-Doctrine*. I say, there is in Those Texts all that I before asserted: And why do you now refer me to Dr. *Clarke*, whose Pretences I had before\* considered, and, I think, confuted?

You tell me that neither the antient Writers, nor Bp. *Bull*, are at all of my Opinion in the Point of *equal Supremacy of Dominion*. But so far as I apprehend of the *Antients*, and of Bp. *Bull*, They were exactly of my Opinion, as They are directly opposite to yours: And I wonder at your Presumption in claiming any Acquaintance with Them, or Interest in Them.

You have a pretty Argument (p. 425.) to prove St. *Paul* a *Pagan*, and an *Idolater*, upon my Principles; that is, upon the Principles of the *Catholick Church* in all Ages: For mine are no other. But how is This wonderful Consequence to be raised? It is first by supposing, that St. *Paul* excluded the Son from the *One Godhead*; an imaginary Consequence drawn from 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. And next by supposing, that St. *Paul* allowed *mediate* and *inferior* Worship; another *imaginary* Inference drawn from 1 *Tim.* ii. 5. *Phil.* ii. 11. After sporting your self a while in so ridiculous an Argument, you come to invent something for me to say: You suppose I shall say, that our Lord is *That One God* mentioned 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. Which you think highly absurd. But what if I should plead, that *That One God* is a silly Expression, where there are not *Two One-Gods*; and therefore should rather say, that our Lord is not *That Person* there stiled *One God* by way of Eminence, but Another Person, who is yet

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\* *Sermons*, p. 30, 31.

One God with Him. Your Interpretation of the *Gods many* and *Lords many*, as alluding to the *superior* and *inferior Deities* of the Pagans, stands upon the Authority of Mr. *Mede*: Who, like a modest and a learned Man, proposed it only as a plausible *Conjecture*, not with the Confidence you speak of it. An ingenious Gentleman\* has very lately suggested several Things on That Head, well deserving Consideration; and such as appear sufficient to make Mr. *Mede's* Construction pass for *precarious* at least, if not certainly *false*. There's one obvious Objection to be farther used against it; that to make the *Gods many* answer in the Comparison (in your Way) They should be understood to be many *supreme* Gods; which yet the Heathens never asserted, but the contrary: As Dr. *Cudworth* and other learned Men have abundantly shown. To me it appears, that The *many Gods* and *many Lords* mean the same Thing, under different Names; and that St. *Paul*, in Opposition to having *many*, asserts that *all Things* were of The One God, and by The One Lord, intimating their perfect *Unity* of Power, Perfection, and Operation, so as to be Both but *One God* and *One Lord*; the One Lord being *One* with the One God, and *vice versa*. To proceed: How well you have been able to answer the Charge of *Polytheism*, has been seen before: And particularly as to *Origen*, it has been shown that his Answer to the Charge in his Piece against *Celsus*, was nothing like yours, but directly contrary; affirming Father and Son to be *One God*.

I pass over your *Repetitions* in p. 426, 427, which have been abundantly answered. Two Gods, One *Supreme* and Another *inferior*, is so manifestly your Doctrine, that you do but expose your self to ridicule by struggling to evade it. The *Socinians*, in This,

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\* Mr. *Wade's* short Inquiry into the Doctrine of the Trinity, &c. p. 39, &c.

were plainer Men, and did not scruple to confess a clear Thing.

You pretended, before, to bring *Ante-nicene* and *Post-nicene* Writers against me, as to the Point of charging you with *Polytheism*. I knew you had none, but that you had unhappily deceived your self with a few second-hand Scraps of *Athanasius*, *Hilary* and *Basil*, which you understood not. I answered your Pretences, and produced full and plain Testimonies\* against you, both from *Ante-nicene* and *Post-nicene* Antiquity. One was out of a Fragment of *Dionysius Romanus*, preserved by *Athanasius*; a very valuable one, and such as *no Critick* will ever doubt of, as to its being genuine: Your Exceptions therefore against it, as of doubtful Authority, are not worth the Notice; besides that I have answered them above. Another Testimony I produced from *Athanasius* Himself (or perhaps *Basil*) who makes it *Ditheism* either to suppose *Two Principles*, or to admit *One God undervived* and *another God derived*. Your Remark upon Him for it, is so very shrewd and sagacious, that it is pity the Reader should lose it: He shall have it in your own Words. *You cite a Passage of Athanasius, that He who introduces a God undervived, and another who is a God derived, makes two Gods: Which is not very consistent with his own foregoing Words, that He who introduces two original Principles, preaches Two Gods. For, that in This unoriginate Principality over all, consists the Unity of God, was the express Doctrine of all the Ante-nicene Writers.* Now, are you really so blind as not to have perceived, that That *Origination* (according to the Antients) was not supposed to make the Father *One God* exclusive of the other Persons? But because Two of the Persons were referred to One as their *Head*, undivided from Him; Therefore all Three together were the *One God*. This was the use They made of the *Origination*: Not to throw out the *Son* and *Holy-Ghost*, as you do, but to take

\* *Defense*, p. 338.

|| p. 342

Them *Both* in. Yet you are constantly representing that *Origination* in a quite different Light, and to a quite different Purpose; meanly quoting Bp. *Pearson* for it: Who contradicts you in the very same Sentence, and represents the Case as it really stood among the *Antients*, being a *learned*, and a *judicious* Man.

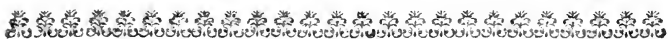
Upon This Occasion, I shall here translate That Passage of *Athanasius*, that the common Reader may see what the *Antients* thought of *Tritheism*, in a very few Words.

“ He that introduces *Two Principles* (or *Heads*)  
 “ preaches up *Two Gods*: Such was the impious  
 “ Doctrine of *Marcion*. Again, He that asserts an  
 “ *uncreated* God, and another God *created*, does  
 “ also make *Two Gods*; because of the difference of  
 “ Nature (*Essence*) which He blasphemously intro-  
 “ duces. But where there is one Head, (or *Fa-  
 “ ther*) and one Offspring from Him, there is but  
 “ *One God*; the Godhead being perfect in the  
 “ Father, and the perfect Godhead of the Father  
 “ being also in the Son.” I refer the Reader to my  
*Defense*, (p. 338.)- for the *Original*; where he will also  
 find other Passages to the same purpose.

What you produce next from *Justin*, *Novatian*, *Hilary*, and Bp. *Pearson*, the Reader may judge of by the last of Them; whom you quote as saying, *This Origination of the divine Paternity, has antiently been looked upon as the Assertion of the Unity*. Here you stop, as usual. The very next Words of Bp. *Pearson* are; *And therefore the Son and Holy-Ghost have been believed to be but One God with the Father, because Both from the Father, who is One, and so the Union of Them\**: Directly contrary to what you cited Him for. Such are your Representations of Authors; such your manner of using the common Reader.

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\* *Pearson on the Creed*, p. 40.



### QUERY XXIII.

*Whether the Doctor's Notion of the Trinity be more clear and intelligible than the other?*

*The Difficulty in the Conception of the Trinity is, how Three Persons can be One God?*

*Does the Doctor deny that every One of the Persons, singly, is God? No: Does he deny that God is One? No: How then are Three One?*

*Does one and the same Authority, exercised by all, make them one, numerically or individually one and the same God? That is hard to conceive how three distinct Beings, according to the Doctor's Scheme, can be individually one God, that is, Three Persons One Person.*

*If therefore One God necessarily signifies but One Person, the Consequence is irresistible; either that the Father is that One Person, and none else, which is downright Sabellianism; or that the Three Persons are Three Gods.*

*Thus the Doctor's Scheme is liable to the same Difficulties with the other.*

*There is indeed one easy way of coming off, and that is, by saying that the Son and Holy Spirit are neither of them God, in the Scripture-sense of the Word. But this is cutting the Knot, instead of untying it; and is in effect to say, they are not set forth as divine Persons in Scripture.*

*Does the Communication of divine Powers and Attributes from Father, to Son and Holy Spirit, make*

*make them One God, the Divinity of the Two latter being the Father's Divinity? Yet the same Difficulty recurs: For either the Son and Holy-Ghost have distinct Attributes, and a distinct Divinity of their own, or they have not: If they have, they are (upon the Doctor's Principles) distinct Gods from the Father, and as much as Finite from Infinite, Creature from Creator; and then how are They One? If they have not, then, since they have no other Divinity, but that individual Divinity, and those Attributes which are inseparable from the Father's Essence, they can have no distinct Essence from the Father's; and so (according to the Doctor) will be One and the same Person, that is, will be Names only.*

Q. *Whether this be not as unintelligible as the Orthodox Notion of the Trinity, and liable to the like Difficulties: A communication of divine Powers and Attributes, without the Substance, being as hard to conceive, nay, much harder than a communication of Both together?*

**Y**OU begin thus: *The Difficulty in the Conception of the Trinity, is not how Three Persons can be One God. For, the Scripture no where expresses the Doctrine in Those Words: And the Difficulty of understanding a Scripture Doctrine ought not surely to lie wholly upon Words not found in Scripture. The Reader is to know that This is a new Turn, intended to bring you off from the first state of the Question where you happened to lose your self, in your first Answer. However, tho' it may pass for an ingenious shift in Distress, there is very little in it more than in your first Answer. Only it is hard upon me*

to have *new* Answers now formed to *old* Queries, and to be put upon changing my Method of *Defense*, as often as you are pleased to vary your Responses. Whoever taught you This *new Turn*, was a Man of no great Prudence, or Foresight: He did not consider how it inevitably recoils upon Dr. *Clarke*. For, the Scripture no where expresses in Words, or in Sense, his *main Doctrine* that the Father *alone* is *Necessarily-existing*, that neither the Son nor the Holy-Ghost is *Necessarily-existing*: (so you now confessedly understand *Self-existent*) These are Tenets not found in Scripture expressly, nor so much as deducible by any Consequence, or Shadow of a Consequence. Why then did you not consider better, before you drew up a Charge upon others, which at length falls only on your own Friends? You go on: 'Tis very strange that a Man of your Abilities should write a large Book without so much as knowing, or ever once being able to express what the true Question is. And it is very strange that a Man of your Abilities should perceive nothing of my *mistaking* the Question, when you first answered the Queries; but should be forced to learn This, at length, of the *Modest Pleader*, from whom you have been content to echoe it. Tho' my *Abilities* are very slender, yet This mean Suggestion will hardly find Credit, even among the lowest Readers that can at all distinguish between a *probable* Untruth, and one that is plainly *Romantic*. When you are again disposed to abuse an *Adversary*, do it a little more artfully; if without any *Truth*, yet with a little *Discretion*. But I excuse you for being misled by a Third Person, who was too wise to set his *Name*. As to the *Question*, I have not mistook it, but have kept close to it; while the Doctor and You have been either industriously disguising it, or unfairly running from it. You might think it sufficient if your shifting, and shuffling in so momentous a Controversy (which plain and honest Men, on Either side, can but hardly excuse)



cuse) be pass'd over as *tolerable*; or may but admit of any *candid*, and *plausible* Colour, from the Circumstances you are under. It becomes you not, in the mean Time, so magisterially to correct others for stating the Question *right*, and as it ought to be stated. Had you but had the Courage, and Spirit of your Friend Mr. *Whiston*, I doubt not but you your self would have stated the Question as He, and I, and all Men of Sense and undisguis'd Ingenuity have ever done. But enough of This.

You were here to clear Dr. *Clarke's* Doctrine of the Charge of *Three Gods*. You first observe, that the Word *God* no where in Scripture denotes the *Holy-Ghost*. Well then, you will throw Him out from being *God*, and reduce the Number to *Two*: Tho', when I wrote before, I imagined, Dr. *Clarke*, and You, had admitted the *Holy-Ghost* to be *God*; and the rather, because I never heard that you had retracted your *Subscription*, or would scruple to repeat it. But not to press you farther on so tender a Point; how get you off from asserting *Two Gods*, the Father and Son? You have nothing to say, but Repeating, and Trifling: Let us go to another Point.

You are next to retort the Charge of *Tritheism* upon Me: which I have answered more than once, and need not do it again. Dr. *Clarke's* Scheme, you say, is easily express'd in the very Words of Scripture. But, had the Doctor gone no farther than *Scripture*, his Scheme could never have been express'd at all. Only, since He has told you where, and how, to understand *Self-existent*, and where to exclude it; now you pretend his Scheme may be express'd in *Scripture* words. Do you imagine that I cannot as easily, or more easily, find *Scripture-words* for mine? But This is trifling. Why have you not laid down your Doctrine in Scripture words, that I might compare it with the Doctor's

tor's *Propositions*, to see how far They exceed, or come short? I may here dismiss the *Modest Pleader*, who is set in the Front, and is not answering my *Defense*, but my *Queries*: Which you had done before, and, I think, more to the purpose; I am sure more *ingenuously* and *frankly*, and more like a lover of Truth. I have reason to complain of your not digesting your Book better, and not throwing your disjointed Materials into a more neat and regular Order, after you had so long Time for the compiling. For when sometimes I thought a Point had been discussed, and we were to have no more of it, in That *Query* at least; as I go on some Pages forwards, there, I observe, I am to discuss the same Things again; which gives me some Trouble, and must create Confusion in the Reader.

The *Modest Pleader*, I perceive, draws off in *p. 436*. And now I am to engage a *new Man*, whom I'll suppose to be the Man I am writing to. You need say no more about the Charge of *Three Gods*, or *Two Gods*: I understand you very fully, that the Father is *One God*, as being *Necessarily-existing*; the Son *Another God* infinitely inferior, of the Father's *appointing*. Strain no more for Apologies: The Thing is out, tho' long a bringing forth; and now our Dispute will run clear. Here is very little of Moment occurring but what has been answered. You have a few Quibbles in *p. 438*. which are all abundantly answered in my *Defense* \*. You object Bp. *Pearson* to me against my saying, that the Word *God* is sometimes taken *Personally*, and sometimes *Essentially*. And what says Bp. *Pearson*? I have a great respect for his Memory. He says, the Word *God* in the Apostles Creed is not taken *Essentially*: So say I too. Nor is it taken *essentially*, but *personally*, in the *Nicene Creed*. Therefore what? Therefore it is *never* taken otherwise: That is your Confe-

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\* *Defense*, p. 349.

quence, when you can make any *Consequence* of it. It is the old *Valentinian* Distinction, you observe. I am glad it is so old however: Those *Hereticks* sometimes borrowed good Things from the Church; tho' They happened to spoil Them in the Use. But, if you look again into *Tertullian*, you will find That *Valentinian* Distinction to be nothing a-kin to ours, except it be in the *Name*.

In Page 439, you are finding I know not what Perplexities in a very easy Thing; which I have accounted for twice already, in Print\*. *Intelligent Agent*, being only two Adjectives, is to be understood according to the *Subject* to which the Attributes are applied. Put the Words to *Substance*, and then we have *intelligent Agent Substance*, whether in *Person*, or *Persons*. If the Substance be thus, or thus circumstantiated, (as explained above) *intelligent Agent Substance* may be a *single Person*; if otherwise, it may be *more Persons*: So that *intelligent Agent* is different in Sense and Meaning, according as it may be differently applied. What you repeat about a *Principle of Individuation*, and your farther Speculations thereupon, have been sufficiently obviated; or have nothing contradictory to any thing I assert. I allow that *Three* stands for *Three*, and *Three Substances* for Three Substances, and *Three Gods* for Three Gods. What is all This to Me? I do not assert that *Three* stands for more, or less than Three; nor that Three Substances, but that Three Persons (who are not Three Substances) are One Substance; nor that Three Gods, but Three Persons (who are not Three Gods) are *One God*. What you say of *Sabellius*, (p. 442.) has been answered above. And what you say of the Church's holding *one and the same individual identical whole Substance*, affects not me, who never express my Notion in such uncouth

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\* Preface to Sermons, p. 51.

Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription, p. 31.

Terms. The *same undivided Substance* is what I hold and maintain, in opposition both to *Substances* and to the *Sabellian* Notion of one *Hypostasis*, *nominally*, and not *really* distinguished.

*Origen's* Account of the *Sabellian* Notion is very distinct and accurate, as I before observed, *viz.* That the Father and Son were *One, not in Essence only* (or *Substance*) *but in Subject* (or *suppositum*) *being called Father and Son under different Considerations*, not *really*, or *personally* distinguished\*. This is a just account of *Origen's* Sense in That Passage. And it is observable, that the *Noetians* of That Time would not have been blamed for supposing the Father and Son to be ἐν ἑσσίᾳ, *one in Essence*, (or what we call *one in Substance*) had they not carried the *Union* so high as to make one *Suppositum*, or what we now call *One Person* of Both, without any *real* Distinction. Your Account of it is very little different from mine: Only you are fond of the Phrase, *single existent Substance*, which serves you to play with, and you know not what you mean by it. Do but define what a *single existent Substance* is, and I will soon tell you whether the *Name* belongs to every *single Person*, or to all together.

*Undivided Substance*, in *Three Persons*, you say, makes *Three Substances*. How you do prove it? I have often told you that *Dr. Clarke* and you, will not admit This kind of Reasoning in Another Case; for fear of dividing the divine Substance into numberless Substances. If you can admit *Substance* and *Substance*, nay, *This Substance* and *That Substance*, where there are no *Substances*; why do you deal thus unequally with others? You must allow that *Union*

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\* Μὴ διαφέρειν τῷ ἀριθμῷ τὸν υἱὸν ὅ πατὴρ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑ μόνον ἑσσίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑποκειμένων τυγχάνοντας ἀμφοτέρως, κατὰ τινος ἐπινοίας, ἢ κατ' ὑπόθεσιν, λέγεσθαι πατέρας καὶ υἱοῦ. *Origen. Com. in Joh. p. 186.*

is enough to constitute *Sameness*, without making either *complex*, or *compound* Substance: Otherwise you make a *complex*, or *compound* Substance of God. Since therefore the same, or equal Difficulties bear upon Both; be so fair, and so candid, as to condemn, or to acquit Both. As to the Sense of *Hypostasis*, I have delivered my Mind above.

You bring in a long detail of the Sense of *ὑπόστασις* and *ἰσότης*, in which I am very little concerned; having never pretended that *Hypostasis*, or *Person*, does not imply *Substance*; or signify *Substance*. Only, in *Divinis*, a *Person* is not *separate Substance*, nor, consequently, more *Persons* more *Substances*: So that what you have to say in the following Pages, is mostly wide and foreign. I may just throw a few Strictures upon your account, as I pass along. *ἰσότης*, you say, signifies *singular identical Substance*. Now, because you often speak of *singular identical Substance*, as if you really understood what you are talking about; let us stop a while and examine what you mean by it. I conceive, you mean just *as much Substance* as you take into your Thoughts at once, considering it as *one*. You have brought the *divine Substance*, under *extension*: And so give me leave to question you a little upon That Head, in a style proper to your Notion. You can conceive, in your Thoughts, as much of that Substance as is commensurate, suppose, to the *Sun*: Pray, tell me, if This be not a *singular identical Substance*, in your own way of reasoning. Consider only *Half* of That; and then there's another *singular identical Substance*. Divide into *Quarters*: And then you have four *singular identical Substances*. And as every Thing extended is (as our *Mathematicians* tell us) *infinitely* divisible; there will be as many *singular identical Substances* as you are pleased to conceive divisible Parts. Do I misrepresent you? Or are none of those Parts *singular identical Substances*, but all one *singular identical Substance*? What is the reason of it? Is it not that *Union* makes *Sameness*, all real *Sameness*? You must

must say so: Otherwise, upon your Principles, I'll demonstrate that there is not a *singular identical Substance* in the World; the least imaginable *same* being still farther *divisible*, in conception, infinitely. What use you will now make of *singular identical Substances*, I know not: But This I know, that you can never oblige me to admit Two *undivided inseparable Persons* to be Two *singular identical Substances*, till you divide the divine Substance (as you conceive it) into as many *singular identical Substances* as there are conceivable Parts. Having given This hint of the fruitlessness of the Pains you are taking about *Hypostasis*, I may now ask, is this the Doctrine Christ came to teach, that *Three divine Persons must be Three singular identical Substances*? But to proceed. I forgot to ask you, whether any Two Parts of the divine Substance, in your way of thinking, are *ὁμοῦσια*, or *παντοῦσια*, or *μονοῦσια*? I know they must be *Una Substantia*, tho' Either of them is *singular identical Substance*, distinct by itself, and *This* is not *That*. I believe, you would be more puzzled about the use of *Terms*, in That Case, than ever were the Fathers in respect of the *Trinity*.

What I intend by all I have here said, is to make you at length sensible of Two Things, about which you have been hitherto very slow and unperceiving.

1. That a Man may have a very clear and full Notion of an *Union* and a *Distinction*, and yet be very much puzzled about the *Names* whereby they should be called.

2. That the *Metaphysical*, Objections wherewith you have been endeavouring to clog the *Catholick* Doctrine of the *Trinity*, (about *Specifick*, *Numerical*, *Individual*, *Identical*, and the like) are not so much owing to any Difficulty there is in the conception of the *Doctrine* (which was a *plain Thing* long before ever those Words came in, and still is so) but to the Difficulty of fixing, defining, settling, in all Cases, what Those several *Words*, *Names*, or *Phrases* shall import. But I proceed. Instead

Instead of amusing your Reader with a long detail of the use of *ῥοια* and *ὑπόστασις*, such as the learned will despise, and the unlearned will not edify by; it were better to have endeavoured to give Him a distinct Idea of what the Antients meant by One *Hypostasis*, or Three *Hypostases*. That I may say something which may be useful to common Readers, the Case lies thus: The Faith of the Church all along was in Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost, One God, into which They were baptized. The Father was not the Son, nor the Son the Father, nor the Holy-Ghost Either of the other. This was the common Faith of the Church, before either *Person*, or *Substance*, was talked of.

In *Justin Martyr's* Time, we find, that nothing was to be worshipped but God; that These Three, Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost, were all worshipped, yet not as three Gods; that They were believed to be really distinct, and not nominally only: But The *Distinction* was not expressed by *Persons*, nor the *Union* by *Substance*; nor does it appear that the Word *Trinity* was yet applied to this Case.

In *Athenagoras*, we find plain mention made of the *Union* and *Distinction* of Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost; but still nothing of *Persons*, and *Substance*.

*Theophilus*, of the same Age, about the Year 180, is the first Writer extant that expressly gives them the Name of *Trinity*. But still *Persons* and *Substance* were not mentioned.

But upon the Disputes raised by *Praxeas*, *Noetus*, and *Sabellius*\*, (one after another) it by degrees  
grew

\* *Facundus Hermianensis* is a little mistaken, when He confines it to the Times of *Sabellius*: But if we understand Him of *Sabellius*, and his Predecessors, *Noetus* and *Praxeas*, his Observation is just. His Words are:

grew into common use to express the Distinction by *Persons*, and the *Unity* by *One Substance*. I know not whether *Clemens* of *Alexandria* may be reckoned the first Writer extant that expressly has the Name of *One Substance* (*μοναδική ὄσια*) applied in This Case. It is certain *Tertullian* has it, and *Persons* too. And This became the usual way of expressing what had been all along believed, and professed, tho' under other Terms. The *Sabellians* (by which I mean all of *Sabellian* Principles) charged the Catholicks with *Three Gods*, and thereby first gave occasion to the Church; to make use of the Word *Person*: For, their Answer was, that They did not profess *Two Gods*, or *Three Gods*, but *One God* and *Two Persons*, or *Three Persons*\*.

There being in the *Trinity*, a *Distinction*, and an *Union*, there would naturally arise some Difference about the use of several *Terms*, to be either *plurally* or *singularly* predicated, according as the intent might be to speak of the *Persons* as *distinguished* into *Three*, or as united in *One God*. The same Names either *plurally* or *singularly* predicated sometimes served to express both the *Distinction*, and *Union*. *Gregory Nazianzen* calls them *Lights* and *Light*, that is, *Three Lights*, and yet but *One Light*; and so *Three Lives* and yet but *One Life*; *Three Goods*, and yet but *One Good*; *Three Glories*, and yet but *One Glory*; the Mind conceiving

Nam sic Ecclesia Christi, etiam cum necdum ad distinctionem Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, uteretur nomine *Personæ*, Tres credidit, & prædicavit, Patrem, & Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum, — *Personarum* autem nomen non nisi cum *Sabellius* impugnaret Ecclesiam, necessariò in usum prædicationis assumptum est; ut qui semper tres crediti sunt, & vocati, Pater, & Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus, uno quoque simul & communi *Personarum* nomine vocarentur. Deinde etiam & *Subsistentiæ* dictæ sunt, quoniam Ecclesiæ placuit, ad significandam Trinitatem, & hoc nomen distinctioni personali tribuere. *Facund. Herm.* l. 1. p. 8.

See what I have said above, p. 213.

\* See Hippolytus contr. Noet. and Tertull. adv. Prax.



the Three as *Distinct*, tho' in themselves united and inseparable†. All the care to be taken in these Cases was, not to make the *Distinction* too wide by the *plural* Expressions, nor the *Unity* too close by the *singular*: And the Disputes that arose in this Case were from Men's different Apprehensions about This or That *Phrase*, or *Expression*, as being liable to abuse one way or other. *Three Spirits* was a Phrase generally thought to carry the *Distinction* too far: And therefore *One Spirit* became the more common Language; tho' even *Jerom* Himself has been thought to have used the Phrase of *Three Spirits* \*.

But the greatest Debate of all was about *Three Hypostases*, begun at *Antioch*. The *Arians* had used the Phrase to signify *Three Substances*, understanding them to be *different in kind* (as *Gold, Silver, Brass*) and *separate* from each other. Again, the *Sabellians* had made use of *One Hypostasis*, to signify *One Substance* in such a Sense as left no *real* Distinction, but *nominal* only. Here was therefore Danger on Either side; either of *dividing* the *Substance* by making *Three Hypostases*, or of *confounding* the *Persons* by making *One*. This Difference was at length compromised (*A. D.* 362.) in a Synod at *Alexandria*, where *Athanasius* presided: Either manner of Expression was left indifferent, so long as They agreed in one *common* Faith, meaning Both the *same Thing*, under different Terms. So that *μία ὑπόστασις* or *τρῆς ὑποστάσεις*, might be asserted, in like manner as *ὡς* or *ὡτα*, the same Word *plurally* predica-

† Ζῶας καὶ ζῶον, ὡτα καὶ ὡς, ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἀγαθόν, δόξας καὶ δόξαν — ἵεν ἕνασον ἐν θεωρηταί μόνον, Ἐνὲ χαρίζοντο τὰ ἀχώριτα  
Orat. 13. p. 211.

\* Tres Spiritus nominatos breviter ostendam. — *Trincipalem Spiritum* Patrem appellat: quia Filius ex Patre, & non Pater ex Filio. *Spiritum autem rectum*, Veritatis atque justitiæ, Christum Dominum Significat. — Porro *Spiritum Sanctum* aperto nomine vocat. *Hieron.* in Galat. c. 14. p. 268. Tom. 4.

ted to exprefs the *Distinction*, and alfo *ſingularly* to exprefs the *Union*; the *plural* being equivalent to Three Perſons, the ſingular to *One God*: For That was all the Antients intended, never to make the Perſons *One*, nor the Godhead *Many*.

The *Latins* \* could hardly bear the Phraſe of *Tres Subſtantie*: It ſeemed to carry more in it than the *Greek's* Three *Hypoſtaſes*. It was underſtood to mean either *Three Subſtances*, (that is, a *Diviſion* of *Subſtance*) or *Three different kinds* of *Subſtance*; Neither of which could be born: And therefore *Una Subſtantia* became the common Language; but ſo that the *real* *Diſtinction* between Father, Son, and Holy-Ghoſt was kept up, to guard againſt *Sabellianiſm*. Indeed, *Hilary* uſes *Tres Subſtantie* †: And ſo, no doubt, did ſome other *Latins* who were zealous *Catholicks*: But then They intended no *Difference* in the *kind* of *Subſtance*, nor any *Diviſion* in the *ſame kind*: Which ſecured the true *Catholick* *Notion*; and the *Offence* lay only in the *Exprefſion*. In

\* Et quiſquam, rogo, Ore Sacrilego *Tres Subſtantias* prædicabit? *Hieron. Ep. ad Damaf. Tom. IV. p. 20.*

Sub nomine *Catholicæ Fidei*, impia Verba defendunt; dicentes, *Tres eſſe Subſtantias*, cum ſemper *Catholica Fides Unam Subſtantiam* Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti conſeſſa ſit. *Fauſtin. Fid. Theodof. Miſſa.*

Quia noſtra loquendi conſuetudo jam obtinuit, ut hoc intelligatur cum dicimus *eſſentiam* quod intelligitur cum dicimus *Subſtantiam*; non audemus dicere unam *Eſſentiam*, *Tres Subſtantias*, ſed unam *eſſentiam*, vel *Subſtantiam*, *Tres autem Perſonas*. *Auguſt. Trin. l. 5. c. 9. p. 838.*

Sunt *Tria quædam* coeterna, conſubſtantialia, coeſſentialia. Sed cum quæreretur a Patribus, ut diceretur, *Quid Tria*; nec *Eſſentias*, nec *Subſtantias*, nec *Naturas* dicere auſi ſunt; ne aliqua forte *diverſitas* crederetur *eſſentiarum*, aut *naturarum*, aut *ſubſtantiarum*: Sed dixerunt *Tres Perſonas*, unam *eſſentiam*; ut una *eſſentia* declararet *Deum unum*, *Tres autem Perſonæ Sanctam Trinitatem* oſtenderent. *Fulgent. de Trin. cap. 3. p. 330.*

† Idcirco *Tres ſubſtantias* eſſe dixerunt, ſubſiſtentium *Perſonas per Subſtantias* edocentes, non *ſubſtantiam* Patris & Filii *diverſitate diſſimilis eſſentiæ* ſeparantes. *Hilar. de Synod. p. 1170.*

ſhort,

short, the main Thing They intended in all, was, that the Three Persons were *really*, and more than *nominally* distinct, and all but *One God*. And They admitted several ways of expressing the *Distinction*, or *Union*, in such Modes of Speech as were thought most proper to it. Provided both a *real Distinction*, a *real Trinity* were kept up, and at the same Time an *Unity of Godhead*; the rest amounted only to a *verbal Dispute*, or *Strife about Words*.

I may here remark, that *Basil, Nazianzen, Austin*, and others, blame the scantiness of the *Latin Tongue*, as being the sole Reason of the perplexity of the *Latins*, in relation to the Phrase of *Tres substantiæ*. Yet we find, that for a long Season the Phrase of  $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma \upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  was almost as much a Bone of Contention among the *Greeks*, as *Tres Substantiæ*, among the *Latins*; and that it was with great Difficulty that it at length prevailed, and became the common Language: As it was also with some Difficulty that the other way of speaking, *viz. Una Substantia*, obtained among the *Latins*. The true Ground of all was This, that Both *Greeks* and *Latins* wanted a Phrase to express Substance considered as *United*, but *Distinguished* at the same Time. *Three Substances* (whether  $\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , or *Substantiæ*) expressed, ordinarily, *Three divided Substances*; and the latter, *Three of different kinds*: What therefore could They invent to express *Three Things* (*Tres res*, or *Tria*) real and substantial, but *undivided*? Here lay the Pinch of the Difficulty. *Substantia de Substantia* expressed it tolerably well; like as *Lumen de lumine*, and *Deus de Deo*: But still what were they to put to the Word *Three*, in the plural way of Predication? *Persons*? But *Sabellius* had wrested, and depraved the Sense of the Word *Person* to an ambiguous, or sinister meaning. *Substances*? But That was also liable to Misconstruction, and to be perverted to another Extreme. However, the *Greek*  $\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , by degrees obtained, to signify the same as  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omega\pi\alpha \epsilon\nu\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma\alpha\tau\alpha$ . And so long as no

*Division* be understood, the Phrase may serve very well: And so perhaps might the Latin *Substantia*, had not Custom carried it the other way. The *Latins* have since invented *Tres subsistentia*, *Tria supposita*, instead of *Tres substantia*; tho' the very *Schoolmen* have not scrupled *Tres substantia*, with the addition of *incommunicabiles*, or *relativa*\*, to intimate that the Persons are not *divided Substances*, but that They are *United*, and depending on each other, *relative* as to existence, so that one cannot be without the other, or *separate* from the other: Under which Cautions They can admit *Tres substantia*, and yet *Una substantia* in all; like as *Tres Res*, tho' all together *Una summa Res*. The Truth is, every *Person* is *Substance*, (but not properly A *Substance*) *Substance* in *Union* with *Substance*, and not *divided*: A Thing easy to be understood, but not easy to be expressed. You would find the like Difficulty in expressing the *Parts* of the *divine Substance*, in your Hypothesis of extension. You cannot but admit that every Part is *Substance* (Substance it must be, or nothing) and yet because of their inseparable Union, and their making *One Substance* in the whole; you would not dare to call one Part A *Substance*, or *several* Parts *several Substances*. This I again intimate, that you may not be too severe upon others, merely about a *Mode of Expression* (which is all the Case) when, in a parallel Instance, the Objection may be as strongly re-

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\* Est æquivocum *Substantia* nomen, & sæpè significat *essentiam* ——— Potest etiam significare *Suppositum*; & maxime si addatur *prima Substantia* quia *Suppositum* maxime per se Substitit. Undè in hac significatione admitti possunt *Tres Substantia* in Deo, non verò in priori. Et propter hanc æquivocationem vitandam, multi ex Antiquis Patribus negarunt hanc locutionem, ne viderentur cum *Ario* sentire, qui essentias in Trinitate multiplicabatur — & ita D. *Thomas* dicit juxta consuetudinem Ecclesiæ non esse absolute dicendas *Tres Substantias*; addendo vero aliquid quod determinet Significationem, dici posse ——— ut *Tres Substantia* *incommunicabiles*, seu *relativa*. *Suarz*, *Metaph. Disp. 34. Sect. 1. N. 6. p. 177.*

torted upon your selves. You admit *Substance* and *Substance*, where you think it not proper to say *Substances*: And if you had not, yet you could never be able to show that *Substance* and *Substance*, considered in *Union*, must always make *Substances*. Yet a great part of what you have been endeavouring under This *Query*, as well as what Dr. *Whitby* has urged in the *Second Part* of his *Reply*, is founded chiefly upon a precarious, nay false Supposition, that, if every Person be *Substance*, Three Persons must be *Three Substances*, and cannot be *One Substance*. Now, to return.

I must here take notice of a Passage of *Gregory Nazianzen*, produced first by Mr. *Whiston*\* with great Pomp, as making some notable Discovery; and now by you, I suppose, for the like purpose. What Mr. *Whiston* professedly, (and you covertly) intends from That Passage, is, that *Athanasius* was the first Inventor, or Teacher of the *Divinity*, *Consubstantiality*, *Coequality*, and *Coeternity* of the Holy Spirit. This would be a great Discovery indeed, had *Gregory Nazianzen* really said it.

But before we come to the remarkable Passage, it will be proper to inform the Reader what *Gregory* had been saying before, and how This Sentence, which I shall presently produce at length, came in. The Oration is a Panegyrick upon *Athanasius*; wherein He runs through the most remarkable incidents of his Life, his *Sufferings*, and his *Services*, his great Prudence, fervent Zeal, and undaunted Courage in the Cause of Christ. He observes, how *Athanasius* †, even in his younger Years, before the *Nicene Council*, had very just and accurate Notions of the Doctrine of the Trinity; keeping a Mean be-

\* *Whiston's Reply to Lord Nottingham, Add. p. 92.*

† *Greg. Naz. Orat. 21. p. 380, 381.*

tween the *extreme* of *Sabellius* (who had too much contracted the Godhead, by confounding the Distinction) and the other extreme of *Arius*, who had divided the Godhead into separate Deities. He describes afterwards the many Difficulties *Athanasius* met with, raised by the Hatred and Enmity of the *Arians*: Particularly in the Year 356, in the Reign of *Constantius*, when *George* the *Arian* was put into the See of *Alexandria*, and *Athanasius* forc'd to flee for his Life. Then were the Churches put into the Hands of the *Arians*: Who having the *secular* Power on their side, spared no Severities; but raged against the Catholics with all imaginable Cruelties. Then it was, especially about the Year 359, that the *antient* and *pious Doctrine of the Trinity* (as *Nazianzen*\* says) was dissolved and destroyed: And *Arianism*, *unscriptural* *Arianism*, brought in, in its room. Many, who were in their Hearts true Friends to the *Antient* Doctrine, yet complied too far with the *Arian* Confessions †; which, *Nazianzen* says, He had often lamented with Tears. And such was the violence of the *Persecution*, that, excepting some few Men that stood out, and others whose Station was so low as to make them be overlooked, all yielded to the Times; induced thereto either by Fear, or by Interest, or else ignorantly circumvented by Fraud. During These Storms, and in the midst of so general an Apostacy, *Athanasius* stood firm, and unmoved; the main Support of the true antient Faith. In 361, *Constantius*, who had been the Strength of the *Arians*, dies: And a worse than He, *Julian* the Apostate Emperor, succeeds. Here was some Peace to the Church, but it was yet miserably distracted with Heresies, with variety of Sects and Parties, tearing one another. In 363, *Julian* being slain, *Jovian* succeeded: Still Things were in Confusion as to the state of

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\* Greg. Naz. p. 386.

† Greg. Naz. Orat. p. 387.

the Church. The *Arians*, in some Places, were many, and powerful, and had been endeavouring, very early, to stir up the Emperor *Jovian* against *Athanasius* and all his Adherents. At This critical Time, in the midst of Danger, That great and good Man was not afraid to preach the Truth boldly, and to propose it open and undisguised to the Emperor Himself in *writing*: Of which noble Instance, both of his Courage and Constancy, *Nazianzen* thus speaks.

“ And here particularly appeared the Integrity of  
 “ the Man (*Athanasius*) and the firmness of his Faith  
 “ in Christ. For when, of all the other Christians,  
 “ divided into Three Parts, *many* were unsound in  
 “ their Faith concerning the *Son*, and *more* concerning  
 “ the Holy-Ghost (where to be only *less Impious* was  
 “ esteemed *Piety*) and but a *few* were sound in Both  
 “ Articles; He was the *first*, and *only* Man (or however  
 “ with a very few) that had the Courage to profess  
 “ the Truth, in writing, plainly and in express  
 “ words, The One Godhead and Essence of  
 “ *Three*. And what many of the Fathers before had  
 “ been divinely moved to confess in relation to the  
 “ *Son*, He was afterwards *inspired* to confess con-  
 “ cerning the Holy-Ghost; bringing a Gift truly  
 “ royal and magnificent to the Majesty Royal, a  
 “ written Faith in opposition to unwritten No-  
 “ velty \*.”

Now, what is there in this Passage of *Nazianzen* more than This: that at a Time when many had abandoned the Faith, and more had been Sneakers,

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\* Τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὅσοι ἔ' καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγῳ, τριχῆ νεμετημένῳ καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ὄντων τῶν περὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀφρῶσέντων, πλείων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἔ'δα καὶ τὸ ἥττον ἀσεβεῖν, εὐσεβεία ἐνομιόσθη· ἔλίγῃ δὲ τῶν κατ' ἀμφοτέρω ὑγιαίνοντ'· πρῶτ' καὶ μόν', ἢ κομιδῆ σὺν ἔλίγοις, ἀποτολμᾷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν σαφῶς ἔτασσι καὶ διαρρήδη, τῶν τριῶν μίαν θεότητα καὶ ἑσῖαν ἐγγράφως ὁμολογήσας· καὶ ὁ τῶν πολλῶν τῶν πατέρων ἀριθμῶν περὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐχαρίσθη πρότερον, τῆτο περὶ τῆ ἀγίῃ πνεύματ' αὐτὸς ἐμπνευσθεὶς ὑστερον, &c. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 21. P. 394.

and Time-servers, *Athanasius*, with a few Adherents, had the Courage to speak out the Truth, boldly, without mincing it: And that This brave Resolution of his was owing to the *Spirit* of God, *moving* and *inciting* Him to make That glorious Confession, in the Face of the World? I have translated  $\epsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\theta\eta$ , according to what appears to me to be the true and full meaning of *Nazianzen*: who in This very Oration speaks of the *Nicene Council*, as called together by the *Holy-Ghost* \*, that is, moved and incited by the *Holy-Spirit* to the Resolutions They made against *Arius*, and his *Heresy*. In like manner, He supposes *Athanasius* to have been stirred up, by the *same Spirit*, to make that noble Confession of the *Divinity* of the *Holy-Ghost*, and in the like *expressive* Words. All this well agrees with what *Nazianzen* had said, but a few Pages before, that notwithstanding the violence of the Persecution, there were some that had Courage to resist, and stand firm; whom God preserved, that there might be still remaining some Seed and Root for *Israel* to reflowerish, and take new Life by the *Influxes* of the *Holy Spirit* †.

That This was all his meaning, may appear farther, from his representing the Doctrine of a *coessential* Trinity, every where, as *antient* Doctrine; and his branding the contrary Doctrine as *Novelty*, in That very Passage. Nor could a Man of *Nazianzen's* good Sense, and Piety, be so ridiculous, and silly, as to build his *own Faith*, (which This was) upon any supposed *private Inspiration* in the 4<sup>th</sup> Century, or any Century after the *Apostles*, or indeed upon any thing but the *saered* Writings. It is certain, He looked upon the Doctrine of the *Godhead* of the *Holy-Ghost*, as one of those *Truths*, into the Knowledge whereof the

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\* Greg. Naz. Orat. 21. p. 381.

† Greg. Naz. p. 387.



*Apostles* were led immediately after Christ's Ascension †. All that was done after, was the fixing it by *Terms* that could be not eluded.

I must observe, that where *Gregory Nazianzen* speaks of the Smallness of the Number joining with *Athanasius*, and adhering to the *Nicene Faith*; some Allowance must be made for his Oratorical manner of setting forth *Athanasius's* singular Courage and Constancy: Or else He must be understood only of the Christians of *Alexandria*, or *Constantinople*; who had been, for the generality, perverted by the *Arians*. For, as to other Places, it is certain, that the *Nicene Faith* was, at That very Time, professed by almost all the Churches, all the World over. For no sooner did the Catholics recover a little respite from Persecution, about the Year 362, but They condemned all that had been done by the *Arians* in the Council of *Ariminum*\*; and professed their steady Attachment to the *Nicene Faith*. *Athanasius* assures the Emperor *Jovian*, in That very Year 363, that the *Nicene Faith* was universally received by all the Churches of *Spain*, *England*, and *Gaul*; by all *Italy*, *Dalmatia*, *Dacia*, *Mysia* and *Macedonia*; by all *Greece* and *Africa*, by the Islands of *Sardinia*, *Cyprus*, and *Candia*; by *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Isauria*, *Aegypt*, *Libya*, *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, and the *East*; that is, by all the Earth, excepting a small Number of *Arians*. He declares, that He was assured of the Faith of all Those Churches; and had their Letters by Him to produce †, in testimony of it.

From hence I infer, that *Nazianzen* is to be understood only of some particular Place at That Time over-run with *Arianism*; most probably, *Con-*

‡ Τῶν ἐν εἰς νομίζω, καὶ αὐτὴν ἔ πνεύματος τῆς θεότητι, &c. Greg. Naz. Orat. 37. p. 609.

\* See Tillemont's *History of the Arians*. Sect. 83. p. 279, &c.

† Athanas. Epist. ad Jovian. p. 787.

*stantinople*, where *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Macedonius*, and *Eudoxius* had successively held the See for above 20 Years; and must of course have corrupted great Numbers: And it is certain, that by the Succession of *Demophilus*, (another Ring-leader of the *Arians*) the Catholick Interest in That City was in a manner oppressed and stifled, before *Nazianzen* came thither, about the Year 378.

To return. I have nothing more to say to your long account of *Hypostasis*, which does not at all affect Me: When you are once able to fix and settle the precise Meaning of *individual*, *identical Substance*, you may then know how to oppose me. That Person is *Substance*, I have always allowed: That *Substance and Substance* always makes *Substances*, you cannot prove: Or if you could, you know very well, that the Consequence bears as hard upon the Doctor and You, as it can upon Me; since it makes the *Divine Being*, upon your own Principles, a *Compound* of innumerable Substances: So that you cannot condemn my Way of thinking and speaking, but with the Shame of Self-contradiction, and condemning your own selves.

I had told you in my *Defense* p. 352, that to say the One God is *one Person* only, and the *Father* That Person, is the Essence of *Sabellianism*, and the Doctrine of *Paul of Samosata*\*. This you call *Romantick History*; which I am willing to excuse, charitably believing you really think so: Tho' had any Man well versed in Antiquity told me as much, I must have had a hard Opinion of his *Sincerity*.

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\* Καὶ ὅτι τῶ ἑστί κ' αὐτοὶ εἰ δύο φημὲν εἶναι θεὸς εἰ δὲ θεότητας, ἀλλὰ μίαν θεότητα — ἕτος δὲ εἰ λέγει μόνον θεόν διὰ τὸ πηγὴν εἶναι τὸν πατέρα, ἀλλὰ μόνον θεόν, ἀειπαῶν, ὅσον τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν, τὴν τῆ υἱῆ θεότητα κ' ὑπόστασιν, κ' τῆ ἁγίῃ πνεύματος — τρῶσωπον ἐν τὸν θεόν ἅμα τῶ λόγῳ φασίν, ὡς ἀνδραποῦν εἶνα κ' τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον. Epiph. de Paul. Samosat. Hæc. 65. p. 609.

You pretend, that the professed Doctrine of Those that opposed *Paul of Samosata*, was, that the *One God was the Father, by way of Eminence*. That is, the Father was *eminently* stiled One God: Not that the Father *alone* was the One God, *exclusive* of a *real* Son; as *Sabellius*, and *Paul of Samosata* taught. I have shown you above, that the Church's Doctrine was to make Both *One God*: And This was done by the Defenders of the *Catholick* Faith, even against the *Praxeans*, *Noetians*, and *Sabellians*. You add, that *Paul of Samosata*, and the *Sabellians*, taught that the *One God was not the Father only, but Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost*. Here you are playing with *Terms* (whether ignorantly, or designedly, I know not) to deceive the Reader, in a very plain case. Pray, what did the *Sabellians* mean, or *Paul of Samosata*, by making *Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost* one *God*? Just the same as if you should stile the *Father, Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier*, and then say, that the *Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier* are *One God*. To the *Person* of the *Father, the alone God* (according to Them) They were pleased to apply two *Names* more, that of *Son, and Holy-Ghost*: And so the same *one real Person*, the *Person* of the *Father*, was alone, with Them, the *one God*\*, I shewed you This by plain Testimonies: And

\* Φάσκει δὲ (Παῦλος ὁ Σαμοσατεύς) θεὸν πατέρα, καὶ υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἓνα θεόν — μὴ εἶναι δὲ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνυπόστατον, ἀλλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ θεῷ, ὡς περ ἀμέλει καὶ ὁ Σαβέλλιος, &c. Eriph. Hæret. 65, p. 608.

Παῦλος ὁ Σαμοσατεύς θεὸν ἐκ τῆς παρθένης ὁμολογεῖ, θεὸν ἐκ Ναζαρέτ ὀφθέντα — τῷ μὲν προορισμῷ πρὸ αἰώνων ὄντα, τῇ δὲ ὑπάρξει ἐκ Ναζαρέτ ἀναδειχθέντα ἵνα εἰς εἴη, φησὶν, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντα θεός, ὁ πατήρ. Athanas. contr. Apollinar. p. 942.

Ὁν γὰρ Σαβέλλιος λέγει τριάντημον, τῆτοι Εὐνόμιος ὀνομάζει ἀγέννητον. Greg. Nyss. contra Eunom. p. 676, aliàs 248.

Uterque Hæreticorum istorum *Singularem* in Deo *personam* asseruit; quod de *Sabellio* nemo prorsus ignorat: de *Paulo Samosateno* testantem *Eriphanium* audivimus. Petav. Dogm. vol. 5. p. 6.

now, where is the Difference between Them and You; except that They made the Person of the Father the *alone God*, under *Three Names*; You make the same *one Person the alone God*, under the one Name of the *Self-existent God* †? This I demonstrated very distinctly to you in my *Defense*; and you take not the least Notice of it. The Reader will suspect you had a Reason for slipping over so material a Point.

I retorted upon you your Plea from 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. asking, how you can make *Two Gods*, in Contradiction to St. *Paul*, who says there is *but one*? You distinguish between a *supreme God*, and an *inferior God*; which St. *Paul* does not: We distinguish upon the *strict*, or *large* Intent of the *exclusive* Terms: And I told you, that our Distinction was much older, and better warranted than yours. I therefore desired you, no more to charge us with contradicting St. *Paul*; but either to condemn your selves for doing it, or at least to acquit Both. To this you reply, that to say *the Son is*, (an inferior) *God*, is *no way contrary to this Text*. But it is contrary to the whole Tenour of Scripture, and to the fourth Verse of That very Chapter; which says absolutely, that *there is none other God but one*. St. *Paul* does not say, no

† See my Defense p. 355, &c. Gregory Nyssen's Observation is worth the reciting: He says thus,

“ To charge our Doctrine with *Sabellianism*, or *Montanism*, is  
 “ much the same as to impute to us the Blasphemy of *Eunomius*.  
 “ For if any one carefully examines into the common Mistake of  
 “ Those Heresies, He will find that it has a near Affinity to that of  
 “ *Eunomius*. Both judaize in the same Doctrine; as not admitting  
 “ the *only-begotten* to be God, nor receiving the Holy-Ghost into  
 “ the Communion of the Godhead of Him whom they call the  
 “ *Great*, and the *First* God. For, whom *Sabellius* calls the *trinomial*  
 “ God, the same does *Eunomius* name *Self-existent*: And neither of  
 “ them looks upon the *Godhead* as common to a *Trinity* of Per-  
 “ sons. Let the Reader then judge who it is that comes nearest  
 “ to *Sabellius*. Greg. Nyss. Orat. 9. p. 676, alias 248.

*supreme God* only, but absolutely, *None*. In Strictness therefore you contradict *St. Paul*, as directly as possible: And you have no other way of coming off, but by a *novel Distinction*. Now, since it is easy for us to come off from the Charge you make, by the Help of a *Distinction*, and one much better warranted than yours; why are we blamed, and you freed? I have before shown what we mean by saying that the Son is tacitly included, tho' the Father be *eminently* stiled the *One God*: Not that the Word *God*, or the Word *Father*, in such cases, includes Father and Son; but it is predicated of one only, at the same time that it is tacitely understood that it may be equally predicated of Either, or Both; since no Opposition is intended against Either, but against *Creatures* and *false Gods*. You have here passed over fifteen Pages of mine, which contained Things of great Moment: I may pass over two of yours, which contain nothing but Words.



### QUERY XXIV.

*Whether Gal. iv. 8. may not be enough to determine the Dispute betwixt us; since it obliged the Doctor to confess that Christ is by Nature truly God, as truly as Man is by Nature truly Man?*

*He equivocates there, indeed, as Usual. For, he will have it to signify, that Christ is God by Nature, only as having by that Nature which he derives from the Father, true Divine Power and Dominion: That is, he is truly God by Nature, as having a Nature distinct from, and inferior to, God's, wanting the most essential Character of God, Self-existence. What is this but trifling with Words, and playing fast and loose?*

**T**HE *Modest Pleader* here stands in the Front; and, after his solemn way, gives me *Rebukes*, when He is at a Loss for *Answers*. He tells me of an *express Scripture-distinction* that I am *ridiculing*: As if *ridiculing* what is really *ridiculous*, and what is very *profanely* called *express Scripture*; (*viz.* the *Distinction of Two adorable Gods, supreme and inferior*) were *ridiculing Scripture*. However, I was *ridiculing* nothing in *This Query*; but only laying before the Reader *Two or Three Instances of Dr. Clarke's equivocating, and trifling*: Which, it seems, is resented as a high *Affront*, and is to be *turn'd upon*

upon the *Scripture* it self. And the Reader is to be gravely called to judge, whether it were a *Zeal according to Knowledge*, &c. All This, because one *fallible Man*, who has been charging whole Churches, and whole Ages with *Contradiction*, and *Nonsense*, has been charged with trifling and contradicting Himself; and that in a case too, which is self-evident and undeniable.

The Argument on which the Charge rests, is This.

“ He that has not the Nature of the *true and only God*, or is not *naturally* and *necessarily* God, is not *by Nature* truly God, as truly as *Man* is by Nature truly Man.

“ Our Lord (according to the Doctor) has not the *Nature* of the true and only God, nor is He *naturally* and *necessarily* God: Therefore He is not *by Nature* truly God, as truly as *Man* is by *Nature* truly Man.

Let the Reader now judge whether the Doctor, in saying that Christ is *by Nature truly God*, &c. has not either *grossly* contradicted Himself, or *meanly* equivocated. It might have become this *modest Pleader* either to have confessed the Charge, or to have shown how to get clear of it. All He can say is, that *the Son has, by That Nature which He derives from the Father, true Dominion*: And so has every *lawful Magistrate true Dominion*, in as just a Sense as is here understood of Christ, a Dominion derived from God. Is This what according to use of Language, and Custom of Speech, has been understood by the Phrase *God by Nature*? And how has Christ, *by Nature*, true Dominion, when his Nature is supposed to have existed before any Dominion commenced, and is supposed also to continue after the *Dominion* shall cease? Not to mention that the *Dominion* is also presumed to proceed from *Free Grant*, and to be *given* or taken away at Pleasure. Is This to be as truly *God by Nature*, as *Man* is by

*Nature* truly Man? If This be not burlesquing Scripture, *ridiculing* every Thing serious, and making a Jest of all Language, I know not what is. To divert the Reader from dwelling upon the Doctor's Mismanagement, you charge me next with a *Heap of Absurdities*: (p. 465.) As it is a very easy Matter for a Man, when his Head is clouded, or his Passions are up, to make *Blunders* for others, and then comment upon them. Let us hear.

1. The first Pretence is, that I contradict my self in making *Self-existence* no *essential* Character, and yet approving the putting it in a *Definition* of the supreme Being, as an *essential* Character. That is to say, because *Self-existence* often has, and still may be used in *different* Senses, therefore the allowing in one Sense, what I disallow in another, is *contradicting* my self.

2. The second Pretence is, that to call *Self-existent* an *ambiguous* Term, and an *equivocal* Word, is *ridiculous*. To which it is sufficient to say, that to deny it is much more so.

3. The Third Pretence is, that to call *Self-existence* a Character *meerly negative*, is absurd. That is according as it is understood: For, to make it *positive*, in some cases, is infinitely absurd; as hath been shown above.

4. A fourth Cavil is, that the distinction of *Essential* and *Personal* has no place here, because both the *Person* and the *Essence* are self-existent. But this is begging the Question. The *Essence* belongs to three Persons; *Self-existence*, or *Underivedness*, to one only: Therefore tho' *Necessary-existence* be an *essential* Character common to all, *Self-existence* is not.

5. A fifth Cavil is against my including *supreme* in the Definition of the Divine Nature, abstracting from the Consideration of Person. *As if*, say you, *Supremacy* was a Character not of a living Agent, but of an *Abstract Essence*. Ridiculous enough: As if the living Substance, common to three Persons, were not



as truly living, and *Agent*, as when consider'd in one\*. Let the Reader now judge to whom the *heap of Absurdities* justly belongs. You have invented some *imaginary* ones for Me, and betrayed *real* ones of your own; having a happier Talent at writing *Nonsense* for others, than *Sense* for your self.

Your Argument to prove that a Person may be *God* on account of *Dominion* before any Dominion commenc'd, has been already answer'd. As to the sense of *Gal. iv. 8.* I referred to what had been said by a learned Gentleman † upon it. You, on the other hand, refer to *Dr. Clarke's Pieces*, and to *Modest Plea*, &c. The Dispute is about the meaning of the Phrase τοῖς μὴ φύσει ἑσι θεοῖς, or shorter, about φύσει θεός, *God by Nature*, what it should signify; whether *substantially* and *essentially* God, or *really* God as *having true Dominion*. The Reasons for the former Interpretation are such as follow:

1. The common use of the Term φύσις, for *Essence*, or *Substance*.

2. The use of φύσει θεός in That sense among Greek Writers ‡: As particularly by *Irenæus*, and *Athanasius*; and by *Gregory Nyssen* in relation to this very Text.

3. Worship is required to be given to God principally on account of his being ὁ ὦν, or *Jehovah*; that is, on account of his being *essentially*, or *substantially* God. Nor is it of any moment what the *Modest Plea* urges, that then Father and Son will be *two Jehovahs*, if each of them is to be worshipp'd as

\* See my *Sermons*, p. 226.

† The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, &c. p. 19, &c.

True Scripture Doctrine continued, p. 73, &c.

*Edwards's* Critical Remarks, p. 18.

‡ *Naturaliter Deus*, in opposition to one that only bears Dominion, who is God *verbo tenus*. *Irenæus* allows the Distinction, but rejects the Application. *Iren. l. 4. c. 1.*

Θεὸν ὄντα κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, ὅτις ὁ πατήρ. *Athan. Vol. 2. p. 43.*

Φύσει θεός. *Athan. in Psa. p. 83. Greg. Nyss. Contr. Eun.*

being  $\delta\ \omega\upsilon$ , or *Jehovah*: For, That is supposing the name *Jehovah* to be proper to *one Person* only, and not common to more; which is begging the Question.

4. Scripture is used to argue against the Gods of the Heathen as being *no Gods*; not as wanting divine *Dominion* only, but as having no divine Nature or Substance.

5. The true Notion of *Idolatry* is paying *religious Honour* to any thing that has not the *divine Perfections*; that is, divine Substance, the only ground of divine Perfections. To which may be added,

6. That St. Paul (*Rom. i. 20.*) condemns the Worship of the *Creature*, confines all Worship to the *Creator*: Which is explicatory of *Gal. iv. 8.* Now, the Creator is God *essentially*, the Creature not essentially God: Wherefore, as all Things are really excluded by St. Paul from Worship that are not *essentially divine*; That must be the meaning of *Gal. iv. 8.* These are the Reasons on our side. Dr. Clarke on the other hand, pleads,

1. The different use of the word  $\phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  in *Scripture*, to signify *State, Condition, Capacity, &c.* and even *Customs* only. But if the Places be well considered where the Expression  $\phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota$ , *by Nature*, occurs; we shall find that it is put in opposition to something *accessional, super-induced, accidental*, or the like: From whence one may plainly perceive that it relates to something inherent, innate, permanent, fix'd and implanted in any thing from the first. The Uncircumcision by Nature (*Rom. ii. 27.*) is opposed to Circumcision super-induced by *Law*. The Wildness by Nature (*Rom. xi. 24.*) is opposed to what is super-induced by *Grace*. The Jews are said to be such by Nature, as being such from their Birth, in opposition to being *made, or adopted*. The Gentiles do by Nature the Things contain'd in the Law, (*Rom. ii. 14.*) in opposition to the doing the same by a super-induced *Law*. We are by Nature Children  
of

of Wrath, born such in opposition to the super-induced New-Birth by Grace: That is; By our *depraved Nature*, our *conditio nascendi*, since the Fall, we are under the sentence of the divine Displeasure\*. Even in that famous place (1 Cor. xi. 14.) *Doth not even Nature it self teach you*, &c. The word *Nature* does not signify *Custom*, but the *Masculine Nature*, in opposition to the *Feminine*. Subjection is *natural* to the Woman, in token whereof she is to wear her *Veil*; and her *Hair*, as another kind of *Veil*: while the *Man*, in token of his being *naturally* superior to the Woman, goes with his Head uncover'd, and with short Hair. Nature, in the formation of the Two Sexes, has made the distinction of *Superiority* and *Inferiority*; and they are born to *This*, or *That*, by the condition of their Sex. This appears to be the most obvious and easy sense of *That Text*. Such being the usual sense of *Nature*, or of the Phrase *by Nature*; we may infer thus much from Gal. iv. 8. That nothing is to be *worshipp'd* that has not a *divine Nature*. Whatever is *God by Nature*, as Christ is now supposed to be, must have *That which makes God to be God*; (in like manner as Man by Nature must have *That which makes Man to be Man*; or a Jew by Nature must have *That which makes a Jew to be a Jew*, and the like:) And what can *That* be, but his having the *divine Perfections*, and consequently, the *divine Substance*, coeval with the Father, that is, from all Eternity?

I may add, that whatever Passages may be brought of the use of  $\phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota$ , yet They come not fully up to the Case; unless  $\phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota$   $\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  could be shewn to bear such a Sense as you would put upon it. Many Examples may be brought of Ours: Few, or perhaps

\* Naturam aliter dicimus cum propriè loquimur naturam Hominis, in qua primum in suo genere inculpabilis factus est: aliter istam in qua, ex illius damnati poena, & mortales & ignari, & carni subditi nascimur. August. de lib. Arbitr. l. 3. c. 19.

none, of Yours. The *Modest Pleader* (p. 247.) thinks that the Passage cited out of *Eusebius* \*, where *Æmilian* the Roman Præfect makes mention of the Pagan Deities, as being *Gods by Nature*, is directly contrary to our Notion; because the *Romans* did not look upon their Gods to be *self-existent*, and *supreme*. This Observation is to the purpose, and is not without its weight. But, as the Pagans had several Schemes of *Theology*, and several Hypotheses in respect of their Gods, and it cannot be certainly known what Hypothesis *Æmilian* went upon; we cannot be certain in what sense he used the Phrase. And tho' the Pagans did not believe more than one *supreme God*, yet their *inferior Gods* were generally suppos'd ἀγένητοι, *eternal*, and *necessarily existing*; which answers to θεοὶ κατὰ φύσιν, *Gods by Nature* †. Besides that, as many *Pagans* as supposed the inferior Gods to be nothing but the *Polyonymy* of their one supreme God, must have thought them all to be θεοὶ κατὰ φύσιν, *Gods by Nature*.

I may add, that it seems highly probable that *Æmilian* design'd what he said, in answer to what *Dionysius*, or other Christians had pleaded; viz. that They worshipp'd one that was *God by Nature*, in opposition to the *Pagan Deities*, which were none of them such. I say, in answer hereto, He pleads that *their Deities* were *Gods by Nature* also: And why then might not Christians worship both the *Pagan*

\* Τίς ἤδ' ὑμῶς καλοῖται καὶ τέτον, εἴπερ ἐστὶ θεός, μετὰ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν θεῶν προσκυρεῖν; Euseb. l. 7. c. 11. p. 355.

† The Primary and Archical Beings, according to *Proclus*, were the *Pagan Deities*.

Ἀπάντες ἐν ὅσοι πάποτε θεολογίας εἰσὶν ἡμέτεροι, τὰ πρῶτα κατὰ φύσιν θεῶς ἐπωνομαζήσιντες περὶ ταῦτα τὴν θεολογικὴν ἐπιστήμην πραγματεύεσθαι φασί. Procl. Plat. Theol. l. 1. c. 3. p. 5.

Vid. Plotin. Ennead. 2. l. 9. c. 1.

Αἱ τῶν θεῶν ἐστὶν ἐδὲ ἐγένοντο. Τὰ ἤδ' ἄσι ἐντα οὐδέποτε γίνονται. Sallust. de Mund. cap. 2. p. 244.

Gods, and their *own*? The Heathens had before This Time learn'd to refine their *Theology*, and to pretend as much in honour of the *Pagan Divinity*, as the Christians pleaded for *Theirs*: And the Dispute now was, which of them could most clearly make good their Plea\*.

But I proceed to a second Argument for your sense of the Text.

2. The *Modest Pleader* argues, that if St. Paul had gone upon our Scheme, He would not have said τοῖς μὴ φύσει ἕσι θεοῖς, but τοῖς μὴ φύσει ἕσι θεῶ, not Them which by Nature are not Gods, but Them which by Nature are not God: Because to say, They are not Gods, as not being of the same divine Substance, seems to intimate that They would be Gods if they were of the *same Substance*, and not *one God* as upon our Principles. But St. Paul's Expression is very right. The Fault of the Pagans was not in worshipping Gods; had there really been *many Gods*, many Gods by Nature: Their Fault was in worshipping Gods that were not *really*, and *essentially* such. Nor would it be any Fault in Christians to worship *many Gods*, were there really many Gods by Nature: But the Fault is in worshipping any that are not Gods by Nature, or more Gods than there *really* are; which Fault is committed by worshipping more Gods than *One*, because there is but *one God* by Nature. Whether more Persons than one would be *more Gods*, or otherwise, by partaking of the same Substance; is neither affirmed nor denied in This place of St. Paul: Only the Pagans are condemn'd for worshipping Those as Gods, which had not the *Nature of Gods*, or what was necessary to make them really Gods.

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\* Cum de Re loquimur divina vobiscum, Hoc ut ostendatis exposcimus, esse Deos alios natura, vi, nomine: non in simulachris propositos quos videmus, sed in ea substantia in qua conveniat æstinari tanti esse nominis oportere virtutem. *Arnob. contr. Gent. l. 3. p. 101.*

3. It is farther pleaded by Dr. *Clarke*, that the true Notion of *Idolatry* is the ascribing to Any Being such Worship and Honour as does not belong to it.

To This Pretence see a sufficient Answer in *True Scripture Doctrine continu'd*\*; of which the *Modest Plea* has taken no notice.

To conclude This Article ; you have not been able to acquit the Doctor of the Charge of *equivocating* or *contradicting* Himself ; nor to take off the Force of our Argument built upon *Gal. iv. 8.* for the *essential* Divinity of God the Son : who, because He is *adorable*, is therefore *God by Nature* in virtue of That Text. Your trifling about the Definition I gave from *Melancthon*, as if it could not be *scriptural* because it is taken from *Melancthon* who took it from Scripture, is beneath my Notice.

\* True Script. Doctr. p. 76, 78, &c.

## QUERY XXV.

*Whether it be not clear from all the genuine Remains of Antiquity, that the Catholick Church before the Council of Nice, and even from the Beginning, did believe the Eternity and Consubstantiality of the Son; if either the oldest Creeds, as interpreted by those that recite them; or the Testimonies of the earliest Writers, or the publick Censures pass'd upon the Hereticks, or particular Passages of the ancientest Fathers, can amount to a Proof of a Thing of this Nature?*

I Am here to dispute first with the *Modest Pleader*, who may be known by his *positive* Stile, and *magisterial* Air, to make good the *Title* of his *Treatise*. I am rebuked for my *Presumption*, in This Query: And why? Because I have presumed to tell the World what has been proved an hundred Times over: And yet not positively affirming it, but putting it by way of *Query*, to be fairly debated. This solemn Gentleman, I suppose, will call it *Presumption*, in a while, for any Man to undertake to defend the Faith of all the Christian Churches: To such a Height may Men be carried by a strong Conceit of their own novel *Hypotheses*.

I had modestly appealed to the *oldest Creeds*, not directly, but as *interpreted by Those that recite Them*. And where was the *Presumption* of doing it? His Cavil, upon This Occasion, I answered in a Note to my *Eighth Sermon*\*. I appealed also to

\* *Sermon*, p. 31.

*Censures* passed upon *Hereticks*. In Reply to This am told,

1. That the most remarkable Censures were passed upon the *Ebionites*; who taught that Christ was a mere *Man* in whom the supreme God dwelt. But if their great Guilt, and the Heinousness of it, lay in the *Consequence* of their Principles, in their denying Christ's *Divinity*; then it will appear that the modern Impugners of Christ's *Divinity* are nearly concerned in the Censures pass'd upon the *Ebionites*. For, indeed the great Danger and Impiety of their Heresy was not meerly in making a *Creature* some Years, or Ages younger than He really was; but in *denying* their God, in refusing to acknowledge Him as really and truly God. *Irenæus*\*, the oldest Father that mentions the *Ebionites*, represents the Case thus: "The *Ebionites* God will judge: How can they be saved, if He was not God who upon Earth wrought Salvation? Or how shall Man come to God, if God (ὁ Θεός) had not come to Man?" In another Place, He says, "Vain are the *Ebionites*, not admitting the Union of God and Man, by Faith, into their Souls." He proceeds to observe, that the *Power of the highest* (by which he understands the *Logos*, as do many other Fathers †) overshadowed the Virgin: And a little lower, blames the *Ebionites* again, as *not receiving God* along with the Man. Now, it is well known in how strict a Sense *Irenæus* understood the Word *God*, and that He applied it in the same strict Sense to God the Son; as I have proved above. As many therefore as deny the Son to be *God* in That

\* Ἀνακρινεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἐβιωνίτας πῶς δύναται σωθῆναι εἰ μὴ ὁ Θεὸς ᾧ ὁ τὴν σατυρίαν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἐργασάμενος; ἢ πῶς ἀνθρώπου χάρισις εἰς Θεὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ Θεὸς ἐχωρήσῃ εἰς ἀνθρώπον; *Iren.* l. 4. c. 30. p. 271.

Vani autem & Ebionai, unionem Dei & Hominis, per Fidem, non recipientes. *Iren.* l. 5. c. 1. p. 293.

Non recipientes Deum ad commixtionem suam.

† *Irenæus* p. 216. *Just. Mart. Apol.* 1. c. 43. p. 69. *Clem. Alex.* p. 654. *Tertull. contr. Prax.* c. 26. 27. *Novat.* c. 19.



Sense, were condemned in the *Ebionites* long ago; as is plainly proved from This Father. To the same Purpose speak other Writers \* of the *Ebionites* (and of such others as the *Ebionites*) both before, and after the *Nicene* Council. The great *Impiety* of such Men was in their being ἀρνησιθεοι, *Denyers* of Christ's *Divinity*, Blasphemers against his *Godhead*. How you can yet clear your Selves of the same Charge, I see not. It was not without Reason that *Alexander*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, charged the *Arians*, upon their first Appearance, with reviving the *Impiety* of *Ebion*, *Artemas*, and *Paul* of *Samosata*. *Theod. E. H. l. 1. c. 4.*

2. The *Modest Pleader* goes on to tell us that *Cerinthus* was censured; who taught that the *Son of God* was not *Himself made Man*, but only united to a *Man*. He thinks, he has here said something smart: But, because every Body will not understand the *innuendo*, and He durst not speak plainer for Fear of discovering his whole *Heart*, we may pass it over. He takes no Notice of *Cerinthus's* being condemned, as well as *Ebion*, for denying our Lord's *Divinity* †, and the *Eternity* of the *Word*. He proceeds

\* Καὶ γὰρ καὶ κείνοι ἦτοι ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁμολογοῦσι πεφυκέναι τὸν χριστὸν εἰς τὸν εἶόν, θεότητος αὐτοῦ τὸ τέλειτον ἀρνούμενοι. *Hippol. Fragm. vol. 1. p. 281.*

Accedit his *Theodotus*, Hæreticus Byzantius, qui — Doctrinam introduxit quæ Christum Hominem tantummodo, diceret, Deum autem illum negaret. *Auctor. Append. ad Tertull. de Præscript. c. 68.*

ἀρνησιθεῖον ἀποασίας. *Euseb. l. 5. c. 28.*

*Paul* of *Samosata*, his Crime was denying his *God*.

τοῦ καὶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κύριον ἀρναμένον. *Epist. Syn. Antioch. apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 30.*

*Hebion* Discipulus Cerinthi, in multis ei similiter errans, Salvatorem nostrum Hominem de *Joseph* natum, carnaliter æstimabat, nihilque in eo *Divinitatis* fuisse docebat; sed sicut omnes Prophetæ, sic & eum gratiam Dei habuisse adferebat, non tamen *Dominum Majestatis*, & *Dei Patris Filium* cum Patre Sempiternum credebat. *Philastr. Hæc. c. 37.*

† See *Bp. Bull D. F. p. 178.* *Jud Eccl. c. 2.*

to observe, that the *Valentinians*, and *Cataphrygians* were censured; from whom arose the Doctrine of *Necessary-emanations*: To which weak Piece of Calumny I have answered above. He takes no Notice of the *Valentinians* denying the *Eternity* of the *Logos*, nor of their making *Creature-Creators*, nor of several of their other Principles, whereby They led the way to *Arianism*, as *Athanasius* hath shown\*.

3. *Sabellius*, it seems, was censured for teaching *individual Consubstantiality*: That is, for *Nonsense*. For *Consubstantiality*, and *Individual*, (in the *Sabellian* Sense of *Individual*) are repugnant, and contradictory as possible. Nor did *Sabellius* ever teach *Consubstantiality* at all †. Whether the *Modest Pleader* has here shown a *Zeal according to Knowledge*, let any Man judge that *knows* Antiquity. He takes no Notice of *Sabellius's* being condemned for confining the *Godhead* to one *real Person*, (instead of extending it to *Three*), upon the very same Principles, on which *Arius* afterwards founded a different *Heresy* <sup>a</sup>; viz. the apprehension of there being no *Medium* <sup>b</sup> between making the Son to be the *self-existent* Father Himself, and *excluding* Him from the *one Godhead*.

After a lame, partial, and false Account of the ancient Heresies condemn'd by the Church, the *Modest Pleader* goes on to give as partial and false Accounts of the Doctrine of the Fathers. But having obvia-

\* See *Montfaucon's* Preface to the First Volume of *Athanasius*, p. 24.

† Ὡσπερ ἦ μισεῖ ὁ ὄφις τὴν ὄσμην τῆς ἀσφάλις ——— ἔτως καὶ Ἄρειος καὶ Σαβελλίος μισεῖ τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ὁμολογίας τῆς ὁμοουσιᾶς. Epiph. Har. 69. n. 70. p. 797.

<sup>a</sup> See my Defense, p. 335, 355. &c.

<sup>b</sup> Σαβελλίῳ δὲ τῷ Ζαμουσατέως Παύλῳ, καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐπιδεδεικναι τὴν γνώμην· δεδοικῶς γὰρ τὴν ἐξ Ἄρειος διαίρεσιν, τῇ ἀναίρετικῇ καταπίπτωκε πλάνῃ. Athanas. contr. Apoll. l. 2. p. 942.

<sup>c</sup> Ἄρειος μὲν πρὸς τὴν Σαβελλίῳ τοῦ λίσου δόξαν ἀπαντῆσαι μὴ δυναθεῖς, τῆς ὀρθῆς ἐξέπεσε πίστεως, πρόσφατον ἦεν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ δογματίσασα. Socr. E. H. l. 4. c. 33. p. 256.

ted all his frivolous Pretences on that Head before, I may now dismiss Him, and return to you.

You are pleased to say, that my *Defense of This Query is nothing but a confused heap of Words, relating to metaphysical Subtleties, &c.* The Reader, I suppose, understands by This time what These and the like Complaints from you mean. I no sooner find you expatiating This way, but I conclude you had met with something you could not answer; it being your constant Method thus to proclaim your Defeat.

You durst not enter upon the main Question debated under this Query. It was whether the *Antenicene* Writers, in general, taught a *proper* Consubstantiality. You were before of Opinion that it was a *figurative*, or *oratorical* Consubstantiality. I suffer'd not the Reader to go away with any such weak Pretence, instead of a just Answer. I laid before you several Reasons to the contrary, such as, I thought, might be depended on: And I perceive now, by your manner of replying, (which is no *replying*) that you think so too. I shall repeat the Reasons once more: And where you have scatter'd any loose hints that any way relate to them, I shall consider them in their proper places.

1. I thought it strange and unaccountable that so many Fathers should *rhetoricat*e in a Matter of Faith, and of the greatest *importance*: And that none should be met with wise enough, or good enough to throw off the varnish, and to tell us the naked Truth.

2. I thought it still stranger that they should do it, not in *popular Harangues*, but even in *dry Debates*; where it particularly concern'd Them to speak accurately, and properly, out of Figure and Flourish.

Hitherto you are pleased to be silent; not a syllable of Reply. Let me go on.

3. I observed, that one principal and standing Objection of Hereticks against the *Catholick Doctrine*, was that it inferr'd a *Division* of the Father's Substance.

stance. I thought there must have been at least some *colour* for the Objection; as indeed there was, if the *Catholicks* profess'd a *proper* Consubstantiality: Otherwise there was none at all\*. For, who could be silly enough to imagine that Angels or Arch-angels, or any Creature whatever, might not be *created* without a *Division* or *Abscission* of the Divine Substance?

You endeavour at something (p. 472.) by way of Reply; telling me that the Antients, by *denying all Division, Abscission, or Diminution did not mean to affirm that the Son was the individual identical Substance of the Father*. I would be glad to know what This Phrase *individual identical, &c.* means with you. I think it plain, that the *Objectors*, in inferring a *Division* of Substance, thought of the *same Substance*; and the *Catholicks* by denying *Division*, asserted the *same undivided Substance*. Whether This amounts to your *individual Identical, &c.* is no great matter; since you do not care to say, or rather do not yet know, what you mean by it. You pretend that the Antients intended only, to *assert the absolute immutability of the Father*; and that *He generated the Son, as one Fire lights another, without Any Diminution of Himself*. But what Pretence or Colour could there be for the Father's *diminishing* Himself, unless a *proper Consubstantiality* was intended? And if one Fire be consubstantial to another, as I think the Fathers believed; That very instance proves the Thing I am speaking of. I have however explain'd above what They meant by *Diminution*, and what by denying it in This Case.

4. A fourth Argument I drew from Another noted *Objection* made to the Catholick Doctrine, *viz. Tritheism*: And I observed both from the sense of the *Objectors*, and from the method taken in the Answers, what kind of *Tritheism* was intended; such as

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\* See my Defense, p. 384.

was founded on the supposition of a *proper Consubstantiality*. This Argument you have took no notice of, but have left it in *The Heap*, undisturbed.

5. I added a fifth Reason from the particular state of the *Sabellian* Controversy, and the Arguments made use of in it; quite different from what would have been, and must have been, had the Fathers been of the *same*, or *like* Principles, with you and Dr. Clarke. To which you say nothing.

6. In the sixth place, I threw in a *Heap* of *Reasons*; *Reasons*, I think, and not *Words* only: To one of which, relating to *Worship*, you vouchsafe me a brief Answer, but such as I have answer'd in another place. Upon the whole, you appear to have been much distressed in This Query: For, otherwise who would believe that a Man of your Abilities, after so long considering, would leave any thing unanswer'd?

Ay, but after all, you say, Dr. Clarke's Propositions will remain *true* and *untouch'd*, which way soever any of these Points be determin'd, (p. 471.) Indeed, They are wonderful *Propositions*: They seem to be much of the *Stoick* Make, and Constitution; that if they be ever so distress'd, or crush'd, or even ground to pieces, yet they cannot be *hurt*. To be serious; If the Doctor's *Propositions* have really nothing contrary to the Son's *Eternity*, or *Consubstantiality*, or *Necessary-existence*; (which comes to the same) if They leave to God the Son That *Honour*, and That *Worship* which Those *divine* Perfections demand; If They do not make Him *precarious* in Existence, or *dependent* on the *good Pleasure* of Another; in short, if They leave to the Son the one *true Godhead*, or *divine Substance*, then let the *Propositions* pass as very harmless, innocent, *trifling* Propositions, containing nothing but *old Truths* under a novel and conceited way of Expression. But if the Propositions really run counter to the *Necessary-existence*, the *immutable* Perfections, the *divine Worship*, &c. of God

God the Son (as I conceive they do) then the *Propositions* appear to be very nearly concern'd in what I have been proving.

But you say, the true and only material Question is, *Who is the alone first Cause, the alone supreme Governor ?* &c. Now as to This Matter, I will be very frank and plain with you. Do but sincerely and plainly acknowledge that God the Son is *coeternal*, and *consubstantial* with the Father, of the same *divine Substance, necessarily existing*, having the *divine Perfections*, Creator by his *own Power*, worthy of *equal Honour*, and of the same kind of *Worship* : Do but admit These Things, and you shall have the liberty of talking as you please about the *alone first Cause*, and the *alone supreme Governor* ; That is, *First in Order*, and *Office*. But if you deny the Son's *Necessary-existence*, if you deny his *divine Perfections* strictly so called, if you scruple to admit Him as *Creator* by his *own Power*, (which many *Arians* allow'd) and to worship Him as *Creator* ; nay, to call Him *Creator*, which the very *Eunomians* never scrupled : If you betray your Dissent from us in so *many*, and so *material* Points as these are ; do not then pretend that the *Supremacy* is the *main* Point of Difference, or the *only material Question* : Because it is pretending something directly *false*, and what you *know* to be false ; and therefore what ought not to be pretended by any honest or good Man. It is possible you may understand *supreme Governor* in such a Sense, that all the other Questions may be reduced to That one : And so may they also to This *one Question* ; Whether God the Son be a *Creature*, or no. If this be your Meaning, then there is no difference betwixt your state of the Question and mine, except This ; that what You have put into ambiguous, equivocal, deceitful Words to *confound* the Readers, I have put into plain, clear, and distinct Terms to instruct and inform Them. And now the main Question will not be about the *Supremacy*, whether

to be asserted, or denied; but about the Sense and Meaning of *Supremacy*: Whether *Supremacy* is to be asserted in such a *Sense* as to make the Son a *Creature*, or in such a *Sense* only as is consistent with his being *essentially* God, and *one* God with the Father. For, you may please to take notice that many other Questions must come in, in order to give light into the Question about *Supremacy*: Or if you pretend to take the *Supremacy* in a *Sense* peculiar to your self, and then to argue from it; This is only begging the *main Question*, and pursuing your own Inventions, in opposition both to *Scripture* and *Antiquity*.

You have an odd Remark in the Close: You say, *to preserve the Priority of the Father, and withal the Divinity, the essential Divinity, of the Son, is no Difficulty*. This is *News* from you: I hope, you are *sincere*, and have no *double* Meaning. For if These two Things, the *essential* Divinity of the Son, and the *Priority* of the Father, be admitted as consistent, the Dispute is at an end. But you add, that I pretend something more, *viz. to preserve the Priority of the Father, and withal, the equal Supremacy of the Son in point of Authority and Dominion*. Yes; I do pretend to hold the *Priority* of the Father in *Order* (which is *natural*) in *Office* (which is *oeconomical*) as consistent with the Son's *essential* and equal Divinity: In a word, I hold any *Supremacy* consistent with the Son's *essential* Divinity. If you carry the *Supremacy* farther, you either *contradict* your self, or *equivocate* in a childish manner in the word *essential*. Chuse you Either part of the *Dilemma*: It is all one to the Argument whether the Fault lies in your *Heart*, or your *Head*.



## Q U E R Y XXVI.

*Whether the Doct̄or did not equivocate, or prevaricate strangely in saying, The Generality of Writers before the Council of Nice, were, in the whole, clearly on his side: When it is manifest, they were, in general, no farther on his side, than the allowing a Subordination amounts to; no farther than our Church is on his side, while in the main points of difference, the Eternity and Consubstantiality, they are clearly against him: That is, they were on his side, so far as we acknowledge him to be right, but no farther.*

**H**ERE I am told by the *Modest Pleader*, (who was to rectify your unwary Answers to my *Queries*, after He had seen my *Defense*) that Dr. *Clarke* did not *equivocate*, or *prevaricate*; because the *Ante-nicene* Writers agree with Him in all the Points laid down in his *Propositions*. This is a shameful *Untruth*, as hath been often proved: And since you have now own'd that *self-existent* is *necessarily-existent*, I shall point out to you what *Propositions* of the Doct̄or's are flatly contrary to the *Ante-nicene* Writers in general. His IV<sup>th</sup> is one: For the *Antients* always thought that the *Nature, Essence, or Substance* of the Persons was sufficiently declared in Scripture. His V<sup>th</sup> Proposition is Another: For the *Antients* never taught that the Father *alone* is *necessarily-existing*, but the contrary. His VII<sup>th</sup> is ambiguous. His VIII<sup>th</sup> is contrary to all *Antiquity*. So  
are



are the IX<sup>th</sup>, X<sup>th</sup>, XI<sup>th</sup>, XII<sup>th</sup>. So is the XIV<sup>th</sup>, in part, if by *self-existent* he meant *necessarily-existing*. His XVII<sup>th</sup> is directly contrary to the *Antients*, in *Sense*, tho' not in *Words*. The XIX<sup>th</sup> has no manner of Foundation in Antiquity. The XXV<sup>th</sup> has no Foundation in Antiquity: The Antients are contrary. The XXXIII<sup>d</sup> is not agreeable to the primitive Doctrine. The XXXVIII<sup>th</sup> is oddly express'd: The covert Meaning directly contrary to the *Ante-nicene* Faith. The XXXIX<sup>th</sup> is contrary to the *Antients*.

As to Prop. XLIII; The Antients knew nothing of *supreme* and *inferior* Worship. The XLVIII<sup>th</sup> is contrary to all the *Antients*. So is the L<sup>th</sup> in part: And the LI<sup>th</sup> in the whole. The LIV<sup>th</sup> may admit of some Dispute; but, in the main, the *Antients* are against it.

About one Third of the Doctor's *Propositions* are either directly contrary to *Antiquity*, or have no Countenance from it. I shall not here stay to prove the Particulars: It has been done before, under the proper Heads, in my *Defense*, and in This Vindication of it. But, supposing I had charg'd the Doctor with something not to be found in his *Propositions*, but in his *Replies*, or other *Pieces*; is the Doctor ever the less guilty of *equivocating*, or *prevaricating*? Are we not to take his Sentiments from any other part of his Writings, as well as from his *Propositions*? But to proceed.

What you add about *Supremacy* and *Subordination*, has been abundantly answer'd. You surprize me a little by one Sentence, p. 477. *The Question*, you say, *is not whether the Son be generated consubstantially, but whether he be generated at all*. I understand you. The Question is, Whether God could have a *Son* of the same Nature, Power, and Perfections with Himself: Or, more briefly, whether such *Divinity* as the Church maintains, is consistent with *Sonship*. You have hit the Matter right: But why have you pretended all the while, to lay no stress on *Metaphysics*, when you here rest the main Debate upon *Metaphysics*,

*metaphysicks*. and That only? For you will not be weak enough to maintain that *Scripture* any where says that the *only-begotten* Son of God is *Another God*, or not *one God* with the Father, or that He is of a *different Nature*, or not *necessarily-existing* as the Father. *Metaphysicks* must do This for you, or nothing. You must call in all your *vain* Philosophy, about *Individual*, about *Necessity*, about *intelligent Agent*, about *Coaction*, about *Substance* and *Substances*, *Causes*, *Acts*, *Will*, and I know not what else: And at length you'll go off without a Proof, just as you came on.

You return to your Quibble about the *Supremacy* and *Monarchy* of the Father. That is, all *Dominion* over the *Creatures* (I know of no *Dominion*, properly so call'd, over any thing else) is *primarily* in the Father, *secondarily* in the other two Persons, and *common* to all Three. The *Dominion* is not in the Father *alone*: Only He *alone* has it from none, They from Him; This is the whole Truth. Dr. *Clarke* having made some Pretence to *Antiquity*, I thought it proper to hint, in *eleven* Particulars, his Disagreement with it\*. I must here be forc'd to repeat Them, because you have something to say to every one of them.

1. The first was, in the Point of *Consubstantiality*: in denying of which He runs counter to all the Antients. In Reply, you say, *you do not presume to say that the Son is not consubstantial*; but only that *the Father alone has supreme Authority and Dominion*. Which is either saying the same Thing in other Words, or saying nothing. But as you presume to say that the Son is not *necessarily-existing*, I suppose, all Men of Sense will see that That is denying the *Consubstantiality*; or I know not what is so.

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\* See my Defense, p. 393.

2. The second Charge was, that you do by necessary Consequence, deny the Son's *Coeternity*. Here again you *presume not to say the Son is not eternal*, but the Father is *supreme*, &c. I did not ask about the *Father*: However, what you intend, is, to deny the *Eternity*, not directly, but implicitly, by asserting the Father *alone* to be *necessarily-existing*. Now, it is all one to us, whether you do it *directly*, or by *consequence*: Undermining the Faith in a serpentine way, is as pernicious as a more open attacking it. If you do not deny the *Eternity*, it is plain however that you do not assert it; and therefore you come very short of the *Antients*.

3. Another Article was, the Doctor's Asserting *Deos, God*, to be a relative Word. This I shew'd to be contrary to all Antiquity, a few Instances excepted; your Reply to this Article hath been obviated above. p. 211.

4. You differ from all the Antients in pretending that the Father *only* was God of *Abraham*, &c. You plead, in answer hereto, that it is a *Scripture Proposition*: Which is false, as hath been shewn. However, the *Antients* (about whom our present Question is) never thought it to be a *Scripture-Position*, but quite the contrary.

5. You differ from all Antiquity, in pretending that the Titles of *one, only*, &c. are exclusive of God the Son. This you ridiculously call an express *Scripture Proposition*. I have answer'd your Cavils on That Head: In the mean while it is evident, and you do not gainsay it, that the *Antients* never thought as you do.

6. You again differ from all *Antiquity*, in pretending that the *Son had not distinct Worship paid Him till after his Resurrection*. You here make References only, which I may answer by References\*.

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\* *Defense*, p. 272, &c.  
See Above on Qu. XVIII.

7. You run counter to all *Antiquity* in pretending that *Two Persons* may not be, or are not, *one God*. To this you reply, that the *one God*, you think, always, in the *Ante-nicene* Writers, signifies the Father. I have demonstrated the contrary. However, if Both together be ever called *God*, or included in that singular Title, it comes to the same thing, tho' the word *One* be away.

8. You contradict all the *Antients*, in saying, that *the Title of God, in Scripture, in an absolute Construction, always signifies the Father*. The Quotations of the *Antients* from the *Old Testament* have been abundantly vindicated above. See Qu. II.

9. You run counter to all *Antiquity*, in admitting an *inferior God* besides the *supreme*; and allowing *religious Worship to Both*. You appeal to *St. Paul*, which I have often shewn to be a weak Plea; and it is here foreign. The *Antients* never understood *St. Paul* in any such sense, but the contrary. You have therefore no plea from the *Ante-nicene* Fathers, which was the Point in hand.

10. You contradict all *Antiquity* in denying the Son to be *efficient Cause of the Universe*. You now say, you *do not deny it*; which I am very glad of: There is one Point gain'd. You did before, in opposing *efficient to instrumental*; and reserving the first to the Father only. You now say, the Son is not the *original efficient Cause*. This is ill express'd, and worse meant: But do you ever find the *Antients* making *Two Causes*?

11. You run counter to all *Antiquity*, in supposing (not saying) the Son to be a *Creature*. That you suppose it, and really mean it, under other Terms, hath been shewn\*.

12. You contradict all *Antiquity* in resolving the *Foundation* of the Son's *Personal Godhead* into the *Power and Dominion* which you suppose Him ad-

\* See my *Supplement*, &c. p. 20.

vanced to after his Resurrection. 'Tis your express Doctrine. *Collect. of Queries*, p. 75.

13. You run counter to all the *Antients* in supposing the *Logos* to have supplied the place of a *Human Soul*; and making the *Logos*, as such, *passible*. As to the former part of this Charge, you have given broad Hints, up and down, in This *Reply*: As to the latter part, it is, or was, your express Doctrine. *Collect. of Queries*, p. 143.

Let the Reader now judge of your repeated Boasts of *Antiquity*: Such as none could ever have made, but the same that could espy *Arianism* in our *Liturgy*, and our *Articles*, and bring the *Creeeds* of the Church to speak the Language of *Heresy*.

\*\*\*\*\*

Q U E R Y XXVII.

*Whether the Learned Doctor may not reasonably be suppos'd to say, the Fathers are on his side with the same Meaning and Reserve as he pretends our Church-Forms to favour him; that is, provided he may interpret as he pleases, and make them speak his Sense, however contradictory to their own: And whether the true Reason why he does not care to admit the Testimonies of the Fathers as Proofs, may not be, because they are against him?*

Y O U ask me whether I admit *the Testimonies of the Fathers as Proofs*, since I disapprove of the Doctor's making Them *Illustrations* only.

You think, it *had been just in me to declare* upon This Head. Verily, I thought I had *declared\** plain-

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\* *Defence*, p. 453.

ly, that I admit their Testimonies as *Proofs*, two ways: *Certain* Proofs, in many Cases, of the Church's Doctrine in That Age; *probable* Proofs of what the Doctrine was from the *Beginning*. In respect of the latter, They are *inferior* additional *Proofs*, when compared with plain *Scripture-Proof*: Of no moment if Scripture is plainly contrary; but of great moment where *Scripture* looks the same way, because they help to fix the *true Interpretation*, in any disputed Texts. I build no Article of Faith upon the *Fathers*, but upon *Scripture* alone. If the Sense of Scripture be disputed, the concurring Sentiments of the Fathers in any Doctrine, will be, generally, the best and safest Comments upon Scripture, so far as concerns That Doctrine: Just as the Practice of *Courts*, and the Decisions of eminent *Lawyers*, are the best Comments upon an *Act of Parliament* made in, or near their own Times: Tho' it be nevertheless true, that the Obedience of the *Subject* rests *solely* upon the *Laws* of the *Land*, as its Rule, and Measure.

You proceed to vindicate some *Translations* of the Doctor's, which I had found fault with. But you are first wrapp'd up in Admiration of the Doctor's Performance; that so *acute a Man*, &c. *could not find above 20 Passages to cavil at, in a Book of near 500 Pages full of Quotations*. Whether it was *caviling*, shall be seen presently. But you will remember, that, besides a *general* Charge of want of *Pertinence* in many, and of great *Unfairness* \* in the whole Course of them; I had over and above took notice of particular Faults, very great ones, in the Doctor's *Versions*. And surely 20 Faults of This kind were enough for one Man to commit within the Compass of about 300 Pages: For I examined no farther †, having found and noted a sufficient Number for my

\* See my Defense, p. 443, &c.

† The learned Reader will observe more Instances of like kind, in *Script. Doctr.* p. 295, 296, 297, 304, 312, 314, 322. 2<sup>d</sup> Edit. The most shameful of them, is a *Version*, in p. 312, of a Passage cited at the bottom of p. 311.

Purpose; which was to awaken the Reader's Caution, and to prevent his relying too implicitly upon the Doctor's Representations. And you will consider, that it was not merely for *Inaccuracy* in his Translations, that I blamed Him, (such as a Man may innocently commit, or sometimes chuse, to save Time or Pains, when the Cause is not concern'd in it, or when it is not material whether a scrupulous exactness be observed, or no) but it was for his mis-translating such Parts of what he cited, as were of *greatest moment* to the Question in hand, and his industriously warping them to his own *Hypothesis*. You do well to labour This Point: For, indeed, the Doctor's *Integrity*, or *Fidelity*, to say no more, is pretty deeply concern'd in it; tho' my Design was, not to expose his *Character*, but to prevent the *Deception* of the Reader. They, who desire to re-examine This Matter, may please to look into my *Defense*; that I may not be at the trouble of repeating.

1. In the first Passage, I complained of two false Rendings; one of the words, *ἐν εἰς ἀναίρεσιν*, another of the word *ἀπαύγαγμα*, in Both which the Doctor served his *Hypothesis*, obliquely, *against* the Sense of the *Author*. You cannot, you do not pretend that his Version was *just*: I cited as far as was necessary to show that it was not. What then? You pretend I leave out the *only words* for the sake of which the Doctor cited it. I left out no Words that were at all necessary to shew the *Sense* of the Author, or to judge of the Doctor's *Version*. It was undoubtedly the Doctor's Business either not to cite, or translate the Author at all, or to render his Words faithfully, so far as He did pretend to translate from Him. And tho' the Doctor's *particular* Design, in That Passage, might be to shew that *Athanasius* allowed the Father to be stiled the *only* God (*Mark* xii. 32.) yet He had a more *general* Design, running thro' his Performance, which was to keep the Reader in the *Dark* as to the antient way  
of

of understanding it, in opposition to *false* Gods, or *Idols* only : To serve which *general* Design, He perverted the Sense of That Passage in his *Translation* of it.

2. The second Passage \* which the Doctor had mis-translated, you are willing to correct, in some measure, by leaving out the word *most*. But you will still have it *absolutely and strictly* God, instead of *really* God : Which might not be much amiss, had not the Doctor made such frequent ill use of *absolutely*, in respect of the Father ; intending therein an opposition to God the *Son's* being *absolutely* God. This was not the meaning of *Athanasius*, who meant no *opposition* but to *Idols* || . I observed, that *Athanasius* would have said, or had said, in other Words, as much of the *Son*, as He has there said of the *Father*. To which you reply, that you *will not undertake to answer what Athanasius would have said, were I to indite for Him : But you deny that He has said it*. I shewed before what *Athanasius* had said, in that very Treatise †, namely, that the Son is the  $\omega\upsilon$ , signifying *emphatical Existence* ; which amounts to the same Thing He had before said of the Father. And to shew farther, what *Athanasius would have said*, I have quoted in the Margin what he really *has said*, in a Treatise <sup>a</sup> annexed to the other, written at the same Time, and being a second Part to it, so that They may be justly esteem'd one Treatise. He there

\* Τὸν ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἕντας ἕντα θεὸν, τὸν τῷ χριστῷ πατέρα. Athan. contr. Gent. p. 9.

|| See my Defense, p. 428.

† Ὁ ὃ θεὸς ἓν ἐστὶ καὶ ἕ συνθεῖσθαι, διὸ καὶ ὁ τῶν λόγων ἓν ἐστὶ καὶ ἕ συνθετός, ἀλλὰ εἷς καὶ μονογενὴς θεός — ὡς ἀγαθὸς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ καὶ αὐτῷ ἔντι θεῷ τὴν σύμπασαν διακυσσεργῆ καὶ καθύψησην. Athan. contr. Gent. p. 40.

<sup>a</sup> Πανταχοῦ τὴν τοῦ λόγου θεϊότητα βλέπων, ἐκ ἑτέρι μὲν ἀπατάται περὶ θεοῦ, μόνον δὲ τοῦτον προσκυνεῖ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καλῶς τὸν πατέρα γινώσκει. Athan. p. 87.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐγκριμένη θεὸς ἀληθινός, θεοῦ θεὸς λόγος. p. 88.



teaches us to *worship the Son only*, and He stiles Him *True God*. These Things put together amount to full as much as was said of the Father \* in the Passage cited by the Doctor; namely, τὸν ἀληθινὸν καὶ ὄντως ὄντα Θεόν, signifying that He is the *true God*, and that He exists *emphatically*: And it is manifest, that *Athanasius* intended no *opposition* to the Son, in what He said of the Father, but to *Idols* only.

3. As to the third place which I found fault with, you would persuade us that the Doctor was very favourable in his *Translation*, and took the least advantage possible. I blamed Him for his rendring *far above all derivative Being*, intending thereby to include the Son; as if *Athanasius* meant that the Father was *far above the Son*: Whereas if it be rendred, as it ought to be, *far above all created Being*; it would then be plain that this Passage relates not to the Son at all, but to *Creatures* only. But the Doctor, you now say, might have translated it *far above all Begotten Being*. He might, indeed, have done so, and have thereby shewn Himself as ill a *Critick*, as before a *partial* Writer. For what if some Copies read γεννητῆς, with double ν, instead of single; is any thing more common than Mistakes of that kind? A little lower, in the same Page, the Editions had γεννητῶν instead of γεννητῶν. The Sense must determine us in such Cases, and a critical Judgment of the Principles laid down in the same Treatise. One Thing is certain, that however γεννητῆς be rendred, the Doctor is intirely false in ranking the Son under γεννητῆς εἰσίας, because *Athanasius*, in the very Page, clearly exempts Him from the τὰ γενητά, from *created*

\* Ὑπερέπεκεινα πάσης γενητῆς εἰσίας ὁ τοῦ χριστοῦ πατήρ. Athanas. contr. Gent. p. 39.

|| Ἄλλος μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν γενητῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως, ἰδιος δὲ καὶ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ὑπάρχει λόγος, &c. p. 39. Ed. Bened. comp. Orat. 1. c. 56. p. 460, &c. Which, if there be any doubt, will determine the meaning of the Phrase ἄλλος τῶν γενητῶν, &c.

*Beings*: You may, if you please, say, from the *begotten Beings*, and justify it in the same way as you pretend to justify the other. The late learned Editor of *Athanasius*, easily perceiv'd that the word should be γενητῆς in one place, and γενητῶν in the other: And so it stands corrected in his Edition.

4 I found fault with the Doctor's Translation of a place in *Eusebius*\*, wherein he was doubly blameable: First, for tripping in his *Logick*, by opposing *efficient* to *ministerial* Cause, when the same may be both *efficient* and *ministerial*; and secondly, for faulting in a momentous Article of *Faith*, excluding God the Son from being *efficient Cause* of all Things. Upon this you are in a vehement Passion: It is a *Cavil*, most *ridiculous*, as well as *unjust*. I am not displeas'd to hear you say so; because now I may be confident that what I said was very right, just, and unanswerable. It is an Observation the Reader may have made, which will not be found to fail in any one Instance, that whenever you throw out this kind of Language, it is a certain Mark of your Distress, and of your not being able to make any solid Reply. Let us see whether it does not hold true here, as well as in former Instances. The Doctor's Translation, you say, *does not exclude the Son from any proper Efficiency, but from supreme self-authoritative Efficiency*. You may be a better Judge than I, of what the Doctor believes, or maintains upon *second Thoughts*: But I may presume to judge of a

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\* Οὐχ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτοῦ· ἢ ἡμᾶς ἀναπέμψη ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὄλων ποιητικὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀθεντία. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. l. i. c. 20.

The Doctor's Translation, or Paraphrase.

“Whereas He might have express'd it thus, All Things were made by Him, as the *efficient Cause*; He does not so express it, but thus; All Things were made by Him as the *ministering Cause*; that so He might refer us to the *Supreme Power* and Efficiency of the Father, as the *Maker* of all Things.” Script. Doct. p. 89. alias 79.

written Translation. And, I say, it is plain from his opposing *efficient* (not *supreme efficient*) to *ministerial*, that, unless his Wits were absent, He intended as much to say that the Son was not *efficient Cause*, as that the Father was not *ministerial*. He continues the same Thought all along, concluding the Father to be the *Maker* (not *supreme Maker only*) of all Things; therein shewing his *supreme Power, and Efficiency*. This is the obvious Sense of the Doctor's Version. But I am not sorry to find, that either the Doctor, or you, are coming off from it, and approaching nearer to *Catholick Principles*: Tho' it still looks a little suspicious, that you are every where scrupulous of stiling the Son *Creator, or Maker*, and will never say that He created by his *own Power*, but by the Power of the Father.

5. I found fault with the Doctor's partial rendring a place of St. *Chrysofom*\*, and cutting the Quotation short. You repeat (p. 462.) the same thing that the Doctor had pleaded for Himself; and which I shew'd to be insufficient, in my *Appendix*. As to *Basil*, the Doctor had dealt as partially by Him †. *Basil* makes the Son's inherent Power equal to the Father's; and in That Sense says, that *as to Power, He is equal and the same*. The Doctor means no more than that the Son's Power (however *unequal*) is deriv'd from the Father, and in That Sense They are *one in Power*. Now, I say, *Basil's* Idea and the Doctor's are very different: And the Doctor was sensible of it; dropping the word *equal* in his Version of *Basil*. *Basil* should not have been quoted, as agreeing in the Thing, when He agrees only in the Name. You say, *Basil* could not mean that the Son's Power is *co-ordinate*. But He certainly meant, and said, that the *Son's Power is equal*:

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\* Defense, p. 368, 429, 489.

† See my Defense, p. 429.

Let the Doctor say This, and our Dispute is ended. It is plain, that *Basil's* Reason for the Father and Son being one, is quite another than what the Doctor's is; and that the Doctor's Notion of *one in Power*, is not *Basil's* Notion\*. Why then was he quoted, and *mis-translated*, to confirm an Interpretation intirely different from, nay, contrary to his own?

6. I found fault with the Doctor's *partial* rendring a noble Passage of *Irenæus*||. That *Irenæus* was not speaking of the Son consider'd in a *representative Capacity*, (which the Doctor, without any Warrant<sup>a</sup>, would exprefs by  $\epsilon\nu\ \mu\omicron\sigma\phi\eta\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ) is manifest from *Irenæus's* referring to *Joh. i. 1.* which describes the Son as *God* before that fictitious Representation the Doctor speaks of. Therefore the  $\tau\omicron\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \chi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\omicron\zeta\omicron\nu$ , in That place of *Irenæus*, is to be understood of the *antecedent* Character which belonged to God the Son, before the World was; and not of any subsequent *Representation*.

7. I took notice<sup>b</sup> of a Passage in *Justin* cited by the Doctor, and truly rendred, but set in a *false Light* to deceive the Reader; as if God the Son were not Himself *Creator*, and *God of Abraham*, but one *personating* the Creator, and *God of Abraham*.

I observed, that the Doctor could not have confuted the *Jew*, as *Justin* did, while He goes upon the Supposition of the Son's *personating* the Father: A plain and evident Token of the Doctor's Misunderstanding, and misrepresenting his Author, when

\* The Doctor, by *Power*, seems to mean *moral* Power; such as *Moralists* define to be That by which a Person is enabled to do a Thing *lawfully* and with *moral* Effect: But *Basil* means *natural* Power. The Doctor interprets the Text of *Christ's assuming to Himself the Power and Authority of God*. Reply, p. 147. See also, p. 136, 254.

|| See my Defense, p. 430, 490.

<sup>a</sup> See my Sermons, p. 158.

<sup>b</sup> Defense, p. 431.

He makes a great part of the *Dialogue* Nonsense, to bring it to his *Hypothesis*. For how should *Justin* ever prove that there was a *divine Person*, distinct from *Angels*, one that was really *God*, *God of Abraham*, &c. if the *Person* pretended to be such, was only *personating* the *God of Abraham*, and was not Himself *God*? Might not the *Jew* insist upon it, that it was an *Angel* only, *personating* *God*? Why must it be *Another*, who was really *God of Abraham* as well as the *Father* \*? The whole drift of *Justin's* Argument is intirely defeated by such a Fiction of *Personating*: Which makes it evident that *Justin* had no such Notion, but the quite contrary. You do not pretend to say that the *Doctor*, upon his Principles, could have confuted the *Jew* in the same way with *Justin*: Only you say, *He never thought of confuting Him upon mine*. But it is manifest that He did confute Him upon this Principle, that there was a *Person*, besides the *Father*, *God of Abraham*, really so, in his own *Person*, because so described in Scripture: And therefore there exists a *divine Person*, besides the *Father*, *Son* of That *Father*; which was to be proved. Your weak Pretences about the *Son's ministring*, and his not being *supreme God* because of That, have been often answer'd.

8. I took notice of some Things of a slighter kind; but such as betrayed too much leaning to an *Hypothesis*, and tended to convey false *Ideas* to the common Reader ||. And tho' the Alteration in such Cases may appear slight, like the Change of a Fi-

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\* For if He always spake *in the name*, &c. of the *Father*, no Texts could be brought to prove Him *Lord God*, because *Lord God* would express the *Person* and *Authority* of the *Father*: But it is evident that *Justin*, *Irenaus*, and others, do professedly cite Passages of Scripture to prove the *Son* to be *Lord God*: That Title or Name then, no less expresses the *Person* and *Authority* of the *Son*, than of the *Father*. True Script. Doctr. continued, p. 146.

|| Defense, p. 432.

gure, or a Cypher in an Account; yet is it very mischievous, and, if designedly done, very dishonest.

9. I blamed the Doctor \* for skipping over some very material Words of *Novatian*. Do you deny the Fact? No: But you insist upon it, that *Novatian* has a great deal which may look for your Purpose. I allowed as much before: Only, as the Words were capable of a *Catholick* Meaning, and must be determin'd to That Meaning if some Parts of the Sentence are incapable of any other; I desir'd that the Words *per substantiæ communionem*, by *Communion of Substance*, (which the Doctor had unfairly omitted) might be brought in, to end the Dispute.

As to *Novatian's* real Principles, I have given you my Thoughts above. He takes a particular way in the resolving the *Unity*, very like to your's: Yet He maintains the *Eternity* †, and *Consubstantiality* of God the Son; wherein He differs as much from you, as He agrees with me. The *Subordination* He expresses in very strong Words, but yet such as do not amount to an *Inferiority* of Nature.

You intimate, that the Author intended an inequality of *Perfections*, and not merely an inequality in respect of *Original*: Which is more than *Novatian's* Words prove; or, at least, than they appear to

\* *Defensæ*, p. 432.

† As to *Novatian's* supposing the Father prior to the Son, I accounted for it in my *Defensæ*, p. 139, 141. I shall here add a few parallel Expressions from other *Catholick* Writers, who undoubtedly believed the *Coeternity*.

Ex quo ostenditur semper fuisse vaporem istum virtutis Dei, Nullum habentem initium nisi ipsum Deum: Neq; enim decebat aliud ei esse initium nisi ipsum unde est & nascitur. Pamphil. Apolog, p. 230.

Primitivus est dictus quia præter Patrem, cui etiam coæternus est Divinitate, cum Spiritu Sancto, ante ipsum nullus est primus. Zen. Veronens. Serm. in Exod. ix.

Πῶς ἐν ἐκ τῆν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ——— ὁ μηδὲν ἔχων προεπινοούμενον ἑαυτοῦ, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἐξ οὗ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι· οὐ διασήμετι υπερέχοντα, ἀλλὰ τῇ αἰτίᾳ προτεταραγμένοι. Basil. contr. Eunom. l. 2. p. 735.

me to prove. I shall give the Passage in the Margin \*, which must decide This Matter. *Novatian* there many ways expresses the same Thing, that had the Father and Son been equal in respect of *Original*, had They Both been *underived* or *unbegotten*, There might then have been just Pretence for making them *Two Gods*. He adds, that had They been Both *invisible* and *incomprehensible*, They had then been *Two Gods*. To understand which, we are to remember that it was the general Doctrine of the Fathers, that God the Son might be *visible* and appear in a *place*, *per assumptas species*, by *visible Symbols*; but that God the Father might not, it being unsuitable to the Character of the *first* Person to be *sent*, and consequently to appear in That manner. Upon This *Hypothesis*, had the Son been *invisible*, and *incomprehensible*, in such a Sense as the Father was conceiv'd to be, it would have been the same thing as if He had been *Another Father*, or *Another First Person*; and That would infer *Two Gods*. He is not therefore speaking of any Difference as to *essential Perfections*, but only of the Difference between a *First* and *Second* Person; that one could not be *sent*, or become *visible* and confin'd to a *Place* in any sense: The other might in such a sense as hath been mention'd, *viz.*

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\* Si enim *natus* non fuisset, *innatus* comparatus cum eo qui esset *innatus*, æquatione in utroque ostensa, *duos* faceret *innatos*, & ideo *duos* faceret *Deos*. Si *non genitus* esset, collatus cum eo (qui) *genitus* non esset, & æquales inventi, *duos* *Deos* merito reddidissent *non-geniti*; atque ideo *Duos* *Christus* reddidisset *Deos*. Si *sine Origine* esset, ut *Pater*, inventus, & ipse *Principium* omnium, ut *Pater*, *duo* faciens *principia*, *duos* ostendisset nobis consequenter & *Deos*. Aut si & ipse *Filius* non esset, sed *Pater* generans de se alterum *Filius*, merito collatus cum *Patre*, & tantus denotatus, *duos* *Patres* effecisset, & ideo *duos* approbasset etiam *Deos*. Si *invisible* fuisset cum *invisible* collatus, par expressus, *duos* *invisibiles* ostendisset, & ideo *duos* comprobasset & *Deos*. Si *incomprehensibilis*, si & cætera quæcunque sunt *Patris*; merito dicimus, *duorum* *Deorum* quam isti confingunt controversiam suscitasset. Nunc autem quicquid est, non ex se est, quia nec *innatus* est. *Novat. c. 31.*

by *Symbols* of his Presence. Otherwise *Novatian* admits the Son in his own Nature to be *omnipresent*, as well as the Father, as is plain from his Words ||. See This Point more fully clear'd in *Bp. Bull* \*. The whole Course and Tenour of *Novatian's* Discourse tends only to This, that there is but one *Head*, viz. the *Father*, to whom the Son Himself, his *Substance*, his *Power*, and Perfections are referr'd, and in whom they center; that there is a Difference of *Order* because of That Headship; and that, conformably thereto, the Son in all Things acts *subordinately*, *ministers* to the Father, and executes inferior Offices under Him, as a Son to a Father, not as a *Servant* to his *Lord*. This is all that *Novatian's* Words strictly amount to: And tho' He speaks of the *Subjection* of the Son, it does not necessarily mean any thing more than that voluntary *oeconomy* which God the Son underwent, and which would not have been proper for the Father Himself to have submitted to, because not suitable to the *Order* of the Persons.

One Passage I must here give, because we differ chiefly about what That Passage contains. The literal Version runs thus †.

“ Whose Godhead is so deliver'd, as not to appear to make Two Gods, either by a *Disagreement*, or *Inequality* of Godhead. For, all Things  
“ being

|| Si Homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo adest ubique invocatus? Cum Hæc Hominis natura non sit sed Dei, ut adeste omni loco possit. *Novat. c. 15.*

See True Script. Doctr. continued, p. 170.

\* *Bull. D. F. Sect. 4. c. 3.*

† Cujus sic Divinitas traditur, ut non aut *dissonantia*, aut *inequalitate* divinitatis, duos Deos reddidisse videatur. Subjectis enim ei, quasi Filio, omnibus rebus a patre, dum ipse cum his quæ illi subjecta sunt, Patri suo subicitur, Patris quidem sui Filius probatur, cæterorum autem & Dominus & Deus esse reperitur. Ex quo dum Huic qui est Deus, omnia subtracta (leg. *substrata*) traduntur, & cuncta sibi subjecta Filius accepta refert patri, totam divinitatis Auctoritatem rursus patri remittit; unus Deus ostenditur verus & æternus



“ being by the Father made subject to Him, as  
 “ to a Son, while He Himself, with those Things  
 “ which are made subject to Him, is subject to his  
 “ Father: He is shewn indeed to be the Son of his  
 “ Father; but is found to be Lord and God of all  
 “ Things else. And since all Things are thus sub-  
 “ jected to Him (*the Son*) who is God, and since  
 “ He owes their being made subject under Him to  
 “ the Father, He again refers back to the Father  
 “ all the Authority of the Godhead: And so the  
 “ Father is shewn to be the one true and eternal  
 “ God, from whom alone This Efflux of the God-  
 “ head being sent out and communicated to the Son,  
 “ revolves again to the Father by *Communion of Sub-*  
 “ *stance*. The Son is indeed shewn to be God, as  
 “ the Godhead is communicated and deliver’d to  
 “ Him: But at the same time the Father is ne-  
 “ vertheless *the One God*, while That very Majesty  
 “ and Godhead is, by a reciprocal Course, return’d,  
 “ and referr’d up again from the Son, to the Father  
 “ that gave it.”

This is, I think, a fair and true rendring of *No-*  
*vation*: Only I am now to justify such Parts of it as  
 you will be apt to except against. Instead of *Inequa-*  
*lity*, you chuse the reverse, viz. *Equality*; upon some  
 slender Suspicions of your own, against the Faith of  
 the Copies. *Conjectural* Emendations ought never  
 to be admitted, but upon the greatest Necessity.  
 For, it often happens that Men please Themselves a  
 while with Reasons that look plausible: But when  
 the Thing comes to be well consider’d, Reasons as

æternus Pater, a quo solo hæc vis divinitatis emissa, etiam in Filium  
 tradita & directâ, rursum per substantiæ communionem ad Patrem re-  
 volvitur. Deus quidem ostenditur Filius cui divinitas tradita &  
 p̄recta conspicitur; & tamen nihilominus unus Deus pater pro-  
 batur; dum gradatim reciproco meatu illa Majestas atque Divinitas  
 ad Patrem, qui dederat eam, rursum ab illo ipso Filio missa rever-  
 titur, & retorquetur. Novat. c. 31.

plausible, or more so, may appear on the other side. It has been urged, in this very Case, by a learned Gentleman\*, that what you would make a Reason for *non æqualitate*, is sufficiently answer'd by the words, *non Dissonantia Divinitatis*. For had the Father and Son been *equally unoriginate*, there would have been *dissonantia*, according to *Novatian* †; a Disagreement of two independent Deities, without any *Sonship* which makes the *Union* ‖. Hence then *Novatian* excludes *Equality* of Original, by the words *non Dissonantia*; but at the same time teaches an *Equality* of Nature, or *Godhead*, that He might avoid the opposite Extreme. And This is but suitable to the very Tenour of his Discourse, there, and elsewhere. For how can there be a *Communication* of Substance, and *Godhead*, without the Supposition of *Equality* of Nature, and *Godhead*? A little before, He had said, the *Word* was *divine Substance* ‡: And He here speaks

\* True Scripture Doctrine continued, p. 172.

† Dum non aliunde est quam ex Patre, Patri suo Originem suam debens, *Dissordiam Divinitatis* de numero duorum Deorum facere non potuit. *Novat. c. 31.*

‖ Si ambo vocarentur *Patres*, essent profecto *natura dissimiles*: unusquisque enim ex semetipso constaret, & communem substantiam cum altero non haberet; nec *Deitas una* esset, quibus *una natura* non esset. *Fulgent. Resp. contr. Arian. p. 52.*

Duos autem Deos dicere non possumus, nec debemus: non quod Filius Dei Deus non sit, imo verus Deus de Deo vero; sed quia *non aliunde* quam de ipso uno Patre Dei Filium novimus, proinde unum Deum dicimus. — Si verus Deus est, & de Patre non est, duo sunt, habentes singuli & voluntates proprias, & imperia diversa. *Greg. Nazianz. op. Vol. 1. p. 728. Ambros. op. Vol. 2. p. 347.*

Quicquid *extra* eum est, cum contumelia ei honoratæ virtutis *æquabitur*. Si enim aliquid quod *non ex ipso est*, reperiri potest *simile* ei, & *virtutis ejusdem*; amisit *privilegium Dei* sub Consortio *Coæqualis*: jamque non erit *Deus unus* a quo indifferens sit *Deus Alius*. At verò non habet *Contumeliam Proprietatis* æqualitas, quia *Suum* est quod sui simile est; & *ex se* est quod sibi ad similitudinem comparatur; nec *extra se* est, quod quæ sua sunt potest: Et *Profectus Dignitatis* est genuisse potestatem, nec alienasse naturam. *Hilar. de Trin. p. 934.*

‡ *Substantia* scilicet illa *divina*, cujus nomen est *verbum*. *Novat. c. 31.*

of the Godhead being communicated, or imparted to the Son, and revolving again to the Father as the Head or Fountain. Besides that, *Novatian* is known to make the Son as truly of the *same Nature* with the Father, as any *Man* is of the *same human Nature* with his Father\*. What is This but, in other Words, declaring Equality of *Nature*, or *Godhead*? There is therefore no reason for altering *Novatian's* Text †: However positively you may express your self on That Head.

As to the Words *accepta refert Patri*, they really mean no more than that He received them from the Father, or acknowledg'd them to be received: Which comes not up to the Doctor's Expression (which I found fault with) *in Acknowledgment return'd*: Besides that the Doctor was not there translating *accepta refert*, but *reciproco meatu revertitur*, &c.

The words *vis Divinitatis*, I render *Efflux of the Godhead*; which you render *divine Power*. I could not think of a better Expression than what I made use of. That I have not mis'd the Sense I persuade my self, because *Novatian* is speaking of *Communion of Substance* in the same Sentence, and had stiled the Word *divine Substance*, a little before: And He is here plainly speaking of the divine Substance being *porrecta*, and *tradita*, communicated from Fa-

\* Ut enim præscripsit ipsa natura Hominem credendum qui ex Homine sit: Ita eadem natura præscribit & Deum credendum esse qui ex Deo sit. *Novat. c. 11.*

† I may here cite a Passage of *Hilary*, which may serve as a just Comment upon This of *Novatian*; being extremely like it, and carrying the same Thought, probably, in it.

*Insunt sibi invicem, dum non est nisi ex Patre nativitas, dum in Deum alterum nature vel exterioris, vel dissimilis non subsistit, dum Deus ex Deo manens non est aliunde quod Deus est.* *Hilar. p. 937.*

Here are the same Reasons given why Father and Son are not *Two Gods*: And *Hilary's* Expression of *non nature exterioris*, answers to *Novatian's* of *non dissonantia*; as also his *non dissimilis* to the other's *non inæqualitate*.

ther to Son, and recurring to the Father as Head. If *Vis* answers to the Greek *δύναμις*, as I conceive it here does, it means the same as the *living* and *substantial* Power of God, the same that we express by *Efflux*, or *Emanation*. The Thought of *Novation* seems to be the same with That of *Tertullian* \*, whom He loved to imitate in many Things. To make it still plainer that I interpret Him rightly, please to observe the words, *Deus quidem ostenditur Filius, cui Divinitas tradita & porrecta conspicitur*. Here, He gives the Reason why the Son is God: It is because the Godhead extends to Him, or is communicated to Him. Compare This with what the Author says in Another place †; and you will see how consistent and uniform This Writer is in his Doctrine, that it is the Son's *proceeding* from the Father, or his partaking of the *divine Substance* that makes Him God. So little Reason have you to imagine that the words, *per substantiæ communionem*, crept into the Text out of the Margin. Whether the Doctor, or I, have pursued a wrong Scent in explaining *Novatian*, I now leave to the Reader to judge.

10. I had remark'd || upon the Doctor's rendring a Passage of *Athanasius* ‡, more to serve his *Hypo-*

\* Cum Radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa; sed Sol erit in Radio, quia Solis est Radius, nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur. Tertull. Apol. c. 21.

Prolatum filium a patre, sed non separatum. Contr. Prax. c. 8.

† Qui idcirco *unum* potest dici, dum *ex ipso* est, & dum filius ejus est, & dum ex ipso nascitur, & dum ex ipso *processisse* reperitur, *per quod* & *Deus est*. Novat. c. 23.

Si Homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo dicit, *ego ex Deo pro-*  
*dii & veni*? cum constet Hominem a Deo *factum* esse, non ex Deo *processisse*. — Deus ergo processit ex Deo, dum qui processit sermo, *Deus est qui processit ex Deo*. Novat. c. 23.

|| Defense, p. 433.

‡ Ὁ σαρκαθεὶς κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς ὁ πατὴρ οὐκ ἔστιν, εἶδε, ὡς ἐκείνοι φαίεν, ὁ μὲν θεὸς. Athan. contr. Greg. Sabell. p. 47.

thesis, than pursuant to the Sense of the Author. The Reader must be left to judge for Himself, after comparing what hath, or may be said on Both Sides. The Author, as I take it, is there blaming the Sabellians for imagining the Son to be the *only God*, in such a Sense as to make *One Person* only (under *Three Names* of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) in the Godhead, instead of *Three real Persons*. Accordingly, the same Author censures them (p. 39. ||) for making the Son  $\mu\acute{o}\nu\textcircled{C}$ , or the *Alone Divine Person*, in contradiction to *Job. viii. 16. I am not alone, because the Father is with me.* Which Text He produces to prove, that Father and Son were *Two Persons*, and that the Son was not  $\mu\acute{o}\nu\textcircled{C}$  in such a Sense, as to infer a *Confusion* of Persons. This therefore being all that the Author intended against the Sabellians, it seems to me plain, that the Construction I before gave of  $\omega\acute{s}$   $\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\iota$   $\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu$ , was right, and the Doctor's wrong. That the Author could not deny the Son to be the *Only God* in any other Sense, is plain from his making Father and Son *One perfect Substance*\*: and his asserting *One Godhead* of Both †. In another Place ‡, He censures the Sabellians for making the Son the *One and Only God*: But how? So as to deny the *distinct Personality*, and no otherwise. And in the very Place we are now upon, all that the Writer insists upon is, that the Father and Son are distinct Persons, not *One Person*: In which Sense the Author does not admit the Son to be  $\delta$   $\mu\acute{o}\nu\textcircled{C}$

|| Πῶς οὐκ ἀποσασία σαφῆς ἀγνεῖσθαι τὰ τρία, καὶ μόνον εἶναι λέγειν τὸν Φάσκοντα· οὐκ εἰμὶ μόνῳ, ὅτι ὁ πέμψας με πατὴρ μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐστὶ — ἰδὲ γὰρ δύο πρόσωπα. Athan. Tom. 2. p. 39.

\* Μία δὲ οὐσα ἐστὶ τελεία. p. 41.

† Μία θεότης πατὴρ καὶ υἱός, p. 42.

‡ Ὅτι τὴν τριάδα μονάδα ποιῶντες νοθεύειν καὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν, ὡσπερ τὴν γέννησιν, ἐπιχειροῦσιν· εἰσα γὰρ ὄντα φασὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν υἱόν, ἀγμιασμένον ἀνθρώπου ἐργάζεσθαι, τρετέσιν, αὐτὸν τὸν ἕνα καὶ μόνον θεόν, οὕτως ἀπεσάλλουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, & θεὸν παρὰ θεοῦ. p. 47.

θεός. But that it is always *Sabellian* to apply the Phrase to the Son singly, or to Both together, is not said, neither can you prove it. The Force of your Argument lies only in the Article  $\delta$ : For as to  $\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\textcircled{\text{C}}\ \text{θεός}$ , *Only God*, that it is often applied to the Son, cannot be denied\*: And this Consideration might be sufficient to make the Author put in the restriction of  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\iota\ \text{φα}\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$ , to the latter Branch of the Sentence, which He did not to the former, where it is  $\delta\ \text{πατ}\acute{\eta}\rho$ . For there is a Sense wherein the Son is  $\delta\ \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\textcircled{\text{C}}\ \text{θεός}$ , but He is not  $\delta\ \text{πατ}\acute{\eta}\rho$  in any Sense: Which shows the reason why the Author express'd Himself as He did.

11. I took notice † of another Passage directly contrary to the Doctor's Purpose, though cited by him. For the Doctor's Design was to make the Father the *Only God* exclusive of the Son: While That Passage makes Him the *Only God* including the Son; directly the reverse. Had the Doctor's Intention been only to prove that the Father is stiled the *Only God*, the Method had been fair: But as his profess'd Design was to *exclude* the Son from the *One Godhead*; his manner of citing Authors for it, who in these very Passages, were directly against it, is an intolerable Abuse upon the Readers.

12. The like may be said of another Passage took notice of in my *Defense* ||. You seem to forget the Doctor's Note on Prop. IX. where He precautions his Reader to understand it in such a Sense as to ex-

\*  $\text{Μόνω τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων θεῶ. Clem. Alexand. p. 84.}$

$\text{Τῶν συμπάντων θεῶν ἓνα μόνον ——— υἱὸν ἐν πατρὶ. p. 142.}$

Christus Jesus *Solus* esset *Deus*. Aristid. apud Petav. Præf. ad  
2 Tom. Theol.

$\text{Τοῦ θεοῦ λόγῳ μόνῳ θεός ἀληθής ——— μόνῳ θεός ὡς ὁ πατήρ, Athan. in Psal. p. 83. nov. collect.}$

$\text{Ἵδιον μόνον ἐξῆσθαι θεόν, &c. Greg. Naz. Orat. 36. p. 586.}$

$\text{Ἐμὲ δὲ μόνον θεόν εἰδέναι, &c. Euseb. in Psal. p. 503.}$

† *Defense*, p. 435.

|| *Defense*, p. 435.

clude the Son from *necessary Existence*, (so you interpret *self-existent*.) Now, can Any thing be more unfair, or fraudulent, than to cite Authors as styling the Father the *Only God*, to countenance a Proposition in such a Sense as Those Authors detested, and abhorr'd? All the Apologies you can possibly invent, can never make such a Practice righteous, or Honest.

13. I remark'd\* upon a Passage cited out of *Nazianzen*; where the Doctor, by a *Note*, had most shamefully stifled, and perverted the Author's Meaning. You say not one Word of the Doctor's *Note*, the only Thing I found Fault with: And which indeed can admit of no colourable Excuse, except it were done through Carelessness, taking a Passage at *second Hand*, and commenting upon it, without ever looking into the Author to see what went before, or after.

14. As to the Passage of *Justin Martyr*, enough hath been said above.

15. I remarked|| upon another *Note* of the Doctor's, on a Passage in *Irenæus*, and gave several Reasons to show the Unfairness and Falseness of it. You have here Nothing to say in his Defense: So I pass on.

16. I remark'd upon Another Passage†, where the Doctor had read the Text of *Irenæus* wrong; which you civilly acknowledge, and thank me for the Notice. But there are still Two Questions betwixt us relating to That Place. First, whether it should be ἀγέννητ⊕ or ἀγένητ⊕, and next, whether the Son be included, by *Irenæus*, in that Place,

\* Defense, p. 436.

|| Defense, p. 437.

† Ὁ γεννητός καὶ πεπλασμέν⊕ ἄνθρωπ⊕ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἀγενήτου γίνεται θεοῦ τοῦ μὴ πατὴρ εὐδοκοῦντ⊕ καὶ κελεύοντ⊕, τοῦ δὲ υἱοῦ πρῶτοντος καὶ δημιουργοῦντ⊕, τοῦ δὲ πνεύματ⊕ τριφώντ⊕ καὶ ἀύξαντ⊕. *Iren.* l. 4. c. 38. p. 285.

in the ἀγέννητὸς Θεός, supposing that to be the Reading. It was needless for you to heap Passages upon me to prove, that none but the *Father* should be stiled ἀγέννητὸς, *Unbegotten*, or *Unoriginate*; which I readily allow. All the Question is about ἀγέννητὸς, *Uncreated*, *Unmade*, *Eternal*, or *Necessarily-existing*. The Reasons why I think ἀγενήτης to be the reading in *Ireneus* are these.

I. The Translator's rendring it by *infecti*: Which however I acknowledge to be of less Weight, because He is sometimes mistaken in such Cases; putting *ingenitus* for *infectus*, and perhaps *infectus* for *ingenitus*, or *innatus*.

II. A much stronger Reason is, that through that whole Chapter ἀγέννητὸς is opposed to Things *made*, Things of transient, and *precarious* existence. The Opposition runs between the Things *made*, and the *Maker* of them\*:

III. Another very weighty Reason is drawn from the Opposition between γενητός ἀνθρωπίνος, and ἀγενήτης Θεός: That the Reading is γενητός not with double ν, is evident from the whole Chapter; where the Opposition runs between Man *made* †, and God his *Maker*. And there is not the least Hint of Man considered as *begotten*, or as *Son of God*; as you would understand it, referring to *Luke* 3. 38. These Reasons convince me, that the true Reading of the Words is ὁ γενητός ἀνθρωπίνος, and τὸ ἀγενήτης Θεός.

\* Τῷ μὲν Θεῷ, ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄντι, καὶ ἀγενήτῳ ὑπάρχοντι — τὰ δὲ γεγονότα κατὰ μετέπειτα γενέσεως ἀρχὴν ἰδίαν ἔχει, κατὰ τῆτο καὶ ὑπερέσθαι δεῖ αὐτὰ τῷ πεποιητότῳ. εἰ γὰρ ἠδύνατο ἀγενήτα εἶναι τὰ νεωστὶ γεννηθέντα. *Iren.* p. 283.

Volunt similes esse *Factori Deo*, & nullam esse differentiam *infecti Dei* & nunc *facti* *Homini*. p. 285.

† Ἐκεῖνός ἐστι γεγονότας — νεωστὶ γεγονότα ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ ἀγέννητὸς ἦν. p. 284.

Ἔδει δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπον πρῶτον γενέσθαι, καὶ γινόμενον ἀυξήσαι, &c. p. 285.



The next Question is, whether the Son be here included under ἀγενήτε θεῶ. I gave several Reasons why all the Three Persons are included ; which Reasons may be seen in my *Defense*. I shall add two more: One, that as the Opposition runs between the Thing *made* and the *Maker* ; so it is observable that God the Son frequently is *Factor*, ποιητής, *Maker*, according to *Irenæus* ; which shows, that He is included in the ἀγένητ θεῶ. And again, it is *Irenæus's* Doctrine, that Man's being made after the *Image of God* is to be understood of his being made in the Image of God the *Word* † : Which still farther confirms my Construction of That Passage ; and I now submit it to the Judgment of the learned Reader. As to my translating εὐδοκῆντ by *designing*, I have accounted for it above.

17. As to the Passage in *Basil*, which the Doctor had not done Justice to, I desire the Reader to see my *Defense* ||. That *Basil* allows the Father to be a *Natural Cause* of the Son is very true ; not a *Cause* in the Doctor's Sense : Nor do *Basil's* Words convey any such Notion to the Reader, as the Doctor's Word, *Effects*, does. And therefore the Doctor cannot be acquitted of a Misrepresentation. I leave it to any Reader, who will compare my Account of *Basil* with the Doctor's Version, to judge whether the *Ideas* here, and there, be not very widely different. And what Occasion was there for the Doctor's saying *Effects*, instead of *Things issuing from them*,

‡ Ὁ λόγος, ἔ κατ' εἰκόνα ὁ ἀνδρῶντ ἐργασίαι.

Ὁ λόγος — την εἰκόνα ἐδείξεν ἀληθῶς, ἀπὸς ταῦτο γενόμεντ ὅπερ ἦν ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτῶ. *Iren.* l. 5. c. 16. p. 313.

Quia jam adhærebat illi Filius, *Secunda* persona, sermo ipsius, & *Tertia*, Spiritus in Sermone, ideo pluraliter pronuntiavit, *Faciamus*, & *nostram*. *Tertull.* adv. *Prax.* c. 12.

*Unum* enim sunt, quorum Imaginis & Similitudinis unum est *Homo factus exemplum*. *Hilar.* de *Trin.* l. 5. c. 8.

|| *Defense.* p. 441.

but to favour an *Hypothesis*, and to hold out a false Light to the Readers? As to what you say of *ἀξίωμα*, *Dignity*, I have answer'd it above. Your Reason for *προτετάχθαι* signifying more than *Priority of Order*, is very peculiar, *viz.* because *Basil* in another Place has both *τάξει*, and *ἀξιώματι*: Therefore when He makes mention of *Order* only (as in the Word *προτετάχθαι*) He meant more than *Order*. You might perceive, by the Reason given in Both Places, that *προτετάχθαι* applied to the Father, and *τάξει δεύτερον* applied to the Son, answer exactly to each other, and literally signify *Order*, and Nothing else\*. And had you attended to *Basil's* Reasoning, where He allows *ἀξιώματι*, as well as *τάξει*, you would have perceiv'd that it was rather *ad Hominem*, or for Argument Sake, than any Thing else. For, admitting that the Son or Holy Ghost were *ἀξιώματι*, as well as *τάξει*, *second* and *third* (as *Eunomius* pretended) yet He shows that no certain Consequence can be drawn from thence to *Inferiority of Nature*. Or however, at the most, all you can make of it is, that The Father being *Supreme in Office*, as well as in *Order*, was on That Account *ἀξιώματι πρώτον*, first in *Dignity*: As one Angel (which is *Basil's* Illustration) is superior to another in *Rank*, or *Office*, tho' in *Nature* equal. *Basil. l. 3. p. 79.*

19. The last Passage I found Fault with, you are content to throw off under the Name of a *Quibble*; because you could not account for the Doctor's foul Play in mistranslating it, and warping it to his own *Hypothesis*. Why was not the Word *δημιουργήματα* rendred *Creatures*, as it ought to have been? And why did the Doctor put *All Things*, when speaking of Things produc'd by the Father, and *Things* only in Respect of the Son's producing, when He had no Ground for the Distinction in *Basil*?

But enough of 'This. The Doctor's Partiality in

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\* See Another Passage of *Basil* above, p. 496.

many of his Quotations has been sufficiently manifested. And tho' you are pleased to pass the Matter off with as good a Face as you can, (and it is your wisest Way so to do) yet you will hardly find many Readers of Opinion with you, that these Kind of Slips, in a Man of Character, are of slight Moment. Had Bishop *Bull* been ever guilty of Things of this Kind, I well know what Use would have been made of it. Mr. *Whiston*\* charged him with once *unfairly* translating a Passage of *Origen*; where yet the Bishop was right, and Mr. *Whiston* certainly wrong, as I have prov'd in my *Defense* †: And This one pretended Instance of *Unfairness* is brought up again, and aggravated, by another Gentleman ‡, with some Kind of Insult. A few Slips of this Nature, where a Charge is really just, are not easily pardon'd in any Writers of the higher Class: betraying either Want of *Learning*, or Want of *Care*, or, what is worst of all, Want of *Honesty*.

You endeavour to throw off the Force of the next five or six Pages of my *Defense*, (which you can never fairly answer) by charging something *disingenuous*, as you pretend, upon Me: *As if all the Doctor's Citations from the Fathers in general were Concessions only from Writers, who were Adversaries in the Whole.* But I made a Distinction ‡, as the Doctor himself had done<sup>2</sup>, between *Ante-Nicene*, and *Post-Nicene* Writers. As to the latter, He laid claim to Nothing but *Concessions*: And as to the former, He did indeed claim more in Respect of *some* of Them, tho' I think without Reason. You are still sanguine enough to say, that *much the greater Part of the Authors He cites, all, you think, of the three first Centuries, agree with Him in the full Sense of all*

\* Primitive Christianity revived. Vol. 4. p. 154.

† Defense. p. 198, &c.

‡ Prim. Christianity reviv'd. Append. 2. p. 44.

‡ Defense, p. 425.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to Script. Doctr. p. 18. 1<sup>st</sup> Ed.

Reply. p. 5, 6.

*his Propositions.* How wild, and indeed Romantick this Imagination of yours is, hath been sufficiently shown all the Way; first, in My *Defense*, and again in these Papers: particularly in the *eleven* Instances above mention'd, wherein the Doctor runs counter to all Antiquity. As to *supreme Dominion*, which you lay so much stress on; it is Demonstration that the Fathers held no *Supremacy* but what was thought consistent with *Equality of Nature*, and with the Unity of the same *Godhead* common to Father and Son. If This be your *Supremacy*, all is right and well. But it is ridiculous of you to quote *Antients* for the *Supremacy*, and at the same time to throw out all the Considerations which should come in to qualify, fix, and determine the Notion of *Supremacy*, among the *Antients*. Are not all the other Tenets, wherein the *Antients* evidently contradict the Doctor's whole Scheme, so many *Demonstrations* that They never understood *Supremacy* in any such Sense as He does? What is the Doctor or you doing, but playing *one*, or *two* Principles of the *Antients*, of uncertain Meaning in Themselves, against twenty *clear, plain, undoubted* Principles? Which if you were able to do with Success, it would not be proving that the *Fathers* were on your Side, but that They were Fools and mad, and are of no Account on either Side of the Controversy. But, I hope, the Reader will easily see thro' the Mystery of the whole Deceit which you are putting upon Him, (and perhaps upon your selves at the same Time) which is only This: The straining and perverting the true and *Catholick* Notion of *Supremacy* (held in all Ages of the Church, before and after the *Nicene* Council) to an *Arian* and *Heretical* Sense; that so you may *obliquely* (what you care not to do *directly*) reduce the Son and Holy Ghost to the Rank of *Creatures*. Your constant Plea is, The *Supremacy*, The *Supremacy*: The *Antients*, it seems, were for *Supremacy*, amidst all their Variety of *Metaphysi-*

*cal Speculations* : So that every other Tenet, whereby the *Antients* plainly overturn your whole Scheme, must be thrown off as a *Metaphysical Speculation* ; and nothing but *Supremacy* must be founded in our Ears. Yet, after all, you can make nothing of This pretended *Supremacy* 'till you turn it into a *Metaphysical Speculation* upon *Self-Existence*, and That again into *Necessary-Existence* ; then adding fundry other *Metaphysical Speculations* to degrade, and sink God the Son into *precarious Existence*. This was not the Way of the *Antients* ; nor was This the Use they ever made, or intended to make of the *Supremacy* : If They had, you would have allowed Them, I suppose, in this single Instance, to run into *Metaphysical Speculations*. One Thing is evident, *amidst all their Variety of Metaphysical Speculations* in which you think They abounded, more than You, that what *Metaphysicks* They had in their *great Abundance*, They employed them all in *Defense* of our Lord's *Divinity* ; while You, on the contrary, employ the *Little* you have, in direct *Opposition* to it. Certainly, the *Antients*, being so much given to *Metaphysicks*, could have been *Metaphysical* on your Side of the Question, as well as You are now : But either They were wise enough to distinguish *False Metaphysicks* from *True* ; Or, They had not so learned *Christ*. But to return,

I intimated\* how a *Romanist* might, in Dr. Clarke's Way, fill Pages with Quotations wide of the Purpose, and call them *Concessions*, and thereby deceive weak Readers. Here you have nothing to reply, but that I do the Doctor Wrong in applying this to *all his Citations*. I applied it not to *all*, but to as many (be they *more*, or *fewer*) as have been thus deceitfully made use of by the Doctor. By his own Account it must be understood of as many *Post-*

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\* Defense, p. 445, 448.

*Nicene* Catholicks, as He quotes in that Manner : And how many *Ante-Nicenes* it ought to be understood of, may appear from what I have shewn of their being in very opposite Sentiments to his, in the most material Points of our Dispute. But allowing your Plea, is it any Justification of the Doctor's Method of Quoting ? I charge Him with *Deceit* : And you, in his *Defense*, represent Him as practising it not so *much*, or so *often*, as I might imagine. But why did He practise it at all ?

You next endeavour to retort something upon Me like to the *Romanists* ; tho' entirely wide and foreign, and brought in most strangely. They have Recourse, you say, to *Tradition* : You should have said to *Oral* Tradition, which is quite another Thing from *written* Tradition. And what Harm is there in having Recourse to the *written* Tradition of Fathers for the Sense of Scripture, more than in having Recourse to a *Dictionary* for the Sense of Words ; or to the Practice of *Courts*, Resolutions of *Judges*, or Books of *Reports*, for the Sense of *Laws* ? All Helps, for the understanding of Scripture, ought to be made use of : And Recourse to the *Fathers* is one, and a very considerable one. The *Romanists*, you add, call their own Doctrine *Catholick* : Yes, and without Reason. The Fathers, long before *Popery*, called their Doctrine *Catholick*, and with good Reason. What then ? The *Romanists* also call That *Heresy*, which is really none : May we not therefore call That *Heresy*, which really is such, and which has been ever so accounted in all Ages of the Church ? What you have farther is Repetition : except your Speculations on *Rev. i. 8.* which have been mostly consider'd above\*. There remain only a few incidental Matters to be here taken notice of, very briefly. I had refer'd to

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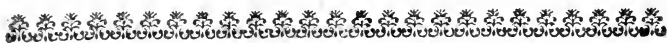
\* p. 241. &c.

four Places † in *Clemens*, where He either directly or indirectly makes the Son παντοκράτωρ, *Almighty*. Of *Three* of them no reasonable Doubt can be made: And *Three* are sufficient. The *Fourth* only says, that the Nature of the Son is προσεχέσατη, most intimately united to the *Alone Almighty*; which, according to *Clemens's* Notion of their *Union*, is supposing Both *Almighty*. But this I need not insist upon, having *Three* plain Testimonies besides; Two of which have been vindicated above. You cite Another Passage\* of *Clemens*, and you translate it most shamefully, to serve your *Hypothesis*, in these Words; *He is irresistible as being Lord of all; most certainly irresistible, because ministering to the Will of the good and supreme Father over all*. You have here exceeded Mr. *Whiston* by far; whose Translation is very modest and reasonable in Comparison. The literal and just rendering is Thus. “Neither could He be obstructed by Any other, being Lord of all, and Chiefly (or most perfectly) ministering to the Will of the good and Almighty Father.” *Clemens's* Thought is This; that as to *Creatures*, They cannot obstruct Him, since He is Lord over Them: And as to the *Father*, He will not, in as much as all that the Son does is perfectly agreeable to his Will. I need not say any thing here farther in relation to *Justin*, or *Eusebius*; having given my Thoughts of Both in the preceding Sheets.

† Τῷ παντοκράτορι καὶ πατρικῷ λόγῳ. p. 148. Τὸν παντοκράτορα θεῖον λόγον, p. 277. Δύναμις παγκρατής ——— θελημα παντοκρατορικόν. p. 646. Ἡ υἱοῦ φύσις ἢ τῷ μόνῳ παντοκράτορι προσεχέσατη. p. 831.

\* Οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑτέρου κωλυθεῖται ποτ' ἀν' ὃ πάντων κύριος, καὶ μάλιστα ἐξυπηρετᾷ τῷ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, καὶ παντοκράτορος θελήματι πατρὸς. p. 832.

|| See Bull D. F. Sect. 2. c. 6. Nonnii Apparatus. Vol. I. p. 954. Lord Nottingham's Answer to Whiston.



### QUERY XXVIII.

*Whether it be at all probable, that the primitive Church should mistake in so material a Point as This is ; or that the whole Stream of Christian Writers should mistake in telling us what the Sense of the Church was : And whether such a Cloud of Witnesses can be set aside without weakening the only Proof we have of the Canon of the Scripture, and the Integrity of the Sacred Text ?*

**T**HE *Modest Pleader* thinks it not material to inquire whether the *Antient Writers of the Church* were better skill'd in *Metaphysical Speculations*, than *We at this Day* ? This kind of Talk is what He affects, and pleases Himself in ; though He has nothing but *Metaphysicks* to depend on, as I have often observed : And I will venture to assure Him, that the old and well-tried *Metaphysicks* of the *Antients* are such as He will find much superior to his own. *Metaphysicks* were indeed first brought in by *Hereticks*, and were much encourag'd by *Arius*, *Eunomius*, and the whole Sect of *Arians* : But the *Fathers of the Church*, having better Sense than They, were able to baffle them at their own Weapons. The *modest Pleader*, I think (if there be not an *Interpolation* by another Hand) still goes on, and tells me how unanimously, how uniformly the *Antients asserted a real Supremacy of the Father's Dominion*. And yet the certain Truth is, that He has no *Ante-nicene*, or *Post-nicene* *Catholick Writer* that ever came up to his Notion of it. Where does He find them saying, that the *Father alone* is supreme in *Dominion* ? He may find Many expressly contradicting it ; as many



as make Father and Son *One God*, or proclaim them *undivided* in Dominion, or say that they are *Unius Potestatis, Unius Divinitatis*, of *One Power* and *Godhead*, and the like: Many Testimonies whereof have been given in the Course of these Papers. All He can prove is a *Supremacy* of the Father, a *Supremacy* in respect of *Order*, or *Office*, nothing more. But his Way is to take *old Expressions*, and to affix *new Ideas* to them, under pretence that those old Writers knew not how to speak accurately. What They call'd *Cause*, is with Him, *no Cause*; What They call'd *Acts*, are *no Acts*; What They call'd *Generation* is *no Generation*; and their *Subordination* (like mine) is a *Co-ordination*: And so, I presume, their *Supremacy* is *no Supremacy*, but must be stretch'd farther upon the Foot of the *new Metaphysicks*. This is the whole of the Case; *new Ideas* to old Terms, that a Man may *seem* to concur with the *Antients*, while He is *really* contradicting them in the grossest Manner, and introducing a *novel Faith*. I know not how far such a Method may serve with the Populace: Wise Men will see through it, and give it its due Name; *viz*: Either great *Ignorance* of Antiquity, or great *Partiality*.

But He goes on: *Whole Streams of Writers in Matters of Controversy, representing other Men's Opinions otherwise than in the Words of the Persons Themselves, are no Manner of Evidence*. One would wonder what This wise Paragraph meant, or what it was to the Purpose. Have we not the Sense of the Church from Churchmen Themselves? But he wanted to introduce an ill-natur'd Gird upon Some Body. He is terribly afraid lest any Man should judge of Dr. Clarke's Writings from his *Adversary's* Accounts. I hope, the Reader will bear this Caution in Mind, as often as He reads Dr. Clarke's Accounts of the *Ante-nicene*, or *Post-nicene* Writers, to whom He is an utter *Adversary*; tho' a *profess'd* one to the Latter only. As to what He says about

*weakening the Canon of Scripture, I refer to my Defense\**; where That Matter is fairly, and fully stated.

I now come to you. You repeat the Pretence of *Supremacy*: which requires no farther Answer but This; that you mistake the *alone unoriginateness*, for *alone Dominion*. The Father is not the *alone Governour*: But He *alone* hath his Authority, and Dominion *from none*.



### QUERY XXIX.

*Whether private Reasoning, in a matter above our Comprehension, be a safer Rule to go by, than the general Sense and Judgment of the primitive Church in the first 300 Years: Or, supposing it doubtful what the Sense of the Church was within that time, whether what was determin'd by a Council of 300 Bishops soon after, with the greatest Care and Deliberation, and has satisfied Men of the greatest Sense, Piety and Learning, all over the Christian World, for 1400 Years since, may not satisfy wise and good Men now?*

**I** here meet with nothing but what has been abundantly answered, or obviated. Your former Pretences were;

1. That the *Nicene Council* knew nothing of *individual* Consubstantiality.
2. That they understood *Consubstantial* in a *figurative* Sense.

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\* Defense. p. 457, &c.

3. That if they intended any *real* Consubstantiality, it was *Specifick* only.
4. That several Councils, more *numerous* than That of *Nice*, determin'd against the *ὁμοῦσιον*.

All these *Pleas* were particularly *examin'd*, and *confuted*, in my *Defense*: And you have been content to drop them, as indefensible, without any Reinforcement.

You have nothing farther but a few trifling Quibbles about *Individual*, and *Identical*, and *Supreme* Authority: Which may now pass with the Readers for Words of Course; such as you have accusom'd your self to repeat, when you have no mind to be silent. I must desire the Reader to turn to my *Defense* of This *Query*, and to compare it with your *Reply*; if He finds any thing in what you have said, that seems to require any Consideration.



### QUERY XXX.

*Whether, supposing the Case doubtful, it be not a wise Man's part to take the safer Side; rather to think too highly, than too meanly of our blessed Saviour; rather to pay a modest deference to the Judgment of the Antient and Modern Church, than to lean to one's own Understanding?*

I must take notice of what the *Modest Pleader* here pretends, that *This Query may be retorted with irresistible Strength*. After He has thus prepared his Reader, let us hear what his Words come to. It is Thus, *Whether it be not a wise Man's part, rather to think too highly, than too meanly of God the Father; and to be tender of his incommunicable Honour*. To which I answer, that God the Father has determin'd

This Question already, by his *Commands* laid upon us to honour his Son even as *Himself*; and by his giving no particular Cautions against honouring Him *too much*. If we err on This part, in honouring the Son *too highly* (without the least Thought of dishonouring the Father) we err on the *right Side*, as erring on the side of the *Precept*; whereas the other is erring against the *Precept*. This I urged before; and neither the *Modest Pleader*, nor your self take the least notice of it. However, I rested my Argument upon this farther Consideration, that the *Modest* side is the *Safest* to err in: And I thought a Debt of *Modesty* very proper to be paid to the *Antient Church*, and to all the *Modern Churches*; unless you had plain *Demonstration* for your Dissent.

But the *Modest Pleader* says, a *modest Deference* should be paid to the *express Declarations and Commands of Scripture*, rather than to the *Additions of any Human, and fallible Judgment*. But where is his *Modesty* to call his *unscriptural Inventions* by the venerable Name of *Scripture*? The Question is not, whether *express Scripture* ought to be obeyed: But whether, what a few confident Men call *express Scripture*, and all the Churches of Christendom, early and late, take to be directly *contrary to express Scripture*, is to be admitted as an Article of Faith.

It is very strange that you should so often speak of *Human and fallible Judgment*, and never consider that the Judgment you make is *Human*, and *fallible*, as well as the rest. Are you, in particular, privileg'd from *Errors*, or bless'd with the Gift of *Infalibility*? Since we are comparing *Human* with *Human*, and *fallible* with *fallible Judgment*; Think it possible that *many*, and *great*, and *wise* Men may have judged *right*; and that a *Few* may have judged *wrong*. There is a Presumption, a strong Probability, to say no more, against you: Nor will any thing less than *Demonstration* be sufficient to support your Pretences, in Opposition to the current Judgment

ment of the Christian World. In Modesty, the *Novellists* ought to pay a Deference to wiser Men than Themselves; and not presume that They have *Scripture* on their Side, 'till They are able to *prove* it. But of This I said enough in *my Defense*\*; and you make no Answer. You have nothing more, under This Query, but Repetition of your *Preface*; which I have answer'd in its Place. Only I must take notice of one very peculiar Piece of grave Banter; your accusing Me as appealing to the *Passions of the Readers*, only for retorting upon you your own Declamation, in somewhat stronger Words; as I had a better Cause to support them. Who was it that first called upon us to *consider, what to answer at the Great Day, &c.*? So solemn an Appeal, upon such trifling Pretences as you had, obliged me to remind you of the infinitely greater Risque you run, in unaccountably Denying your *Lord and God*. You tell us also of Names of *Reproach*; at the same time reproaching the Church of God, and the most Eminent Lights of it in all Ages, as *Tritheists*, or *Sabellians*, or *Scholasticks*, or as *Contentious Men*, that built their Faith on *Metaphysical Speculations*. It seems, you can feel any thing that looks like a *Reproach* upon your selves; at the same Time causelessly dealing about hard Names, and most injurious Reflections upon all around you. Learn to be *Modest*, or at least commonly *Civil* to Others; and you may meet with suitable Returns. We shall not suffer you to run on with your Charge of *Sabellianism*, *Tritheism*, *Scholastick* Jargon, &c. which you cannot make good against Us; without letting the World know something of a Charge of *Arianism*, which we can make good against You, having often done it with the Force and Evidence of Demonstration. As to the Charge I made (p. 480.) relating to your resting

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\* *Defense*, p. 458, 459.

your Cause, in the last Result, solely upon *Metaphysics*, tho' you are pleased to call it *Calumny*, there is not a Syllable of it but what is strictly true, and may be undeniably proved from Dr. *Clarke's* own Pieces, and yours. I except One or Two Particulars, which I remember to have met with only in Mr. *Emlyn's* Tracts †. I hope, you will not think Him an *ignorant Writer*, nor one that is used to *allege such Reasons only* as his Adversaries should *desire*, or wish for. He has long studied This Controversy, and, as I conceive, understands it better than Some who have succeeded Him in it, and who have been content sometimes to borrow from Him. But That by the Way: I still continue to affirm, having proved it more than once, that in the *last Result* your Doctrine stands upon *Metaphysics* only, and such Pretences as I mention'd in the Place above cited. They are what you constantly *retreat* to, when press'd: And *without Them* you cannot advance one considerable Step towards what you aim at, with all your pretended Proofs from *Scripture*, or *Antiquity*.

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† *Emlyn's* Tracts : p. 165.



## Q U E R Y XXXI.

*Whether any thing less than clear and evident Demonstration, on the side of Arianism, ought to move a wise and good Man, against so great Appearances of Truth, on the side of Orthodoxy from Scripture, Reason, and Antiquity : and whether we may not wait long before we find such Demonstration ?*

WHAT the *Modest Pleader* here pretends against the Charge of *Arianism*, has been abundantly answer'd more than once\*. And as to his Cavil against charging *Consequences* in This Case, I have distinctly consider'd it elsewhere †.

Among all the Charges I made, you will hardly meet with any such *general Charge* as is here brought against Me, of *subverting all Science, and all Religion*, without showing *how, or why*. When I make a Charge, I signify upon what I found it, and give you the Liberty of defending yourselves if you can. This other Method of *general Scandal*, thrown out in such a Way as to bar a Man the *Privilege of Self-defense*, is of all the most ungenerous, mean, and detestable. All I shall say to it is This ; that I have Demonstration before me, that if the Man had had any thing He could have mentioned without exposing

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\* In my *Defense*, and in this *Second Defense*, and particularly in my *Supplement* to the Case of *Arian Subscription*. p. 20. 67.

† *Supplement*, &c. p. 21, &c.

Himself, He would certainly have produc'd it at full Length: And therefore, I presume, his *general* Charge about no body knows what, may reasonably pass for a Bounce extraordinary, Words and no more.

After a deal of trifling Repetition, you are at length pleas'd to ease your Reader, and Me; leaving me some Words of my own, which stand better in their Place. You do well to return me back the good Advice I gave you, which you had made no use of. As to the Honest Reader, I desire Him to take notice, that every Thing material in This *Query* is intirely drop'd: No *Demonstration* given of the *New Scheme*, nor so much as pretend- ed; no Answer to *five* Particulars which required Satisfaction. As you begin, so you end, with Evasions and Subterfuges, Shiftings and Disguises; perpetually running off from the true Point in Question, and wrapping your self up in Clouds and Dark- ness; studying and contriving all possible Ways to perplex rather than instruct, and fearing nothing so much as to have the Issue of the Cause put upon a clear Foot, or left to a fair Hearing. It might reasonably have been expected, while you write under Cover, that you would have taken quite another Method: And give me leave to judge so *justly*, or at least so *kindly* of you, as to believe you would have done it, had you been left intirely to your own Counsels. I am not such a *Stranger* to You, or so unacquainted with your *Style*, your *Manner*, your *Diſtion*, (in many *private* Papers, as you well know, besides what you have *publish'd*) as not to perceive, that Many Things, which I have here answer'd as yours, yet never came from your Pen. I cannot indeed critically distinguish in all Cases, where you begin to speak, or where you end: But, in the general, where there is any thing that looks of a more *ingenuous* Strain, and is most like what one would expect from a *plain, honest Man*; That I conceive certainly to be all your *own*.

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Indeed, you have interpretatively made the whole *yours*, by lending your *Name*, I should rather say your *Person*, to it: For You are *personated* all the way through. You will therefore the more easily excuse me for directing my self generally to You, even in Those parts where I am sensible I have had to do with Another Man.

One Thing I complain of, and That is of the disingenuous Use every where made of writing under Concealment, and without a *Name*. I should have had a great deal less Trouble in examining the *Reply*, had it been to be *own'd* by any Man of Character, and his *Name* set to it. He would have wrote very probably, with more *Care*, had his *Reputation* been staked upon it; He would have cut off many Impertinencies, would not have attempted to put so many gross and palpable Abuses upon the Readers, nor have undertaken to defend what was at first Sight plainly indefensible. He would have selected Such Things, and Such only, as might bear some *Colour* at least, and appear of *real Weight*: Such, in a Word, as might become a *Scholar*, a Man of *Sense*, and a Man of *Probity*, to urge, and nothing more. And then I am sure, that both the *Reply* itself, and my Labour in examining it, would have been very much shorten'd: And our Readers would have been more agreeably, and more usefully entertain'd.

I shall conclude with observing, how easy a Thing it may be to reduce This Controversy into a small Compass; if Men will but come sincerely to it, and keep close to the principal Points in Question. The most convenient Method, and most natural Order of Enquiry, would, I conceive, be This following one.

- I. *What* the Doctrine to be examin'd is.
- II. Whether it be *possible*?
- III. Whether it be *True*?

I. The

## I.

The first Question is, *What the Doctrine is*; which lies in These Particulars.

1. That the Father is *God* (in the strict Sense of *Necessarily-existing*, as opposed to *precarious Existence*) and the Son *God*, and the Holy-Ghost *God*, in the *same* Sense of the Word *God*.

2. That the Father is not the Son, nor the Son the Father, nor the Holy-Ghost either Father or Son: They are *distinct*, so that One is not the *Other*; that is, as we now term it, They are Three distinct *Persons*, and two of 'em *eternally* referr'd up to *One*.

3. These Three, however *distinct* enough to be *Three* Persons, are yet *united* enough to be *One* *God*.

## II.

The second Question is, *Whether the Doctrine be possible?* All that relates to This Question, is resolvable into three other Questions.

1. Whether there can be Three Persons *Necessarily-existing?*

2. Whether Three such Persons can be *One God*, in the Nature of the Thing it self, or upon the Foot of mere *Natural Reason?*

3. Whether They can be *One God*, consistently with any *Data* in Scripture, any thing plainly laid down in Sacred Writ; as, suppose, *Subordination*, *Mission*, *Generation?* &c.

If any one of These Questions can be determin'd in the *Negative* with sufficient *Certainty*; then the Doctrine, as here stated, is not *possible*: But if none of These Questions can be with any *Certainty* determin'd in the *Negative*, the Doctrine then must be allowed to be *possible*.

i. The

1. The *first Question* cannot be determin'd in the *Negative*; For, after frequent Trials so to determine it, no one has been yet found able to do it: All the pretended Proofs of it are *Sophistical*; They may be, They have been, shown to be so.

2. As to the *Second Question*, no one has hitherto been able to determine it in the *Negative*; tho' often attempted. And there is this Reason to be given why it never can be done; that no certain *Principle of Individuation* ever has, or can be fix'd: Upon which alone the Resolution of That Question, on the Foot of mere *Natural Reason*, intirely depends.

3. As to the *Third Question*, there is no determining it in the *Negative*; because it is certain that *Subordination*, or *Mission* may be consistent with *Equality of Nature*; as is seen even in *Men*. And if it be pleaded, that such *Subordination* is not consistent with the *Unity*, (tho' it might with the *Equality*) our Ideas of the *Unity* are too imperfect to reason solidly upon: Nor can any Man prove that every Kind of *Unity* must be either *too close* to admit of any *Subordination*, or else *too loose* to make the Persons *One God*. How shall it be shown, that the *Distinction* may not be great enough to answer the *Subordination*, &c. and yet the *Union* close enough to make the Persons *One God*? Our Faculties are not sufficient for These Things. If *eternal Generation* be objected to as a Thing *impossible*, The Objectors should show that there cannot be any *eternal Reference* or *Relation* of One to the Other, as *Head*, *Fountain*, or *Center*: Which is the Sum of what *eternal Generation* amounts to; and which, (though often attempted) could never yet be proved to carry any thing *contradictory* in it. Not to mention that could it be really proved to be absurd, or contradictory, yet the *main Doctrine* might possibly stand independent of it; among such at least as scruple not

to throw off the *Antients*, and confine the Dispute to *Scripture* alone : Which is not so clear or full for the eternal *Generation*, as it is for the eternal *Existence* of the Son. Upon the whole, since the Doctrine can never be proved to be *impossible* ; it must be allowed to be *possible* : And now,

### III.

The Third and last Question is, whether the Doctrine be *True* ? For the resolving of which, we must have Recourse to *Scripture*, and *Antiquity*. Whoever undertakes to debate This Question, should forbear every Topick drawn from the *Nature of the Thing* ; because such Arguments belong only to the other Question, *Whether the Doctrine be possible* : And, in all Reason, the *Possibility* should be *pre-supposed* in all our Disputes from *Scripture*, or *Fathers*.

By what I have here observed, it appears that the Controversy of the Trinity may be easily brought to a short Issue, and be compris'd in Two Sheets of Paper. The Strength of the Adversaries most certainly lies in the Question of the *Possibility* : And if They have any thing considerable to urge, it may be dispatch'd in a very few Words ; One *Demonstration* (if any one can be found) being as good as a Hundred.

If none can be found, I doubt not but all reasonable Men will immediately give up the Point in respect of *Scripture*, and *Antiquity* ; which have been so often, and so unanswerably proved to be on our Side.

My hearty Concern for *Truth*, on whatever Side it may be conceived to lie, and my Desire to submit every Doctrine (not excepting even Those which we call *Fundamental*) to a free and fair Trial, makes me willing to offer These Hints ; which may be useful to our Adversaries, if there be any *real* Strength

Strength in the Cause They have undertaken. I am not afraid of pointing out to Them the shortest and readiest way of Confuting us, if there be any Way of doing it. Let Them try the Strength of their *Philosophy*, or *Metaphysicks*, when They please: I desire only to have the Cause put upon *clear* and *solid* Reasoning, upon firm Principles pursued by regular, and just Inferences, or Deductions. And let the World see whether any modern Improvements in *Philosophy*, *Logick*, or *Metaphysicks*, can raise *Arianism* up, in These latter Days, which never could be supported, formerly, by all that Human Wit and Learning could invent, or contrive for it.





# A N S W E R

T O T H E

## P O S T S C R I P T.



YOU conclude with a *Postscript* relating to Dr. Calamy: Whom you first reproach very roundly, as one that has been *throughout misled, by trusting to my Citations, and Comments.* You ought to beg his Pardon for This *unrighteous* Report; which was not made in the *Fear of God*, nor under a sense of the common Obligations of *Humanity*, or *Justice* towards Man. If I should report that you had been *frequently*, (I do not say *throughout*) misled by Dr. Clarke's Citations, and Comments; I should say no more than I have given abundant Proof of: But what Proof have you given that Dr. Calamy has been *Throughout* misled by *mine*? I know not whether you will be able to give a single Example of it. However, it had been but just, rather to have said that He had been misled by trusting to his *own Judgment*, concurring with mine. For, it is plain enough that the *Doctor* has examin'd for *Himself*: And if He  
has

has fallen, in a great measure, into the same way of thinking with Me; it is not as *trusting* to my *Citations*, or *Comments*, but as approving the Grounds upon which They stand. You had the less reason to reproach Him as having been *throughout misled* by Me, when the main Design of your *Postscript* is to intimate to the World that He differs from me in one part of his Scheme, which you think very considerable: An Argument, sure, that He did not take Things upon *Trust* from others; but considered and examined carefully, before He gave into Them.

The *second* Citation which you produce from Him, to intimate to me (as you pretend) the *Consequence* of my *Notion*, relates not to *my Notion*; nor was it wrote with any such *View*, but with regard to quite *another Notion* \*. The unaccountable Part you have here acted, in citing it and tacking it most unrighteously to the former, must make your very Friends blush for you, or stand astonished at you. Whether it was done with *Design*, or was purely *Blunder*, the *Author* of the *Postscript* (for I would gladly hope, it was not You) best knows. Suppose it owing to *Haste*, and *Carelessness*; yet even *want of Care*, in Charges of This kind, will be apt to cast some Blemish upon a Writer's *Honesty*, or *Probity*.

I lay hold on This Opportunity of thanking Dr. *Calamy* for his learned, and useful Labours in Defense of our *Common Faith*: And it is with Pleasure I take notice of the seasonable Stand which He and many Others (the most eminent and most considerable Men of the *Dissenting way*) have made, in opposition to the threatening *Defection*, and to preserve their Flocks in Time of Danger. If He has any where differed from me, in less material Points, holding the *Foundation sure*, the Doctrine of a *real and coequal Trinity*; He is at liberty to follow his own

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\* See Dr. *Calamy's Sermons*, p. 345.

Judgment, and to defend the *main Articles* in such a way as appears to Him most reasonable, and freeest from Embarrassments. I will first suppose that He really differs from me, in the Point of *Subordination* (tho', I conceive, He does not) yet what Advantage do you propose to reap from it, that you should now so plume your self upon it? Do not deceive your self in This Matter: If Dr. *Calamy* has made any *Concession* of This kind, beyond what I have thought proper to do; He will still be able to maintain his Ground against Dr. *Clarke* and his Adherents, both from *Scripture*, and *Antiquity*. As to *Scripture*, allowing any *natural* Subordination of Christ, as *God*, to be inconsistent with his *essential* Divinity; The Question then will be, whether your Proofs of any such *natural* Subordination (distinguish'd from *Oeconomical*) are plainer, stronger, or fuller than the Proofs of the *essential* Divinity. Here, I conceive, He will have the Advantage very evidently, both in the *Number*, and the *Strength* of his Proofs. Your pretended *voluntary Generation* He will reject as an *unscriptural* Dream of human Invention: Your *Scripture* Proofs of the *Necessary existence* of the Father will stand upon no better a foot than his *Scripture*-Proofs of the *Necessary existence* of the Son. Your Pretences from the Prepositions, *Of*, *By*, *Through*, or *In*, He will resolve into *Oeconomical* Order: And you will not be able to prove from 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. that God the Son is included in the *all Things* which are of the Father. *Metaphysicks* you will be ashamed to offer; having so often pretended to condemn Them in Us. All your little Quibbles about *derived* and *underived*, about *Cause* and *Effect*, about *Acts* of the *Will*, about *Identical* Substance, *Identical* Lives, and the like, will drop at once. In short, when *Antiquity* is set aside, you will find it extremely difficult to make it appear that the *Scripture* Account of *Subordination* necessarily infers any *natural* Subordination, or may not possibly be understood of *Oeconomical* only;



ly; as some Writers of Note seem to have understood, as high as the sixth Century\*, if not higher.

As to *Antiquity*, you will be able to prove a *natural Subordination*, very plainly, from the earliest Fathers: But not more plainly than Dr. Calamy will be able to prove the *Consubstantiality*, *Coeternity*, *Omnipresence*, *Omniscience*, and other *divine Attributes* of God the Son: Not more plainly than He will prove from the *Antients*, that the Father and Son are *one God*, (one God *most High*) that *Creature-worship* is *Idolatry*, that no *inferior God* must be admitted, and the like. The Question then will be (since the *Antients*, upon the present *Hypothesis*, must be said to have contradicted Themselves, and each other) I say, the Question will be, whether you have *more* and *stronger Testimonies* for one part of the *Contradiction*, than the Doctor will have for the other part. Here again He will manifestly have the Advantage over you, in the *Number* and *Strength* of his Testimonies: And He may justly plead, either to have the Evidence of Antiquity set aside as *null*; or that the *many Tenets*, wherein the *Fathers* agree with his Scheme, be admitted as more considerable than the *few Tenets* wherein They agree with you. Thus, so far as I apprehend, you and your Friends will be really no Gainers by Dr. Calamy's Concessions; or by throwing off the *Subordination*, as *impossible*, and *contradictory*, on Both sides.

Nevertheless, I am fully and unalterably persuaded, that the true, and right way is, to admit the *Subordination*, and to assert the *essential Divinity* of all the Three Persons together with it. Both Parts appear to be *found* in *Scripture*, and were undoubtedly believed by the *Antients* in general: And there is no *Repugnancy* between them, more than what lies in mistaken Fancy, or Imagination. I know not whether Dr. Calamy

\* See *Jobini* apud Photium. Cod. 222. p. 624, 625.

might not pay too great a Regard to Dr. Clarke's partial Representation of this Matter; and so take Bp. Pearson's and Bp. Bull's Sentiments something otherwise than They intended them. I observe, that He admits † *eternal Generation, necessary Emanation, and Natural Order*; which is, in other Words, admitting all that is intended by priority of *Order, or Subordination*. The Son proceeds *from the Father*; The Father *from none*: This is the Difference of *natural Order* which the *Antients*, and after Them Those Two excellent *Moderns*, speak of; *viz.* that the Son is referr'd up to the Father as to a Head, or Fountain, and not *vice versa*. This Reference, or Relation of the Son to the Father, we call *Subordination*: And This is all that is *natural*, the rest is *economical*. If Dr. Clarke has represented *Subordinations* otherwise, pretending Bp. Pearson's or Bp. Bull's Authority for it, He has done unfairly: And perhaps Dr. Calamy intended no more than to condemn the Notion so represented\*. Which is not condemning either Bp. Pearson's, or Bp. Bull's, or My Doctrine; but something else which others have invented for us.

I know not indeed whether you'll allow me to put my self in; because I am represented as teaching a real *Co-ordination*, and a *verbal* Subordination only. But I am very certain that the same Objection, or rather Cavil, lies equally against Bp. Pearson, or

† Serm. p. 20, 49, 263.

\* "Whosoever will be at the Pains to compare the several Passages cited by Dr. Clarke, as they stand in the Places whence they are taken, with other clear and express Passages of our learned Author (Bishop Bull) and with the whole Scope and Purport of his Reasonings for the Truth of the Nicene Doctrine, must evidently perceive that these are all placed in quite Another Light than in the Book referred to: That some are directly contrary to the Author's true Meaning, and to his Design in Writing; and most of the rest inconsistent, at least, with the same, as the Doctor very well knew. Nelson's Life of Bull, p. 326, 327.

Bp. Bull; and you are very sensible of it: Only you are disposed to serve a Turn by making some use of Those great Names. They Both asserted a *Coequality*, in as full and strong Terms as I any where do: Which *Coequality* you are pleased to miscall, in Me, *Co-ordination*; assuming a strange Liberty of altering the Sense of Words, and affecting to speak a *new* Language, to make way for a *new* Faith.

To conclude, If Dr. Calamy and I really differ, (as I think we do not) we *agree* however in the *main* Points, and much better than our late Revivers of *Arianism* agree among Themselves. And I doubt not but that by the united Labours of the True Friends of our *Common Faith*, (with God's Blessing upon Them) the vain Attempts of our new *Arians*, and *Eunomians*, will be defeated and baffled, (as were formerly those of their Predecessors) and that the Catholick Doctrine of the Ever-Blessed Trinity, That Sacred *Depositum* of the Church of Christ, will be preserved whole and entire, and handed down, as to Us, so to our latest Posterity, through all Generations.

F I N I S.





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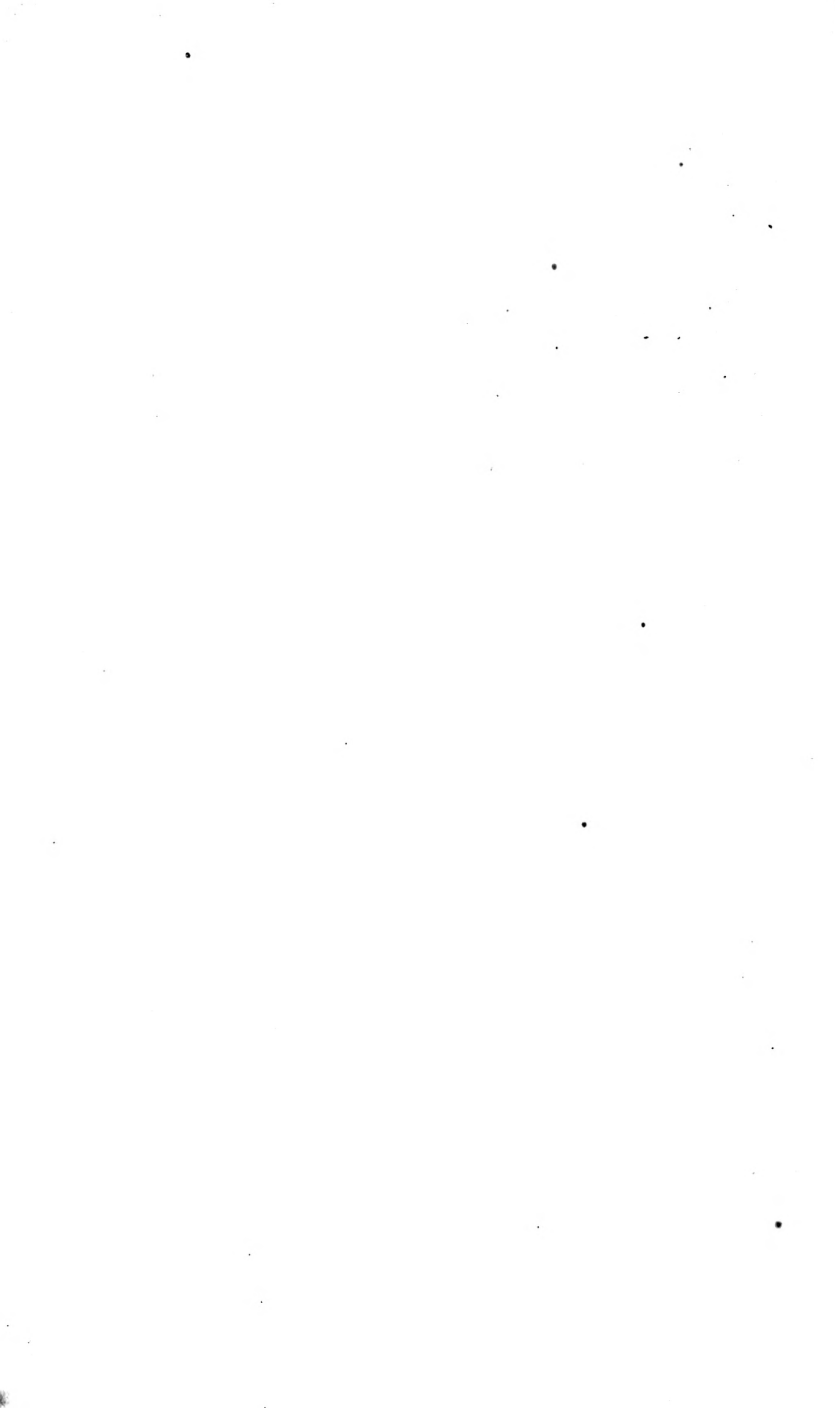
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