

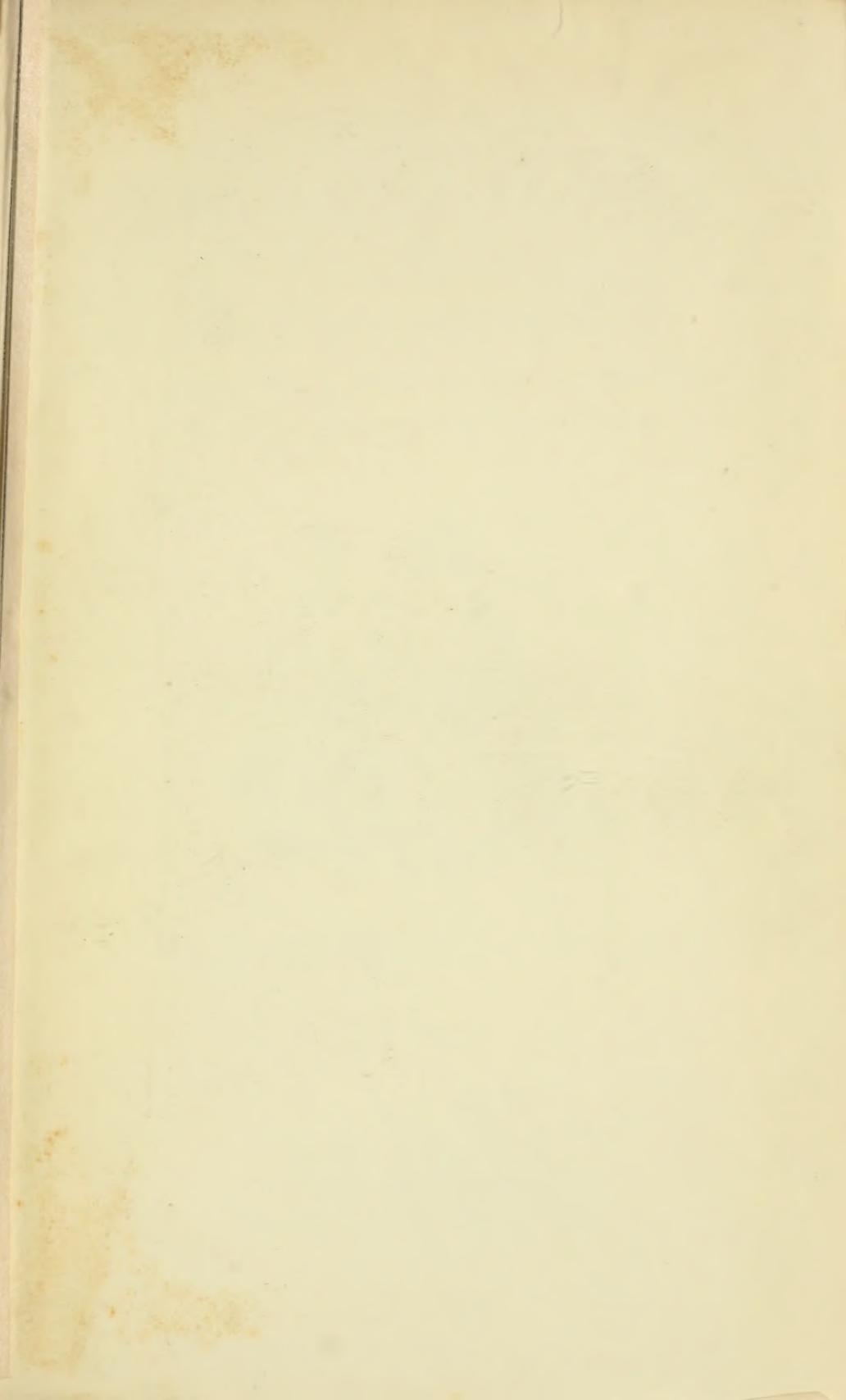
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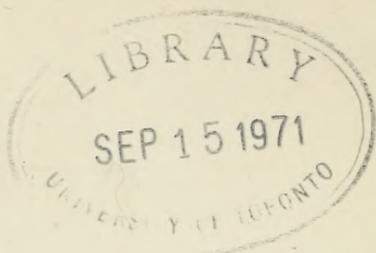
SELECT TREATISES

OF

S. A T H A N A S I U S,

ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA,

IN CONTROVERSY WITH THE ARIANS.



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CORRIGENDA.

- Page 287 note g *fin.* for h read i
 343 line 10 for . B read ; b
 397 heading for *second* Each read The
 413 note col. 2 *init* for *singly* read simply
 440 three times for *drift* read scope
 453 note col. 1 line 25 for but read hardly more than
 486 note g col. 2 lines 3 & 6 for as speak . . . si read
 which speak . . . si non

CORRIGENDA *in* INDEX OF TEXTS.

- Page 557 *add* Exodus iii. 16 154.
 558 col. 1 for Job i. 2 Sept . . . 287 read Job i. 2 Sept . . . 262, 287
 & cancel line following
 col. 2 for lxxxvii. 1 255 read lxxxvii. 2 255.
 xc. 1 199 read xc. 2 199.
 559 col. 2 for lviii. 12 207 read lviii. 11 207.
 Jer xvii. 12 207 read Jer. xvii, 12, 13 207.
 560 col. 1 for Mic. vii. 18 377 read Mic. vii. 18 149, 377.
 561 col. 1 *in* S. John i. 1, 2 *dele* 28 and
in S. John i. 1—3 *add ref.* 28.
 for i. 9 . . . 149, 535 read i. 9 . . . 149, 242, 535.
 col. 2 *in* S. John x. 29 *dele* 144 & *in* S. John x. 30 *add ref.* 144
add S. John xiv. 9 192.
 562 col. 1 *add* S. John xiv. 28, 29 . . . 199
dele S. John xv. 16 . . . 149 & *to* S. John xvi. 15 *add ref.* 149.
 for S. John xvii. 19 . . . 247 read S. John xvii. 18, 19 . . . 247.
 col. 2 *in* Rôm. i. 20, *add ref.* 149
dele Rom. i. 26 149
 for Rom. iii. 29 122 read Rom. iii. 29, 30 122.
 563 col. 1 *add* 2 Cor. vi. 16 204.
 col. 2 for 2 Tim. ii. 17 . . . 258 read 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18 258.
in Heb. i. 3 *add ref.* 259.
in Heb. i. 4 *add ref.* 259.

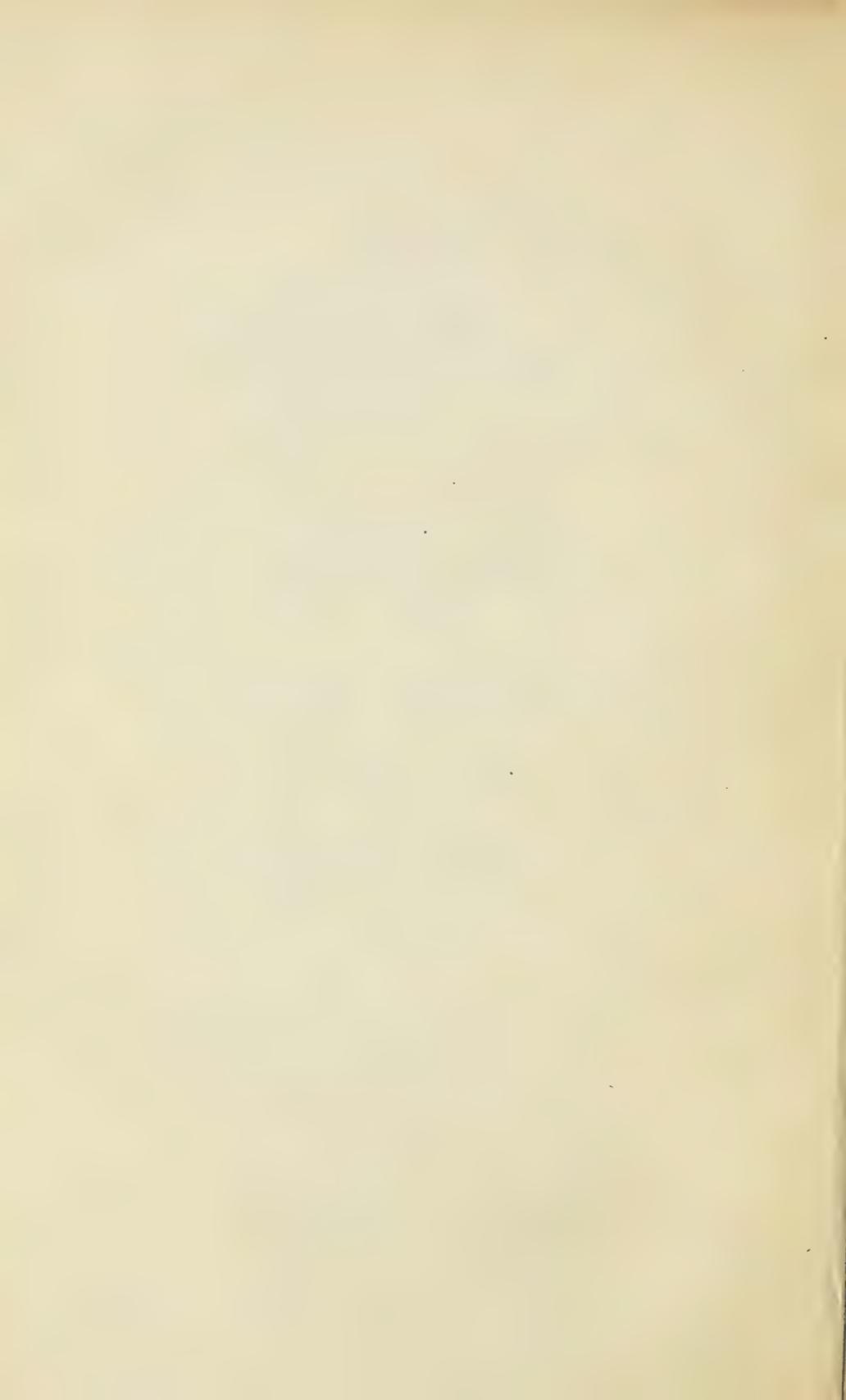
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Since the Word is from God, He must be Son. Since the Son is from everlasting, He must be the Word; else either He is superior to the Word, or the Word is the Father. Texts of the New Testament which state the unity of the Son with the Father; therefore the Son is the Word. Three heretical hypotheses—1. That the Man is the Son; refuted. 2. That the Word and Man together are the Son; refuted. 3. That the Word became Son on His incarnation; refuted. Texts of the Old Testament which speak of the Son. If they are merely prophetic, then those concerning the Word may be such also 531

Subject VIII.

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That the Son is the Co-existing Word, argued from the New Testament. Texts from Old Testament continued; especially Ps. cx. 3. Besides, the Word in Old Testament may be Son in New, as Spirit in Old Testament is Paraclete in New. Objection from Acts x. 36. urged by the Samosatenes; answered by parallels, such as 1 Cor. i. 5. Lev. ix. 7. &c. Necessity of the Word's taking flesh, viz. to sanctify, yet without destroying, the flesh 545

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- Page 8. line 14. *for* *for* *read* *from*
 15. note d. *vid.* p. 311, note i.
 27. line 19. *for* the Word, *read* a word,
 note i. line 11. *for* there be *read* He be
 30. line 8. *for* which *read* whom
 34. heading. *for* Synod *read* Symbol
 69. line 18. from *fin.* *for* does *read* does not
 80. note r. col. 2. and 191. heading. *for* Father *read* fathers
 81. note t. *circ.* *fin.* *for* repeats *read* repents *twice*
 85. and 122. *read* Germinius
 87. line 8. *for* those *read* whom
 91. note. col. 2. *for* Ariorum *read* Arianorum
 97. *fin.* *for* of Him . . . being *read* that He . . . was
 108. note i. *for* interpretators *read* interpreters
 119. note n. col. 1. line 18. *for* the Father's *read* a father's
 124. note y. *fin.* *for* Anomœan *read* the Anomœon
 125. note col. 1. *fin.* *for* the *read* that
 130. line 4. *insert* been *after* have
 151. line 13. *for* is *read* in
 157. note i. col. 2. *for* mentioned *read* mentions
 174. line 12. from *fin.* *after* Grat. 30. *add* and *passim.*
 176. line 10. *omit* certainly
 194. line 1. *for* who *read* whom
 205. ref. 4. *for* *μὴνός* *read* *μὴνός*
 211. note. col. 2. line 2. *for* statement *read* implication
 220. line 6. *for* as to all such speculations concerning *read* in attri-
 buting such things to
 222. *circ.* *fin.* *for* Son . . . He *read* son . . . he
 243. note. *for* did so *read* He did so
 244. note k. line 6. *for* to come *read* it comes
 246. note *fin.* *for* *λόγον* *read* *κρίσιον*
 253. note *fin.* *for* as *read* in
 343. line 10. *for* . B *read* ; b
 397. heading. *for* Each *read* The
 413. note. col. 2. *init.* *for* singly *read* simply
 440. three times. *for* drift *read* scope
 453. note. col. 1. line 25. *for* but *read* hardly more than
 486. note g. col. 2. lines 3 and 6. *for* as . . . *si* *read* which . . . *si* non

EPISTLE

OF

S. ATHANASIUS,

ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA,

IN DEFENCE OF THE NICENE DEFINITION.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION.

The complaint of the Arians against the Nicene Council; their fickleness; they are like Jews; their employment of force instead of reason.

I. THOU hast done well, in signifying to me the discussion thou hast had with the advocates of Arianism, among whom were certain of the friends of Eusebius, as well as very many of the brethren who hold the doctrine of the Church. I hailed thy vigilance for the love of Christ, which excellently exposed the irreligion^a of their heresy; while I marvelled at the effrontery which led the Arians, after all the past detection of unsoundness and futility in their arguments, nay, after the general conviction of their extreme perverseness, still to complain like the Jews, "Why did the Fathers at Nicæa use terms not in Scripture^b, 'Of the substance' and

CHAP.
I.
§ 1.

^a εὐσέβεια, ἀσέβεια, &c. here translated "religion, irreligion, religious, &c. &c." are technical words throughout, being taken from S. Paul's text, "Great is the mystery of *godliness*," εὐσεβείας, i. e. orthodoxy. Such too seems to be the meaning of "godly admonitions," and "godly judgments," and "this godly and well-learned man," in our Ordination Services. The Latin translation is "pius," "pietas." It might be in some respects suitably rendered by "devout" and its derivatives. On its familiar use in the controversy depends the blasphemous jest of Eudoxius, Arian Bishop of Constantinople, which was received with loud laughter in the Cathedral, and remained in esteem down to Socrates's day, "The Father is ἀσεβής, as being with-

out devotion the Son εὐσεβής devout, as paying devotion to the Father." Socr. Hist. ii. 43. Hence Arius ends his Letter to Eusebius with ἀληθῶς εὐσεβίε. Theod. Hist. i. 4.

^b It appears that the Arians did not venture to speak disrespectfully of the definition of the Council till the date (A.D. 350.) of this work; when Acacius headed them. Yet the plea here used, the unscriptural character of its symbol, had been suggested to Constantine on his accession, A.D. 337, by the Arian priest, the favourite of Constantia, to whom Constantine had entrusted his will, Theod. Hist. ii. 3; and Eusebius of Cæsarea glances at it, at the time of the Council, in the letter to his Church, which is subjoined to this Treatise.

NICEN. ‘One in substance?’” Thou then, as a man of learning,
DEF.
 ὁμοού-
 σιον in spite of their subterfuges, didst convict them of talking
 to no purpose; and they in devising them were but acting
 suitably to their own evil disposition. For they are as
 variable and fickle in their sentiments, as chameleons in
 their colours^c; and when exposed they look confused; and
 when questioned they hesitate, and then they lose shame,
 and betake themselves to evasions. And then, when detected
 in these, they do not rest till they invent fresh matters which
Ps. 2, 1. are not, and, according to the Scripture, *imagine a vain
 thing*; and that they may be constant to their irreligion.

2. Now such endeavours^d are nothing else than an obvious
 token of their defect of reason^e, and a copying, as I have said,
 of Jewish malignity. For the Jews too, when convicted by the
John 6, Truth, and unable to confront it, used evasions, such as *What
 30.* *sign doest Thou, that we may see and believe Thee? What doest
 Thou work?* though so many signs were given, that they said
 themselves, *What do we? for this man doeth many miracles.*

1b. 11, In truth, dead men were raised, lame walked, blind saw afresh,
47. lepers were cleansed, and the water became wine, and five
 loaves satisfied five thousand, and all wondered and wor-
 shipped the Lord, confessing that in Him were fulfilled the
 prophecies, and that He was God the Son of God; all but
 the Pharisees, who, though the signs shone brighter than the
 sun, yet complained still, as ignorant men, *Why doest Thou,
 being a man, make Thyself God?* Insensate, and verily
 blind in understanding! they ought contrariwise to have
 said, “Why hast Thou, being God, become man?” for His
 works proved Him God, that they might both worship the

Ib. 10,
33.

^c Alexander also calls them chameleons, Socr. i. 6. p. 12. Athanasius so calls the Meletians, Hist. Arian. § 79. Cyril compares them to “the leopard which cannot change his spots.” Dial. ii. init. t. v. i. Aub., Naz. Or. 28. 2. On the fickleness of the Arians, vid. infra, § 4. &c. Orat. ii. 40. He says, ad Ep. Æg. 6. that they considered Creeds as yearly covenants; and de Synod. § 3. 4. as State Edicts. vid. also § 14. and *passim*. “What wonder that they fight against their fathers, when they fight against themselves?” § 37. [infra p. 135]

^d ἐπιχείρημα. and so Orat. i. § 44. init. but infra, § 25. ἐπιχειρήματα means more definitely reasonings or argumentations.

^e ἀλογίας; an allusion, frequent in Athanasius, to the judicial consequence of their denying the Word of God. Thus, just below, n. 3. “Denying the Word” or Reason “of God, reason have they none.” Also Orat. i. § 35. fin. § 40. init. § 62. Orat. ii. § 7. init. Hence he so often calls the Arians “mad” and “deranged;” e. g. “not aware how mad their reason is.” Orat. i. § 37.

goodness of the Father, and admire the Son's economy for our sakes. However, this they did not say; no, nor liked to witness what He was doing; or they witnessed indeed, for this they could not help, but they changed their ground of complaint again, "Why healest Thou the paralytic, why makest Thou the born-blind to see, on the sabbath day?" But this too was an excuse, and mere murmuring; for on other days as well did the Lord heal *all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease*, but they complained still according to their wont, and by calling Him Beelzebub, preferred the suspicion of Atheism ^f, to a recantation of their own wickedness. And though in such sundry times and diverse manners the Saviour shewed His Godhead and preached the

CHAP.
I.

Matt. 4,
23.

^f or ungodliness, ἀθεότητος. Thus Aetius was called ὁ ἄθεος, the ungodly. de Synod. § 6; and Arius complains that Alexander had expelled him and his from Alexandria, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἀθέους. Theodor. Hist. i. 4. "Atheism" and "Atheist" imply intention, system, and profession, and are so far too strong a rendering of the Greek. Since Christ was God, to deny Him was to deny God. The force of the term, however, seems to be, that, whereas the Son had revealed the "unknown God," and destroyed the reign of idols, the denial of the Son was bringing back idolatry and its attendant spiritual ignorance. Thus in the Orat. contr. Gent. § 29. fin. written before the Arian controversy, he speaks of "the Greek idolatry as full of all Atheism" or ungodliness, and contrasts with it the knowledge of "the Guide and Framer of the Universe, the Father's Word," "that through Him we may discern His Father, and the Greeks may know how far they have separated themselves from the truth." And Orat. ii. 43. [infra p. 340] he classes Arians with the Greeks, who "though they have the name of God in their mouths, incur the charge of *Atheism*, because they know not the real and true God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." (vid. also Basil in Eunom. ii. 22.) Shortly afterwards he gives a further reason for the title, observing that Arianism was worse than previous heresies, such as Manicheism, inasmuch as the latter denied the Incarnation, but it tore from God's substance His

connatural Word, and, as far as its words went, infringed upon the perfections and being of the first Cause. And so ad Ep. Æg. § 17. fin. he says, that it alone, beyond other heresies, "has been bold against the Godhead Itself in a mad way, (μανικώτερον, vid. foregoing note) denying that there is a Word, and that the Father was always Father. [Hist. tracts p. 146 O.T.]" Elsewhere, he speaks more generally, as if Arianism introduced "an Atheism or rather Judaism *against the Scriptures*, being next door to Heathenism, so that its disciple cannot be even named Christian; for all such tenets are *contrary to the Scriptures*;" and he makes this the reason why the Nicene Fathers stopped their ears and condemned it. ad Ep. Æg. § 13. For the same reason he calls the heathen ἄθεοι, atheistical or ungodly, "who are arraigned of irreligion by Divine Scripture." Orat. contr. Gent. § 14. vid. εἰδῶλων ἀθεότητα. § 46. init. Moreover, he calls the Arian persecution worse than the pagan cruelties, and therefore "a Babylonian Atheism," Ep. Encycl. § 5. [Hist. tracts p. 9 O.T.] as not allowing the Catholics the use of prayer and baptism, with a reference to Dan. vi. 11, &c. Thus too he calls Constantius atheist, for his treatment of Hosius; οὕτε τὸν θεὸν φοβηθεὶς ὁ ἄθεος. Hist. Arian. 45. [Hist. tracts p. 260 O.T.] Another reason for the title seems to have lain in the idolatrous character of Arian worship on *its own shewing*, viz. as worshipping One whom they yet maintained to be a creature.

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Father to all men, nevertheless, as kicking against the pricks, they contradicted in the language of folly, and this they did, according to the divine proverb, that by finding occasions, they might separate themselves from the truth ^ε.

§ 2.

3. As then the Jews of that day, for acting thus wickedly and denying the Lord, were with justice deprived of their laws and of the promise made to their fathers, so the Arians, Judaizing now, are, in my judgment, in circumstances like those of Caiaphas and the contemporary Pharisees. For, perceiving that their heresy is utterly unreasonable, they invent excuses, "Why was this defined, and not that?" Yet wonder not if now they practise thus; for in no long time they will turn to outrage, and next will threaten *the band and the captain* ^h. Forsooth in these their heterodoxy has such consistence as we see; for denying the Word of God, reason have they none at all, as is equitable. Aware then of this, I would have made no reply to their interrogations; but, since thy friendliness ⁱ has asked to know the transactions of the Council, I have without any delay related at once what then took place, shewing in few words, how destitute Arianism is of a religious spirit, and how its very business is to frame evasions.

John 18,
12.

^ε A reference to Prov. xviii. 1. which runs in the Septuagint, "a man seeketh occasions, when desirous of separating himself from friends."

^h Apparently an allusion to the text in the margin. Elsewhere, he speaks of "the chief captain" and "the governor," with an allusion to Acts xxiii, 22—24. &c. &c. Hist. Arian. § 66. fin. [Hist. tracts. p. 278 O.T.] vid. also § 2. Speaking of the Council of Tyre, A. D. 335. he asks, Apol. contr. Arian. § 8. [Ib. p. 25] "How venture they to call that a Council in which a Count presided, and an executioner was present, and a registrar [or jailer] intro-

duced us instead of the deacons of the Church?" vid. also § 10. and 45. Orat. ii. § 43. Ep. Encycl. § 5. Against the use of violence in religion, vid. Hist. Arian. § 33. 67. (Hil. ad Const. i. 2.) On the other hand, he observes, that at Nicea, "it was not necessity which drove the judges to" their decision, "but all vindicated the Truth from deliberate purpose," ad Ep. Æg. 13.

ⁱ *διὰ θεοῦ*. vid. also Hist. Arian. § 45. Orat. ii. § 4. where Parker maintains without reason that it should be translated, "external condition." vid. also Theod. Hist. i. 4. init.

CHAP. II.

CONDUCT OF THE ARIANS TOWARDS THE NICENE COUNCIL.

Ignorant as well as irreligious to attempt to reverse an Ecumenical Council ; proceedings at Nicæa ; Eusebians then signed what they now complain of ; on the unanimity of true teachers and the process of tradition ; changes of the Arians.

1. AND do thou, beloved, consider whether it be not so. If, the devil having sowed their hearts with this perverseness^k, they feel confidence in their bad inventions, let them defend themselves against the proofs of heresy which have been advanced, and then will be the time to find fault, if they can, with the definition framed against them^l. For no one, on being convicted of murder or adultery, is at liberty after the trial to arraign the sentence of the judge, why he spoke in this way and not in that^m. For this does not exculpate the convict, but rather increases the crime on the score of petulance and audacity. In like manner, let these either prove that their sentiments are religious, (for they were then accused and convicted, and their complaints are since, and

CHAP.
II.

^k ἐπισπείραντος τοῦ διαβόλου, the allusion is to Matt. xiii. 25, and is very frequent in Athan. chiefly with a reference to Arianism. He draws it out at length, Orat. ii. § 34. Elsewhere, he uses the image for the evil influences introduced into the soul upon Adam's fall, contr. Apoll. i. § 15. as does S. Irenæus, Hær. iv. 40. n. 3. [p. 443 O.T.] using it of such as lead to backsliding in Christians, *ibid.* v. 10. n. 1. [p. 470 O.T.], Gregory Nyssen, of the natural passions and of false reason misleading them, de An. et Resurr. p. 640. *vid.* also Leon. Ep. 156. c. 2.

^l The Council did two things, anathematize the Arian positions, (at the end of the Creed,) and establish the true doctrine by the insertion of the phrases, "of the substance" and "one in substance," Athan. says that the Arians must not criticise the latter before they had cleared themselves of the former. Thus he says presently, that they were at once irreligious in their

faith and ignorant in their criticism ; and speaks of the Council negating their formulæ, and substituting those which were "sound and ecclesiastical." *vid.* also n. 4.

^m And so S. Leo *passim* concerning the Council of Chalcedon, "Concord will be easily established, if the hearts of all concur in that faith which &c. *no discussion* being allowed whatever concerning any retractation," Ep. 94. He calls such an act a "magnum sacrilegium," Ep. 157. c. 3. "To be seeking for what has been disclosed, to retract what has been perfected, to tear up what has been laid down (definita), what is this but to be unthankful for what we gained?" Ep. 162. *vid.* the whole of it. He says that the attempt is "no mark of a peace-maker but a rebel." Ep. 164. c. 1. *fin.* *vid.* also Epp. 145, and 156, where he says, none can assail what is once determined, but "aut antichristus aut diabolus." c. 2.

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it is just that those who are under a charge should confine themselves to their own defence,) or if they have an unclean conscience, and are aware of their own irreligion, let them not complain of what they do not understand, or they will bring on them a double imputation, of irreligion and of ignorance. Rather let them investigate the matter in a docile spirit, and learning what hitherto they have not known, cleanse their irreligious ears with the spring of truth and the doctrines of religion¹.

¹ vid.
Orat. iii.
§ 28.
Socr. p.
11. c.
§ 3.

2. Now it happened to the Eusebians in the Nicene Council as follows:—while they stood out in their irreligion, and attempted their fight against Godⁿ, the terms they used were replete with irreligion; but the assembled Bishops who were more than three hundred, mildly and charitably required of them to explain and defend themselves on religious grounds. Scarcely, however, did they begin to speak, when they were convicted^o, and one differed from another; then perceiving the straits in which their heresy lay, they remained dumb, and by their silence confessed the disgrace which came upon their heterodoxy. On this the Bishops, having negatived the terms they had invented, published against them the sound and ecclesiastical faith; and, whereas all subscribed it, the Eusebians subscribed it also in those very words, of which they are now complaining, I mean, “of the substance” and “one in substance,” and that “the Son of God is neither creature or

² γεννητῶν

work, nor in the number of things generated², but that the Word is an offspring from the substance of the Father.” And what is strange indeed, Eusebius of Cæsarea in Palestine, who

³ πρὸ μίας

had denied the day before³, but afterwards subscribed, sent to his Church a letter, saying that this was the Church’s faith, and the tradition of the Fathers; and made a public profession that they were before in error, and were rashly contending against the truth. For though he was ashamed at that time to

ⁿ θεομαχεῖν. θεομάχοι. vid. Acts v. 39. xxiii. 9. are of very frequent use in Athan. as is χριστομάχοι, in speaking of the Arians, vid. *infra passim*. also ἀντιμαχόμενοι τῷ σωτήρι Ep. Encycl. § 5. [Hist. tracts p. 8 O.T.] And in the beginning of the controversy, Alexander ap. Socr. i. 6. p. 10. b. c. p. 12. p. 13. Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 729. And so θεομάχος γλώσσα, Basil. contr.

Eunom. ii. 27. ἴν. χριστομάχων. Ep. 236. init. vid. also Cyril (Thesaurus p. 19 e. p. 24 e.). θεομάχοι is used of other heretics, e. g. the Manichees, by Greg. Naz. Orat. 45. § 8.

^o i. e. “convicted themselves,” infr. § 18. init. ἐαυτῶν ἀεὶ κατήγοροι, ad Ep. Æg. § 6. i. e. by their variations, vid. Tit. iii. 11. αὐτοκατάκριτος.

adopt these phrases, and excused himself to the Church in his own way, yet he certainly means to imply all this in his Epistle, by his not denying the "one in substance," and "of the substance." And in this way he got into a difficulty; for while he was excusing himself, he went on to attack the Arians, as stating that "the Son was not before His generation," and thereby hinting at a denial of His existence before His birth in the flesh. And this Acacius is aware of also, though he too through fear may pretend otherwise because of the times and deny the fact. Accordingly I have subjoined at the end of these remarks the letter of Eusebius, that thou mayest know from it the inconsiderateness towards their own doctors, shewn by Christ's enemies, and singularly by Acacius himself^p.

3. Are they not then committing a crime, in their very thought to gainsay so great and ecumenical a Council? are they not in transgression, when they dare to confront that good definition against Arianism, acknowledged, as it is, by those who had in the first instance taught them irreligion? And supposing, even after subscription, the Eusebians did change again, and return like dogs to their own vomit of irreligion, do not the present gainsayers deserve still greater detestation, because they thus sacrifice¹ their souls' liberty to others; and are willing to take these persons, as masters of their heresy, who are, as James has said, double-minded men, and unstable in all their ways, not having one opinion, but changing to and fro, and now recommending certain statements, but soon dishonouring them, and in turn recommending what just now they were blaming? But this, as the Shepherd has said, is "the child of the devil^q," and

§ 4.
¹ προπί-
νοντες
vid.
de Syn.
§ 14.

James 1,
8.

^p The party he is writing against is the Acacian, of whom he does not seem to have had much distinct knowledge. He contrasts them again and again in the passages which follow with the Eusebians of the Nicene Council, and says that he is sure that the ground they take when examined will be found substantially the same as the Eusebian. vid. § 6. *init. et alib.* § 7. *init.* § 9. *cir. fin.* § 10. *cir. fin.* § 13. *init. τότε και νυν.* § 18. *circ. fin.* § 28. *fin.* Acacius was a pupil of Eusebius's, whom he

succeeded in the see of Cæsarea. He attempted to defend Arianism neither under the cloak of Semiarianism, nor with the bold logic of the Anomæans, but by a pretended adherence to Scripture. His formula was the *ὅμοιον* (like), as the Semiarian was the *ὁμοιούσιον* (like in substance), and the Anomæan, as the word signifies, the *ἀνόμιον*, or unlike.

^q Hermas, Pastor. ii. 9. who is speaking immediately, as S. James, of wavering in prayer.

NICEN. DEF. the note of dealers rather than of doctors. For, what our Fathers have delivered, this is truly doctrine; and this is truly the token of doctors, to confess the same thing with each other, and to vary neither from themselves nor from their fathers; whereas they who have not this character, are not to be called true doctors but evil. Thus the Greeks, as not witnessing to the same doctrines, but quarrelling one with another, have no truth of teaching; but the holy and veritable heralds of the truth agree together, not differ. For though they lived in different times, yet they one and all tend the same way, being prophets of the one God, and preaching the same Word harmoniously^r.

§ 5. 4. And thus what Moses taught, that Abraham observed; and what Abraham observed, that Noe and Enoch acknowledged, discriminating pure from impure, and becoming acceptable to God. For Abel too in this way witnessed, having knowledge in the truths which he had learned from Adam, who himself had learned from that Lord, who said, when He came at the end of the ages for the abolishment of sin, "I give no new commandment unto you, but an old commandment, which ye have heard from the beginning." Wherefore also the blessed Apostle Paul, who had learned it from Him, when describing ecclesiastical functions, forbade that deacons, not to say bishops, should be *double-tongued*; and in his rebuke of the Galatians, he made a broad declaration, *If any one preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be anathema, as I have said, so say I again. If even an Angel from heaven should preach unto you any other Gospel than that ye have received, let him be anathema.* Since then the Apostle thus speaks, let these men either anathematize the party of Eusebians, at least as changing round and professing what is contrary to their subscriptions; or, if they acknowledge that their subscriptions were good, let them not utter complaints against so great a Council. But if they do neither the one nor the other, they are themselves too plainly at the sport of every wind and surge, and are influenced by opinions, not their own, but

vid.
1 John 2,
7.

1 Tim. 3,
8.

Gal. 1,
9. 8.

^r Thus S. Basil says the same of the Grecian Sects, "We have not the task of refuting their tenets, for they suffice for the overthrow of each other."

Hexaem. i. 2. vid. also Theod. Græc. Affect. i. p. 707. &c. August. Civ. Dei, xviii. 41. and Vincentius's celebrated *Commonitorium passim.*

of others, and being such, are as little worthy of deference now as before, in what they allege. Rather let them cease to carp at what they understand not; lest so it be that not knowing to discriminate, they at hazard call evil good and good evil, and think that bitter is sweet and sweet is bitter. Doubtless, they desire that doctrines which have been judged wrong and have been reprobated should gain the ascendancy, and they make violent efforts to prejudice what was rightly defined. Nor is there reason on our part for any further explanation, or answer to their excuses, or for further resistance on theirs, but for an acquiescence in what the leaders of their heresy subscribed; for though the subsequent change of those Eusebians was suspicious and immoral, their subscription, when they had the opportunity of at least some little defence of themselves, is a certain proof of the irreligion of their doctrine. For they did not subscribe without thereby condemning the heresy, nor did they condemn it, without being encompassed with difficulty and shame; so that to change back again is a proof of their contentious zeal for irreligion. There is reason then, as I have said, that the present men should keep quiet; but since from an extraordinary want of modesty, they hope perhaps to be able to advocate this diabolical^s irreligion better than the others, therefore, though in my former letter written to thee, I have already argued at length against them, notwithstanding, come let us now also examine them, in each of their separate statements, as their predecessors; for now not less than then their heresy shall be shewn to have no soundness in it, but to be from evil spirits.

^s This is Athan.'s deliberate judgment. vid. de Sent. Dion. fin. where he says, "Who then will continue to call these men Christians, whose leader is the devil, and not rather diabolical?" and he adds, "not only Christ's foes, *χριστομάχοι*, but diabolical also." In § 24. he speaks of Arius's "hatred of the truth." Again, "though the diabolical men rave." Orat. iii. § 8. [infra p. 410] "friends of the devil, and his spirits." Ad Ep. Æg. 5. Another

reason of his so accounting them, was their atrocious cruelty towards Catholics; this leads him elsewhere to break out. "O new heresy, that has put on the whole devil in irreligious doctrine and conduct!" Hist. Arian. § 66. [Hist. tracts p. 277 O.T.] also Alexander, "diabolical," ap. Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 731. "satanical," *ibid.* p. 741. vid. also Socr. i. 9. p. 30 fin. Hilar. contr. Const. 17.

CHAP. III.

THE MEANING OF THE WORD SON AS APPLIED TO OUR LORD.

Two senses of the word, 1. adoptive; 2. substantial; attempts of Arians to find a third meaning between these; e. g. that our Lord only was created immediately by God; Asterius's view; or that our Lord alone partakes the Father. The second and true sense; God begets as He makes, really; though His creation and generation not like man's; His generation independent of time; generation implies an internal, and therefore an eternal, act in God; explanation of Prov. viii. 22.

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DEF.
§ 6.

1. THEY say then what the others held and dared to maintain before them; "Not always Father, always Son; for the Son was not before His generation, but, as others, came to be from nothing; and in consequence God was not always Father of the Son; but, when the Son came to be and was created, then was God called His Father. For the Word is a creature and work, and foreign and unlike the Father in substance; and the Son is neither by nature the Father's true Word, nor His only and true Wisdom; but being a creature and one of the works, He is by a strong figure^s called Word and Wisdom; for by the Word which is in God was He made, as were all things. Wherefore the Son is not true God^t."

2. Now it may serve to make them understand what they are saying, to ask them first this, what in fact a son is, and of what is that name significant^u. In truth, Divine Scripture

^s *καταχρηστικῶς*. This word is noticed and protested against by Alexander, Socr. Hist. i. 6. p. 11 a. by the Semiarians at Ancyra, Epiph. Hær. 73. n. 5. by Basil, contr. Eunom. ii. 23. and by Cyril, Dial. ii. t. v. i. pp. 432, 3.

^t vid. ad Ep. Æg. 12. Orat. i. § 5. 6. de Synod. 15, 16. Athanas. seems to have had in mind Socr. i. 6. p. 10, 11. or the like.

^u vid. Orat. i. § 38. The controversy turned on the question what was meant by the word "Son." Though the Arians would not allow with the Catholics that our Lord was Son *by nature*, and maintained that the word implied

a beginning of existence, they did not dare to say that He was Son merely in the sense in which we are sons, though, as Athan. contends, they necessarily tended to this conclusion, directly they receded from the Catholic view. Thus Arius said that He was a creature, "but not as one of the creatures." Orat. ii. § 19. [infra p. 307] Valens at Ariminum said the same. Jerom. adv. Lucifer. 18. Hilary says, that not daring directly to deny that he was God, the Arians merely asked "whether He was a Son." de Trin. viii. 3. Athanasius remarks upon this reluctance to speak out, challenging

acquaints us with a double sense of this word :—one which Moses sets before us in the Law, *When thou shalt hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep all His commandments which I command thee this, day, to do that which is right in the eyes of the Lord thy God, ye shall be children of the Lord your God*; as also in the Gospel, John says, *But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God* :—and the other sense, that in which Isaac is son of Abraham, and Jacob of Isaac, and the Patriarchs of Jacob. Now in which of these two senses do they understand the Son of God in such fables as the foregoing? for I feel sure they will issue in the same irreligious tenet with the Eusebians.

3. If in the first, which belongs to those who gain the name by grace from moral improvement, and receive power to become sons of God, (for this is what their predecessors said,) then He would seem to differ from us in nothing; no, nor would He be Only-begotten, as having obtained the title of Son as others from His virtue. For granting what they say, that, whereas His qualifications were foreknown¹, He therefore received grace from the first, the name, and the glory of the name, from His very first beginning, still there will be no difference between Him and those who receive the name upon their actions, so long as this is the ground on which He as others has the character of son. For Adam too, though he received grace from the first, and upon his creation was at once placed in paradise, differed in no respect either from Enoch, who was translated thither after his birth on his pleasing God, or from the Apostle, who likewise was caught up to Paradise after his actions; nay, not from the thief, who on the ground of his confession, received a promise that he should be forthwith in paradise.

them to present "the heresy naked," de Sent. Dionys. 2. *init.* "No one," he says elsewhere, "puts a light under a bushel; let them shew the world their heresy naked." ad Ep. Æg. 18. vid. *ibid.* 10. In like manner, Basil says that (though Arius was really like Eunomius, in faith, contr. Eunom. i. 4.) Aetius his master was the first to teach openly (*φανερῶς*), that the Father's substance was unlike, *ἀνόμοιος*,

the Son's. *ibid.* i. 1. Epiphanius Hær. 76. p. 949. seems to say that the elder Arius held the divine generation in a sense in which Aetius did not, that is, they were not so consistent and definite as he. Athan. goes on to mention some of the attempts of the Arians to find some theory short of orthodoxy, yet short of that extreme heresy, on the other hand, which they felt ashamed to avow.

CHAP.
III.
Deut. 13,
18; 14, 1.

John 1,
12.

¹Theod.
Hist. i.
3. p. 732.

NICEN. DEF. § 7. 4. When thus pressed, they will perhaps make an answer which has brought them into trouble many times already ;
 “ We consider that the Son has this prerogative over others, and therefore is called Only-begotten, because He alone was brought to be¹ by God alone, and all other things were created by God through the Son^x.” Now I wonder who it was^y that suggested to you so futile and novel an idea as that the Father alone wrought with His own hand the Son alone, and that all other things were brought to be by the Son as by an under-worker^z. If for the toil-sake God was content with making the Son only, instead of making all things at once, this is an irreligious thought, especially in those who know the words of Esaias, *The everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, hungereth not, neither is weary ; there is no searching of His understanding.* Rather it is He who gives strength to the hungry, and through His Word refreshes the labouring. Again, it is irreligious to suppose that He disdained, as if a humble task, to form the creatures Himself which came after the Son ; for there is no pride in that God, who goes down with Jacob into Egypt, and for Abraham’s sake corrects Abimelec because of Sara, and speaks face to face with Moses, himself a man, and descends upon Mount Sinai, and by His secret grace fights for the people against Amalec. However, you are false in your fact, for we are told, *He made us, and not we ourselves.* He it is who through His Word made all things small and great, and we may not divide the creation, and says this is the Father’s, and this the Son’s, but they are of one God, who uses His proper³ Word as a Hand^z, and in Him does all things. As God Himself shews us, when He

NICEN. DEF. § 7.

¹ γέγονε

^z δι’ ὑποου-
γού

Is. 40,
28.

Ib. 29.

Ps. 100,
2.

³ ἰδίω

^x This is celebrated as an explanation of the Anomæans. vid. Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 20, 21. though Athan. speaks of it as belonging to the elder Arians. vid. Socr. Hist. i. 6. p. 11.
^y i. e. what is your *authority* ? is it not a *novel*, and therefore a wrong doctrine ? vid. infr. § 13. ad Serap. i. 3. Also Orat. i. § 8. [infra pp. 190, 191] “ Who ever heard such doctrine ? or whence or from whom did they hear it ? who, when they were under catechising, spoke thus to them ? If they themselves confess that they now hear it for the first time, they must grant

that their heresy is alien, and *not from the Fathers.*” vid. ii. § 34. and Socr. i. 6. p. 11 c.
^z vid. infr. § 17. Orat. ii. § 31. 71. Irenæus calls the Son and Holy Spirit the Hands of God. Hær. iv. præf. [p. 310 O.T. cf. also pp. 452, 458, 460, 517] vid. also Hilar. de Trin. vii. 22. This image is in contrast to that of *instrument*, ὄργανον, which the Arians would use of the Son, vid. Socr. i. 6. p. 11. as implying He was external to God, whereas the word *Hand* implies His consubstantiality with the Father.

says, *All these things hath My Hand made* ; And Paul taught us as he had learned^a, that *There is one God, from whom all things ; and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom all things.* Thus He, always as now, speaks to the sun and it rises, and commands the clouds and it rains upon one place ; and where it does not rain, it is dried up. And He bids the earth to bear fruit, and fashions Jeremias in the womb. But if He now does all this, assuredly at the beginning also He did not disdain to make all things Himself through the Word ; for these are but parts of the whole.

CHAP.
III.
Is. 66, 2.
1 Cor. 8,
6.

5. But let us suppose that the other creatures could not endure to be wrought by the absolute Hand of the Ingenerate¹, and therefore the Son alone was brought into being by the Father alone, and other things by the Son as an underworker and assistant, for this is what Asterius the sacrificer^b has written, and Arius has transcribed² and bequeathed to his own friends, and from that time they use this form of words, broken reed as it is, being ignorant, the bewildered men, how brittle it is. For if it was impossible for things generated to bear the hand of God, and you hold the Son to be one of their number, how was He too equal to this formation by God alone ? and if a Mediator became necessary that things generated might come to be, and you hold the Son to be generate, then must there have been some medium before Him, for His creation ; and that Mediator himself again being a creature, it follows that he too needed another Mediator for his own constitution. And though we were to devise another, we must first devise his Mediator, so that we shall never come to an end. And thus a Mediator being ever in request, never will the creation be constituted, because nothing generate, as you say, can bear the absolute hand of the Ingenerate^c. And if, on your perceiving the extravagance of this, you begin to say that the Son, though a creature, was made capable of

§ 8.
ἀκράτου
ἀγενή-
του
1 Orat. ii.
§ 24. fin.
2 vid. also
infr. § 20.
de Synod.
§ 17.

^a μαθὼν ἐδίδασκειν, implying the traditional nature of the teaching. And so S. Paul himself, 1 Cor. xv, 3. vid. for an illustration, *supr.* § 5. init. also note γ.

^b Asterius is one of the most famous of the elder Ariens, and his work in defence of the heresy is frequently quoted by Athanasius. vid. *infr.* 20.

Orat. i. § 31. ii. § 24. 28. 37. 40. iii. § 2. 60. de Synod. § 18. 19. He was by profession a Sophist, and a pupil of Lucian's. He lapsed in the persecution of Maximian, and sacrificed, as intimated in the text.

^c vid. *infr.* § 24. Orat. i. § 15. fin. ii. § 29. Epiph. *Hær.* 76. p. 951.

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being made by the Ingenerate, then it follows that other things also, though generated, are capable of being wrought immediately by the Ingenerate; for the Son too is but a creature in your judgment, as all of them. And accordingly the generation of the Word is superfluous, according to your irreligious and futile imagination, God being sufficient for the immediate formation of all things, and all things generate being capable of sustaining His absolute hand.

6. These irreligious men then having so little mind amid their madness, let us see whether this particular sophism be not even more irrational than the others. Adam was created alone by God alone through the Word; yet no one would say that Adam had any prerogative over other men, or was different from those who came after him, granting that he alone was made and fashioned by God alone, and we all spring from Adam, and consist according to succession of the race, so long as he was fashioned from the earth as others, and at

§ 9.

first not being, afterwards came to be. But though we were to allow some prerogative to the Protoplast as having been vouchsafed the hand of God, still it must be one of honour not of nature. For he came of the earth, as other men; and the hand which then fashioned Adam, now also and ever is fashioning and giving entire consistence to those who come after him. And God Himself declares this to Jeremias, as I said before; *Before I formed thee in the womb, I knew thee*; and so He says of all, *All those things hath My hand made*; and again by Esaias, *Thus saith the Lord, thy redeemer, and He that formed thee from the womb, I am the Lord that maketh all things; that stretcheth forth the heavens alone; that spreadeth abroad the earth by Myself.*

Jer. 1, 5.

Is. 66, 2.

Ib. 44,
24.

Ps. 119,
76.

Is. 49, 5.

And David, knowing this, says in the Psalm, *Thy hands have made me and fashioned me*; and He who says in Esaias, *Thus saith the Lord who formed Me from the womb to be His servant*, signifies the same. Therefore, in respect of nature, he differs nothing from us though he precede us in time, so long as we all consist and are created by the same hand. If then these be your thoughts, O Arians, about the Son of God too, that thus He subsists and came to be, then in your judgment He will differ nothing on the score of nature from others, so long as He too was not, and came to be,

and the name was by grace united to Him in His creation for His virtue's sake. For He Himself is one of those, from what you say, of whom the Spirit says in the Psalms, *He spake the word, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created.* If so, who was it to whom God gave command^d for the Son's creation? for a Word there must be to whom God gave command, and in whom the works are created; but ye have no other to shew than the Word ye deny, unless indeed you should devise again some new notion.

7. "Yes," they will say, "we have another;" (which indeed I have formerly heard the Eusebians use), "on this score do we consider that the Son of God has a prerogative over others, and is called Only-begotten, because He alone partakes the Father, and all other things partake the Son." Thus they weary themselves in changing and varying their professions, like so many hues; however, this shall not save them from an exposure, as men who speak words to no purpose out of the earth, and wallow as in the mire of their own devices. For if He were called God's Son, and we the Son's sons, their fiction were plausible; but if we too are said to be sons of that God, of whom He is Son, then we too partake the Father^e, who says, *I have begotten and exalted children.* For if we did not partake Him, He had not said, *I have begotten*; but if He Himself begat us, no other than He is our Father^f. And, as before, it matters not, whether the Son has something more and was made first, but

CHAP.
III.

Ps. 33, 9.

ad
Serap.
i. 3.

§ 10.

Is. 1, 2.

^d In like manner, "Men were made through the Word, when the Father Himself willed." Orat. i. 63. [infra p. 269] "The Word forms matter as enjoined by, and ministering to, God." *προσταττόμενος καὶ ὑπουργῶν. ibid. ii. § 22.* [infra p. 311.] contr. Gent. 46. vid. p. 311, note i.

^e His argument is, that if the Son but partook the Father in the sense in which we partake the Son, then the Son would not impart to us the Father, but Himself, and would be a separating as well as uniting medium between the Father and us; whereas He brings us so near to the Father, that we are the Father's children, not His, and therefore He must be Himself one with the Father, or the Father must be in Him with an incomprehensible com-

pleteness. vid. de Synod. § 51. contr. Gent. 46. fin. Hence S. Austin says, "As the Father has life in Himself, so hath He given also to the Son to have life in Himself, *not by participating*, but in Himself. For we have not life in ourselves, but in our God. But that Father, who has life in Himself, begat a Son such, as to have life in Himself, not to become partaker of life, but *to be Himself life; and of that life to make us partakers.*" Serm. 127. de Verb. Evang. 9. [on the N.T. pp. 558, 559 O.T.]

^f "To say God is *wholly partaken*, is the same as saying that *God begets.*" Orat. i. § 16. [infra p. 203] And in like manner, our inferior participation involves such sonship as is vouchsafed to us.

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DEF.

Matt. 25,
34.
ib. 21, 23.

we something less, and were made afterwards, as long as we all partake, and are called sons, of the same Father^g. For the more or less does not indicate a different nature; but attaches to each according to the practice of virtue; and one is placed over ten cities, another over five; and some sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel; and others hear the words, *Come, ye blessed of My Father*, and, *Well done, good and faithful servant*. With such ideas, however, no wonder they imagine that of such a Son God was not always Father, and such a Son was not always in being, but was generated from nothing as a creature, and was not before His generation; for such an one is other than the True Son of God.

8. But to persist in such teaching does not consist with piety^h, for it is rather the tone of thought of Sadducees and Samosateneⁱ; it remains then to say that the Son of God is so called according to the other sense, in which Isaac was son of Abraham; for what is naturally begotten from any one and does not accrue to him from without, that in the nature of things is a son, and that is what the name implies^k. Is then the Son's generation one of human^l af-

^l ἀνθρω-
ποπαθῆς

^g And so in Orat. ii. § 19—22. "Though the Son surpassed other things on a comparison, yet He were equally a creature with them; for even in those things which are of a created nature, we may find some things surpassing others. Star, for instance, differs from star in glory, yet it does not follow that some are sovereign, and others serve, &c." ii. § 20 [infra p. 309]. And so Gregory Nyssen contr. Eunom. iii. p. 132 D. Epiph. Hær. 76. p. 970.

^h i. e. since it is impossible they can persist in evasions so manifest as these, nothing is left but to take the other sense of the word.

ⁱ Paul of Samosata is called Samosatene, as John of Damascus Damasene, from the frequent adoption of the names Paul and John. Hence also John Chrysostom, Peter Chrysologus, John Philoponus. Paul was Bishop of Antioch in the middle of the third century, and was deposed for a sort of Sabellianism. He was the friend of Lucian, from whose school the principal Arians issued. His prominent tenet, to which Athan. seems here to allude,

was that our Lord became the Son by προκοπή, or growth in holiness, (vid. Luke ii, 53. προέκοπτε,) "advancing as a man," Orat. iii. § 51 [infra p. 472]. Or he may be alluding to his doctrine of our Lord's predestination, referred to *supr.* § 6. *cir. fin.* for Paul spoke of Him as "God predestined before ages, but from Mary receiving the origin of His existence." contr. Apoll. i. 20.

^k The force lies in the word φύσει, "naturally," which the Council expressed still more definitely by "substance." Thus Cyril says, "the term 'Son' denotes the substantial origin from the Father." Dial. 5. p. 573. And Gregory Nyssen, "the title 'Son' does not simply express the being *from another*" (vid. infra; § 19.), but *relationship according to nature*. contr. Eunom. ii. p. 91. Again S. Basil says, that Father is "a term of relationship," οἰκείωσεως. contr. Eunom. ii. 24. init. And hence he remarks, that we too are properly, κυρίως, sons of God, as becoming related to Him through works of the Spirit. ii. 23. So also Cyril, *loc. cit.* Elsewhere, S. Basil defines father "one

fection? (for this perhaps, as their predecessors¹, they too will be ready to object in their ignorance;)—in no wise; for God is not as man, nor man as God. Men are created of matter, and that passible¹; but God is immaterial and incorporeal. And if so be the same terms are used of God and man in divine Scripture, yet the clear-sighted, as Paul enjoins, will study it, and thereby discriminate, and dispose of what is written according to the nature of each subject, and avoid any confusion of sense, so as neither to conceive of the things of God in a human way, nor to ascribe the things of man to God^m. For this were to mix wine with water², and to place upon the altar strange fire with that which is divine.

CHAP.
III.

¹ παθητικῆς

² vid.
Orat. iii.
§ 35.

§ 11.
³ ὡν ἐστίν.

9. For God creates, and to create is also ascribed to men; and God has being³, and men are said to be, having received from God this gift also. Yet does God create as men do? or is His being as man's being? Perish the thought; we understand the terms in one sense of God, and in another of men. For God creates, in that He calls what is not into being, needing nothing thereunto; but men work some existing material, first praying, and so gaining the wit to make, from that God who has framed all things by His proper Word. And again men, being incapable of self-existence, are inclosed in place, and consist in the Word of God; but

who gives to another the origin of being according to a nature like his own; and a son "one who possesses the origin of being from another by generation," contr. Eun. ii. 22. On the other hand, the Arians at the first denied that "by nature there was any Son of God." Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 732.

¹ vid. Eusebius, in his Letter subjoined: also Soer. Hist. i. 8. Epiph. Hær. 69. n. 8. and 15.

^m One of the characteristic points in Athanasius is his constant attention to the *sense* of doctrine, or the *meaning* of writers, in preference to the words used. Thus he scarcely uses the symbol *ὁμοούσιον*, one in substance, throughout his Orations, and in the de Synod. acknowledges the Semiarians as brethren. Hence infr. § 18. [p. 32] he says, that orthodox doctrine "is revered by all, though expressed in strange language, provided the speaker

means religiously, and wishes to convey by it a religious sense." vid. also § 21. He says, that Catholics are able to "speak freely," or to expatiate, *παρρησιαζόμεθα*, "out of Divine Scripture." Orat. i. § 9. vid. de Sent. Dionys. § 20. init. Again: "The devil spoke from Scripture, but was silenced by the Saviour; Paul spoke from profane writers, yet, being a saint, he has a religious meaning." de Syn. § 39. also ad Ep. Æg. 8. Again, speaking of the apparent contrariety between two Councils, "It were unseemly to make the one conflict with the other, for all their members are fathers; and it were profaneto decide that these spoke well and those ill, for all of them have slept in Christ." § 43. also § 47. Again: "Not the phrase, but the meaning and the religious life, is the recommendation of the faithful." ad Ep. Æg. § 9.

NICEN.
DEF.

God is self-existent, inclosing all things, and inclosed by none; within all according to His own goodness and power, yet without all in His proper natureⁿ. As then men create not as God creates, as their being is not such as God's being, so men's generation is in one way, and the Son is from the Father in another^o. For the offspring of men are portions of their fathers, since the very nature of bodies is not un-compounded, but transitive^p, and composed of parts; and men lose their substance¹ in begetting, and again they gain substance from the accession of food. And on this account men in their time become fathers of many children;

¹ ἀπορρέουσι

ⁿ Vid. also Incarn. § 17. This contrast is not commonly found in ecclesiastical writers, who are used to say that God is present every where, in substance as well as by energy or power. S. Clement, however, expresses himself still more strongly in the same way, "In substance far off, (for how can the generate come close to the Ingenerate?) but most close in power, in which the universe is embosomed." Strom. 2. *circ. init.* but the parenthesis explains his meaning, vid. Cyril. Thesaur. 6. p. 44. The common doctrine of the Fathers is, that God is present every where in *substance*. vid. Petav. de Deo, iii. 8. and 9. It may be remarked, that S. Clement continues "neither inclosing nor inclosed."

^o In Almighty God is the perfection and first pattern of what is seen in shadow in human nature, according to the imperfection of the subject matter; and this remark applies, as to creation, so to generation. Athanasius is led to state this more distinctly in another connection in Orat. i. § 21. fin. [infra p. 212] "It belongs to the Godhead alone, that the Father is properly (*κυρίως*) Father, and the Son properly (*κυρίως*) Son; and in Them and Them only does it hold that the Father is ever Father, and the Son ever Son." Accordingly he proceeds, shortly afterwards, as in the text, to argue, "[The heretics] ought in creation also to supply God with materials, and so to deny him to be Creator; but if the bare idea of God transcends such thoughts, and a man believes that He is in being, not as we are, and yet in being, as God, and that He creates not as man creates, but yet creates as God, therefore He begets also, not as men beget, but begets as God. For God does not

make men His pattern, but rather we men, for that God is properly and alone truly Father of His Son, are also called fathers of our own children, for 'of Him is every father-hood in heaven and on earth named.'" § 23. [p. 214] The Semiarrians at Ancyra quote the same text for the same doctrine. Epiph. Hær. 73. 5. As do Cyril in Joan. i. p. 24. [p. 27 O.T.], Thesaur. 32. p. 281. and Damascene de Fid. Orth. i. 8. The same parallel, as existing between creation and generation, is insisted on by Isidor. Pel. Ep. iii. 355. Basil contr. Eun. iv. p. 280 A., Cyril Thesaur. 6. p. 43. Epiph. Hær. 69. 36. and Gregor. Naz. Orat. 20. 9. who observes that God creates with a *word*, Ps. 148, 5. which evidently transcends human creations. Theodorus Abucara, with the same object, draws out the parallel of life, ζωή, as Athan. that of being, εἶναι. Opusc. iii. p. 420—422.

^p vid. de Synod. § 51. Orat. i. § 15. 16. *βευστή*. vid. Orat. i. § 28. Bas. in Eun. ii. 23. *βόσι*. Bas. in Eun. ii. 6. Greg. Naz. Orat. 28. 22. Vid. contr. Gentes, § 41. where Athan. without reference to the Arian controversy, draws out the contrast between the Godhead and human nature. "The nature of things generated, as having its subsistence from nothing, is of a *transitive* (*βευστή*) and feeble and mortal sort, considered by itself; seeing then that it was *transitive* and dissoluble, lest this should take place, and it should be resolved into its original nothing, God governs and sustains it all by His own Word, who is Himself God," and who, as he proceeds, § 42. "remaining Himself immovable with the Father, moves all things in His own consistence, as each may seem fit to His Father." Joan. i. p. 24 [p. 27 O.T.]

but God, being without parts, is Father of the Son without partition or passion; for there is neither effluence¹ of the Immaterial, nor accession from without, as among men; and being uncompounded in nature, He is Father of One Only Son. This is why He is Only-begotten, and alone in the Father's bosom, and alone is acknowledged by the Father to be from Him, saying, *This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* And He too is the Father's Word, from which may be understood the impassible and impartitive nature of the Father, in that not even a human word is begotten with passion or partition, much less the Word of God^r. Wherefore also He sits, as Word, at the Father's right hand: for where the Father is, there also is His Word; but we, as His works, stand in judgment before Him; and He is adorable, because He is Son of the adorable Father, but we adore, confessing Him Lord and God, because we are creatures and other than He.

CHAP.
III.

¹ ἀπορροή

Matt. 3,
17.

10. The case being thus, let who will among them consider § 12. the matter, so that one may abash them by the following question; Is it right to say that what is God's offspring and proper to Him is out of nothing? or is it reasonable in the very idea, that what is from God has accrued to Him, that a man should dare to say that the Son was not always? For in this again the generation of the Son exceeds and transcends the thoughts of man, that we become fathers of our own children in time, since we ourselves first were not and then came into being; but God, in that He ever is, is ever Father of the Son^s.

¹ S. Cyril, Dial. iv. init. p. 505 E. speaks of the *θρῦλλονμένη ἀπορροή*, and disclaims it, Thesaur. 6. p. 43. Athan. disclaims it, Expos. § 1. Orat. i. § 21. So does Alexander, ap. Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 743. On the other hand, Athanasius quotes it in a passage which he adduces from Theognostus, *infra*, § 25. and from Dionysius, de Sent. D. § 23. and Origen uses it, Periarchon, i. 2. It is derived from Wisd. vii. 25.

^r The title "Word" implies the ineffable mode of the Son's generation, as distinct from *material* parallels, vid. Gregory Nyssen, contr. Eunom. iii. p. 107. Chrysostom in Joan. Hom. 2. § 4. Cyril Alex. Thesaur. 5. p. 37. Also it implies that there is but *One* Son. vid. *infra*, § 16. "As the Origin is one substance, so its Word and Wis-

dom is one, substantial and subsisting." Athan. Orat. iv. 1. fin. [*infra* p. 514]

^s "Man," says S. Cyril, "inasmuch as he had a beginning of being, also has of necessity a beginning of begetting, as what is from him is a thing generate, but . . . if God's substance transcend time, or origin, or interval, His generation too will transcend these; nor does it deprive the Divine Nature of the power of generating, that it doth not this in time. For other than human is the manner of divine generation; and together with God's existing is His generating implied, and the Son was in Him by generation, nor did His generation precede His existence, but He was always, and that by generation." Thesaur. v. p. 35.

NICEN. DEF. And the generation of mankind is brought home to us from things that are parallel; but, since *no one knoweth the Son but the Father, and no one knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him*, therefore the sacred writers to whom the Son has revealed Him, have given us a certain image from things visible, saying, *Who is the brightness of His glory, and the Expression of His Person*; and again, *For with Thee is the well of life, and in Thy light shall we see light*; and when the Word chides Israel, He says, *Thou hast forsaken the Fountain of wisdom*; and this Fountain it is which says, *They have forsaken Me the Fountain of living waters*¹. And mean indeed and very dim is the illustration¹ compared with what we desiderate; but yet it is possible from it to understand something above man's nature, instead of thinking the Son's generation to be on a level with ours. For who can even imagine that the radiance of light ever was not, so that he should dare to say that the Son was not always, or that the Son was not before His generation? or who is capable of separating the radiance from the sun, or to conceive of the fountain as ever void of life, that he should madly say, "The Son is from nothing," who says, *I am the life*, or "alien to the Father's substance," who says, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*? for the sacred writers wishing us thus to understand, have given these illustrations; and it is indecent and most irreligious, when Scripture contains such images, to form ideas concerning our Lord from others which are neither in Scripture, nor have any religious bearing.

§ 13. 11. Therefore let them tell us, from what teacher or by what tradition they derived these notions concerning the Saviour? "We have read," they will say, "in the Proverbs, *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways unto His works*²"; this the Eusebians used to insist on³, and you write me word,

¹ vid. *infra passim*. All these titles, "Word, Wisdom, Light," &c. serve to guard the title "Son" from any notions of parts or dimensions, e. g. "He is not composed of parts, but being impassible and single, He is impassibly and indivisibly Father of the Son . . . for . . . the Word and Wisdom

is neither creature, nor part of Him whose Word He is, nor an offspring passibly begotten." Orat. i. § 28. [*infra pp. 220, 221*]

² Eusebius of Nicomedia quotes it in his Letter to Paulinus, ap. Theodor. Hist. i. 5. And Eusebius of Cæsarea Demonstr. Evang. v. 1.

Matt. 11, 27.
 Heb. 1, 3.
 Ps. 36, 9.
 Bar. 3, 12.
 Jer. 2, 13.
 1 vid. Ep. 1. ad Serap. 20. p. 669. a. b.
 John 14, 6.
 1b. 9.
 Prov. 8, 22.
 2 vid. Orat. ii. throughout.

that the present men also, though overthrown and confuted by an abundance of arguments, still were putting about in every quarter this passage, and saying that the Son was one of the creatures, and reckoning Him with things generated ¹. But they seem to me to have a wrong understanding of this passage also; for it has a religious and very orthodox sense, which, had they understood, they would have blasphemed the Lord of glory. For on comparing what has been above stated with this passage, they will find a great difference between them ^x. For what man of right understanding does not perceive, that what are created and made are external to the maker; but the Son, as the foregoing argument has shewn, exists not externally, but from the Father who begat Him? for man too both builds a house and begets a son, and no one would mismatch things, and say that the house or the ship were begotten by the builder ², but the son was created and made by him; nor again that the house was an image of the maker, but the son unlike him who begat him; but rather he will confess that the son is an image of the father, but the house a work of art, unless his mind be disordered, and he beside himself. Plainly, divine Scripture, which knows better than any the nature of everything, says through Moses, of the creatures, *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*; but of the Son it introduces the Father Himself saying, *I have begotten Thee from the womb before the morning star*; and again, *Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee*. And the Lord says of Himself in the Proverbs, *Before all the hills He begets Me*; and concerning things generated and created John speaks, *All things were made by Him*; but preaching of the Lord, he says, *The Only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him*. If then son, therefore not creature; if creature, not son; for great is the difference between them, and son and creature cannot be the same, unless his substance be considered to be at once from God, and external to God.

CHAP.
III.

¹ γενη-
τοῖς

² Serap.
2, 6.

Gen. 1,
1.

Ps. 110,
3.
Ps. 2, 7.

Prov. 8,
25.

John 1,
3.

lb. 18.

^x i. e. "Granting that the *primâ facie* impression of this text is in favour of our Lord's being a creature, yet so many arguments have been already brought, and may be added, against

His creation, that we must interpret this text by them. It cannot mean that our Lord was simply created, *because* we have already shewn that He is not external to His Father."

NICEN.

DEF.

§ 14.

12. "Has then the passage no meaning?" for this, like a swarm of gnats, they are droning about us^v. No surely, it is not without meaning, but has a very apposite one; for it is true to say that the Son was created too, but this took place when He became man; for creation belongs to man. And any one may find this sense duly given in the divine oracles, who, instead of accounting their study a secondary matter, investigates the time and characters^z, and the object, and thus studies and ponders what he reads. Now as to the season spoken of, he will find for certain that, whereas the Lord always is, at length in fulness of the ages¹ He became man; and whereas He is Son of God, He became Son of man also. And as to the object he will understand, that, wishing to annul our death, He took on Himself a body from the Virgin Mary; that by offering this unto the Father a sacrifice for all, He might deliver us all, who by fear of death were all our life through subject to bondage. And as to the character, it is indeed the Saviour's, but is said of Him when He took a body and said, *The Lord has created Me a beginning of His ways unto His works*. For as it properly belongs to God's Son to be everlasting, and in the Father's bosom, so on His becoming man, the words befitted Him, *The Lord created Me*. For then it is said of Him, and He hungered, and He thirsted, and He asked where Lazarus lay, and He suffered, and He rose again². And as, when we hear of Him as Lord and God and true Light, we understand Him as being from the Father, so on hearing, *The Lord created*, and *Servant*, and *He suffered*, we shall justly ascribe this, not to the Godhead, for it is irrelevant, but we must interpret it by that flesh which He bore for our sakes; for to it these things are proper, and this flesh was none other's than the Word's. And if we wish to know the object attained

¹ αἰώνωνHeb. 2,
15.Prov. 8,
22.² Sent. D.
9. Orat.
3, § 26—
41.

^v περιβομβούσιν. So in ad Afros. 5. init. And Sent. D. § 19. περιέρχονται περιβομβούντες. And Gregory Nyssen. contr. Eun. viii. p. 234 C. ὡς ἂν τοὺς ἀπίρους ταῖς πλατωνικαῖς καλλιφωνίας περιβομβήσειεν. vid. also περιέρχονται ὡς οἱ κἀνθαροί. Orat. iii. fin.

^z πρόσωπα. vid. Orat. i. § 54. ii. § 8. Sent. D. 4. not persons, but characters; which must also be considered

the meaning of the word, contr. Apoll. ii. 2. and 10; though it there approximates (even in phrase, οὐκ ἐν διαίρεσει προσώπων) to its ecclesiastical use, which seems to have been later. Yet persona occurs in Tertull. in Prax. 27; it may be questioned, however whether in any genuine Greek treatise till the Apollinarians.

by this, we shall find it to be as follows; that the Word was made flesh in order to offer up this body for all, and that we, partaking of His Spirit, might be made gods, a gift which we could not otherwise have gained than by His clothing Himself in our created body¹; for hence we derive our name of "men of God" and "men in Christ." But as we, by receiving the Spirit, do not lose our own proper substance, so the Lord, when made man for us, and bearing a body, was no less God; for He was not lessened by the envelopment of the body, but rather deified it and rendered it immortal^a.

CHAP.
III.

¹ Orat. 2,
§ 70.

^a "remaining Himself unalterable, and not changed by His human economy and presence in the flesh." Orat. ii. 6. [infra p. 289]

CHAP. IV.

PROOF OF THE CATHOLIC SENSE OF THE WORD SON.

Power, Word or Reason, and Wisdom, the names of the Son, imply eternity; as well as the Father's title of Fountain. The Arians reply that these do not formally belong to the essence of the Son, but are names given Him; that God has many words, powers, &c. Why there is but one Son and Word, &c. All the titles of the Son coincide in Him.

NICEN.
DEF.

§ 15.

1 Cor. 1,
24.
John 1,
14.

¹ vid.
supr.
§ 12.

1. THIS then is quite enough to expose the infamy of the Arian heresy; for, as the Lord has granted, out of their own words is irreligion brought home to them^b. But come now and let us on our part act on the offensive, and call on them for an answer; for now is fair time, when their own ground has failed them, to question them on ours; perhaps it may abash the perverse, and disclose to them whence they have fallen. We have learned from divine Scripture, that the Son of God, as was said above, is the very Word and Wisdom of the Father. For the Apostle says, *Christ the power of God and the Wisdom of God*; and John after saying, *And the Word was made flesh*, at once adds, *And we have seen His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth*; so that, the Word being the Only-begotten Son, in this Word and in Wisdom heaven and earth and all that is therein were made. And of this Wisdom that God is Fountain we have learned from¹ Baruch, by Israel's being charged with having forsaken the Fountain of Wisdom. If then they deny Scripture, they are at once aliens to their name, and

^b The main argument of the Arians was that our Lord was a Son, and *therefore* was not eternal, but of a substance which had a beginning. With this Arius started in his dispute with Alexander. "Arius, a man not without dialectic skill, thinking that the Bishop was introducing the doctrine of Sabellius the Libyan, out of contention fell off into the opinion diametrically opposite, . . . and he says, 'If the Father

begot the Son, he that was begotten had a beginning of existence; and from this it is plain that once the Son was not; and it follows of necessity that He had His subsistence out of nothing.'" Socr. i. 5. Accordingly Athanasius says, "Having argued with them as to the meaning of their own selected term 'Son,' let us go on to others, which on the very face make for us, such as Word, Wisdom, &c."

may fitly be called of all men atheists ¹, and Christ's enemies, for they have brought upon themselves these names. But if they agree with us that the sayings of Scripture are divinely inspired, let them dare to say openly what they think in secret that God was once wordless and wisdomless ^c; and let them in their madness ² say, "There was once when He was not," and, "before His generation, Christ was not ^d;" and again let them declare that the Fountain begat not Wisdom from Itself, but acquired It from without, till they have the daring to say, "The Son came of nothing;" whence it will follow that there is no longer a Fountain, but a sort of pool, as if receiving water from without, and usurping the name of Fountain ^e.

CHAP.
IV.
¹ vid.
supr. p. 3.
note f.

² vid.
above,
i. 2.

2. How full of irreligion this is, I consider none can doubt § 16. who has ever solittle understanding. But since they whisper something about *Word* and *Wisdom*, being only names of the Son ^f, we must ask then, If these are only names of the

^c ἄλογος, ἄσοφος. vid. infra, § 26. This is a frequent argument in the controversy, viz. that to deprive the Father of His Son or substantial Word, (λόγος,) is as great a sacrilege as to deny His Reason, λόγος, from which the Son receives His name. Thus Orat. i. § 14. fin. [infra p. 202] Athan. says, "imputing to God's nature an absence of His Word, (ἄλογίαν or irrationality,) they are most irreligious." vid. § 19. fin. 24. Elsewhere, he says, "Is a man not mad himself, who even entertains the thought that God is word-less and wisdom-less? for such illustrations and such images Scripture hath proposed, that, considering the inability of human nature to comprehend concerning God, we might even from these, however poorly and dimly, discern as far as is attainable." Orat. ii. 32. [infra pp. 325, 326] vid. also iii. 63. iv. 14. Serap. ii. 2.

^d These were among the original positions of the Arians; the former is mentioned by Socrates, vid. note b. the latter is one of those specified in the Nicene Anathema.

^e And so πηγὴ ξηρά. Serap. ii. 2. Orat. i. § 14 fin. also ii. § 2. [infra pp. 283, 284] where Athanasius speaks as if those who deny that Almighty God is Father, cannot really believe in Him as a Creator. "If He be not a Son, let Him be called a work, and

let God be called, not Father, but Framer only and Creator, and not of a generative nature. But if the divine substance be not fruitful, (καρπογόνος,) but barren, as they say, as a light which enlightens not, and a dry fountain, are they not ashamed to maintain that He possesses the creative energy?" vid. also πηγὴ θεόπητος. Pseudo-Dion. Div. Nom. c. 2. πηγὴ ἐκ πηγῆς, of the Son. Epiphan. Ancor. 19. And Cyril, "If thou take from God His being Father, thou wilt deny the generative power (καρπογόνον) of the divine nature, so that It no longer is perfect. This then is a token of its perfection, and the Son who went forth from Him apart from time, is a pledge (σφράγισ) to the Father that He is perfect." Thesaur. p. 37.

^f Arius said, as the Eunomians after him, that the Son was not really, but only called, Word and Wisdom, which were simply attributes of God, and the prototypes of the Son. vid. Socr. i. 6. p. 11, Theod. Hist. 1, 3. p. 731. Athan. asks, Is the Son then more than wisdom? if on the other hand He be less, still He must be so called because of some gift or quality in Him, analogous to wisdom, or of the nature of wisdom, and admitting of improvement and growth. But this was the notorious doctrine of Christ's προκοπή or advancement. "I am in wonder," he says,

NICEN.
DEF.

Son, He must be something else beside them. And if He is higher than the names, it is not lawful from the lesser to denote the higher; but if He be less than the names, yet He surely must have in Him the principle of this more honourable appellation; and this implies His advance, which is an irreligion equal to any thing that has gone before. For He who is in the Father, and in whom also the Father is, who says, *I and the Father are one*, whom he that hath seen, hath seen the Father, to say that He has been improved¹ by any thing external, is the extreme of madness.

John 10,
30.
1 βελτι-
οῦσθαι

3. However, when they are beaten hence, and like the Eusebians are in these great straits, then they have this remaining plea, which Arius too in ballads, and in his own *Thalia*², fabléd, as a new difficulty: "Many words speaketh God; which then of these are we to call Son and Word, Only-begotten of the Father³?" Insensate, and any thing but

² vid.
Syn.
§ 15.

Orat. ii. § 37. [infra pp. 331, 332] "how, whereas God is one, these men introduce after their private notions, many images, and wisdoms, and words, and say that the Father's proper and natural Word is other than the Son, by whom He even made the Son, and that the real Son is but notionally called Word, as vine, and way, and door, and tree of life; and Wisdom also only in name,—the proper and true Wisdom of the Father, which co-exists with Him without generation being other than the Son, by which He even made the Son, and named Him Wisdom as partaking of it." He goes on to observe in § 38. [ib. 333] that to be consistent they should explain away not only word, wisdom, &c. but the title of *being* as applied to Him; "and then what is He? for He is none of these Himself, if they are but His names, and He has but a semblance of being, and is decorated with these names by us."

³ As the Arians took the title Son in that part of its earthly sense in which it did not apply to our Lord, so they misinterpreted the title Word also; which denoted the Son's immateriality and indivisible presence in the Father, but did not express His perfection. vid. Orat. ii. § 34—36. which precedes the passage quoted in the last note. "As our word is proper to us and from us, and not a work external to us, so also the word of God is proper to Him

and from Him, and is not made, *yet not as the word of man*, else one must consider God as man. Men have many words, and after those many, not any one of them all; for the speaker has ceased, and thereupon his word falls. But God's Word is one and the same, and as it is written, 'remaineth for ever,' not changed, not first one and then another, but existing the same always. For it behoved that God being one, one should be His Image, one His Word, one His Wisdom," § 36. [infra p. 331] vid. contr. Gent. 41. ad Ep. Æg. 16. Epiph. Hær. 65. 3. Nyss. in Eun. xii. p. 349. Origen, (in a passage, however, of questionable doctrine,) says, "As there are gods many, but to us one God the Father, and many lords, but to us one Lord Jesus Christ, so there are many words, but we pray that in us may exist the Word that was in the beginning, with God, and God." in Joan. tom. ii. 3. "Many things, it is acknowledged, does the Father speak to the Son," say the Semiarians at Ancyra, "but the words which God speaks to the Son, are not sons. They are not substances of God, but vocal energies; but the Son, though a Word, is not such, but, being a Son, is a substance." Epiph. Hær. 73. 12. The Semiarians are speaking against Sabellianism, which took the same ground here as Arianism; so did the heresy of Samosatene, who according to Epiphanius, considered our Lord, the

Christians^h! for first, on using such language about God, they conceive of Him almost as a man, speaking and reversing His first words by His second, just as if one Word from God were not sufficient for the framing of all things at the Father's will, and for His providential care of all. For His speaking many words would argue a feebleness in them all, each needing the service of the other. But that God should have one Word, which is the true doctrine, both shews the power of God, and the perfection of the Word that is from Him, and the religious understanding of them who thus believe.

4. O that they would consent to confess the truth from § 17. this their own statement! for if they once grant that God produces words, they plainly know Him to be a Father; and acknowledging this, let them consider that, while they are loth to ascribe one Word to God, they are imagining that He is Father of many; and while they are loth to say that there is no Word of God at all, yet they do not confess that He is the Son of God,—which is ignorance of the truth, and inexperience in divine Scripture. For if God is altogether Father of a word, wherefore is not He a Son that is begotten? And again, Son of God who should be, but His Word? For there are not many words, or each would be imperfect, but one is the Word, that He only may be perfect, and because, God being one, His image too must be one, which is the Son. For the Son of God, as may be learnt from the divine oracles themselves, is Himself the Word of God, and the Wisdom, and the Image, and the Hand, and the Power; for God's offspring is one, and of the generation from the Father these titles are tokensⁱ. For if you say the

internal Word, or thought. Hær. 65. The term word in this inferior sense is often in Greek *ῥῆμα*. Epiph. supr. and Cyril, de Incarn. init. t. v. i. p. 679.

^h “If they understood and acknowledged the characteristic idea (*χαρακ-τῆρα*) of Christianity, they would not have said that the Lord of glory was a creature.” ad Serap. ii. 7. In Orat. i. § 2. he says, Arians are not Christians *because* they are Arians, for Christians are called, not from Arius, but from Christ, who is their only Master. vid. also de Syn. § 38. init. Sent. D. fin. Ad

Afos. 4. Their cruelty and cooperation with the heathen populace was another reason. Greg. Naz. Orat. 25. 12.

ⁱ All the titles of the Son of God are consistent with each other, and variously represent one and the same Person. “Son” and “Word,” denote His derivation; “Word” and “Image,” His Similitude; “Word” and “Wisdom,” His immateriality; “Wisdom” and “Hand,” His co-existence. “If He is not Son, neither is He Image.” Orat. ii. § 2 [infra p. 283]. “How is there Word and Wisdom, unless He be a proper offspring of

NICEN.
DEF.

Son, you have declared what is from the Father by nature; and if you imagine the Word, you are thinking again of what is from Him, and what is inseparable; and, speaking of Wisdom, again you mean just as much, what is not from without, but from Him and in Him; and if you name the Power and the Hand, again you speak of what is proper to substance; and, speaking of the Image, you signify the Son; for what else is like God but the offspring from Him? Doubtless the things, which came to be through *the Word*, these are *founded in Wisdom*; and what are *laid in Wisdom*, these are all made by the Hand, and came to be through the Son. And we have proof of this, not from external sources, but from the Scriptures; for God Himself says by Esaias the Prophet; *My hand also hath laid the foundation of the earth, and My right hand hath spanned the heavens.* And again, *And I have covered them in the shadow of My Hand, that I may plant the heavens, and lay the foundations of the earth.* And David being taught this, and knowing that the Lord's Hand was nothing else than Wisdom, says in the Psalm, *In wisdom hast Thou made them all; the earth is full of Thy riches.* Solomon also received the same from God, and said, *The Lord by wisdom hath founded the earth;* and John, knowing that the Word was the Hand and the Wisdom, thus preached, *In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; the same was in the beginning with God: all things were made by Him, and without Him was not any thing made.* And the Apostle, understanding that the Hand and the Wisdom and the Word was nothing else than the Son, says, *God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the Fathers by the Prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son, whom He hath appointed Heir of all things, by whom also He made the ages.* And again, *There is one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through Him.* And knowing also that the Word, the Wisdom, the Son was the Image Himself of the Father, he says in the Epistle to the Colossians, *Giving thanks to God and the Father, which*

Is. 48,
13.

Is. 51,
16.

Ps. 104,
24.

Prov. 3,
19.

John 1,
1—3.

Heb. 1,
1. 2.

1 Cor. 8,
6.

Col. 1,
12—17.

His substance? ii. § 22 [infra p. 311].
vid. also Orat. i. § 20, 21. and at great
length Orat. iv. § 20. &c. vid. also Naz.
Orat. 30. n. 20. Basil. contr. Eunom.

i. 18. Hilar. de Trin. vii. 11. August.
in Joan. xlviii. 6. [pp. 640, 641 O.T.]
and in Psalm 44, (45,) 5. [vol. 2 pp.
232, 233 O.T.]

hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the Saints in light, who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of His dear Son ; in whom we have redemption¹, even the remission of sins ; who is the Image of the Invisible God, the First-born of every creature ; for by Him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers ; all things were created by Him and for Him ; and He is before all things, and in Him all things consist. For as all things are created by the Word, so, because He is the Image, are they also created in Him^k. And thus any one who directs his thoughts to the Lord, will avoid stumbling upon the stone of offence, but rather will go forward to that brightness which is reflected from the light of truth ; for this is really the doctrine of truth, though these contentious men burst with spite¹, neither religious toward God, nor abashed at their confutation.

СНПР.
IV.

¹ through
His
blood,
rec. t.

^k vid. a beautiful passage, contr. Gent. 42. &c. Again, of men, " He made them after His own image, imparting to them of the power of His proper Word, that, having as it were certain shadows of the Word, and becoming rational, λογικοι, they might be enabled to continue in blessedness." Incarn. 3. vid. also Orat. ii. 78. [infra

p. 391] where he speaks of Wisdom as being infused into the world on its creation, that it might possess " a type and semblance of Its Image."

¹ διαβραγῶσιν, and so Serap. ii. fin. διαβρηγνύωνται. de SyR. 34. διαβρηγνώσιν ἑαυτούς. Orat. ii. § 23. σπαρτατέωσαν ἑαυτούς. Orat. ii. § 64. τριζέτω τοὺς ὀδόντας. Sent. D. 16.

CHAP. V.

DEFENCE OF THE COUNCIL'S PHRASES, "FROM THE SUBSTANCE," AND "ONE IN SUBSTANCE."

Objection that the phrases are not scriptural ; we ought to look at the sense more than the wording ; evasion of the Eusebians as to the phrase " of God " which is in Scripture ; their evasion of all explanations but those which the Council selected ; which were intended to negative the Arian formulæ ; protest against their conveying any material sense.

NICEN.
DEF.
§ 18.

1. Now the Eusebians were at the former period examined at great length, and convicted themselves, as I said before ; on this they subscribed ; and after this change of mind they kept in quiet and retirement^m ; but since the present party, in the fresh arrogance of irreligion, and in dizziness about the truth, are full set upon accusing the Council, let them tell us what are the sort of Scriptures from which they have learned, or who is the Saint¹ by whom they have been taught, that they have heaped together the phrases, " out of nothing²," and " He was not before His generation," and " once He was not," and " alterable," and " pre-existence," and " at the will ;" which are their fables in mockery of the Lord. For the blessed Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews says, *By faith we understand that the ages were framed by the Word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear.* But nothing is common to the Word with the agesⁿ ; for He it

¹ v. sup.
p. 12.
note γ.
² ἐξ οὐκ
ὄντων

Heb. 11,
3.

^m After the Nicene Council, the Eusebians did not dare avow their heresy in Constantine's lifetime, but merely attempted the banishment of Athanasius, and the restoration of Arius. Their first Council was A.D. 341, four years after Constantine's death.

ⁿ By *ἄλων*, age, seems to be meant duration, or the measure of duration, before or independent of the existence of motion, which is the measure of time. As motion, and therefore time, are creatures, so are the ages. Considered as the measure of duration, an age has

a sort of positive existence, though not an *οὐσία* or substance, and means the same as " world," or an existing system of things viewed apart from time and motion. vid. Theodor. in Hebr. i. 2. Our Lord then is the Maker of the ages thus considered, as the Apostle also tells us, Hebr. xi. 3. and God is the King of the ages, 1 Tim. i. 17. or is before all ages, as being eternal, or *προαιώνιος*. However, sometimes the word is synonymous with eternity ; " as time is to things which are under time, so ages to things which are everlasting," Damasc. Fid. Orth. ii. 1,

is who is in existence before the ages, by whom also the ages came to be. And in the Shepherd¹ it is written, (since they allege this book also, though it is not of the Canon^o), "First of all believe, that God is one, who created all things, and arranged them, and brought all things from nothing into being;" but this again does not relate to the Son, for it speaks concerning all things which came to be through Him, from whom He is distinct; for it is not possible to reckon the Framers of all with the things made by Him, unless a man is so beside himself as to say that the architect also is the same as the buildings which he rears.

CHAP.
V. --
1 Herm.
2, 1. vid.
ad Afr. 5.

2. Why then, when they have invented on their part unscriptural phrases, for the purposes of irreligion, do they accuse those who are religious in their use of them^p? For irreligiousness is utterly forbidden, though it be attempted

and "ages of ages" stands for eternity; and then the "ages" or measures of duration, may be supposed to stand for the *ἰδέαι* or ideas in the Divine Mind, which seems to have been a Platonic or Gnostic notion. Hence Synesius, Hymn iii. addresses the Almighty as *αἰωνότοκε*, parent of the ages. Hence sometimes God Himself is called the Age, Clem. Alex. Hymn. Pæd. iii. fin. or, the Age of ages, Pseudo-Dion. de Div. Nom. 5. p. 580. or again, *αἰώνιος*. Theodoret sums up what has been said thus: "Age is not any subsisting substance, but is an interval indicative of time, now infinite, when God is spoken of, now commensurate with creation, now with human life." Hær. v. 6. If then, as Athan. says in the text, the Word is Maker of the ages, He is independent of duration altogether; He does not come to be in time, but is above and beyond it, or eternal. Elsewhere he says, "The words addressed to the Son in the 144th Psalm, 'Thy kingdom is a kingdom of all ages,' forbid any one to imagine any interval at all in which the Word did not exist. For if every interval is measured by ages, and of all the ages the Word is King and Maker, therefore, whereas no interval at all exists prior to Him, it were madness to say, 'There was once when the Everlasting (*αἰώνιος*) was not.'" Orat. i. 12. [infra p. 198] And so Alexander; "Is it not unreasonable that He who made times, and ages, and seasons, to all of which be-

longs 'was not,' should be said not to be? for, if so, that interval in which they say the Son was not yet begotten by the Father, precedes that Wisdom of God which framed all things." Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 736. vid also Basil de Sp. S. n. 14. Hilar. de Trin. xii. 34.

^o And so in Ep. Fest. fin. he enumerates it with Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Esther, Judith, Tobit, and others, "not canonized but appointed by the Fathers to be read by late converts and persons under teaching [Festal Epistles, 39 p. 139 O.T.]." He calls it elsewhere a most profitable book. Incarn. 3.

^p Athan. here retorts the charge brought against the Council, as it was obvious to do, which gave occasion for this Treatise. If the Council went beyond Scripture in the use of the word "substance," (which however can hardly be granted,) who made this necessary, but they who had already introduced the phrases, "the Son was out of nothing," &c. &c.? "Of the substance," and "one in substance," were directly intended to contradict and supplant the Arian unscriptural innovations, as he says below, § 20. fin. 21. init. vid. also ad Afros. 6. de Synod. § 36, 37. He observes in like manner that the Arian *ἀγέννητος*, though allowable as used by religious men, de Syn. § 40. was unscriptural, Orat. i. § 30, 34. Also Epiph. Hær. 76. p. 941. Basil. contr. Eunom. i. 5. Hilar. contr. Const. 16. Ambros. Incarn. 80.

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¹ vid.
p. 17.
note m.

to disguise it with artful expressions and plausible sophisms; but religiousness is confessed by all to be lawful, even though presented in strange phrases¹, provided only they are used with a religious view, and a wish to make them the expression of religious thoughts. Now the aforesaid grovelling phrases of Christ's enemies, have been shewn in these remarks to be both formerly and now replete with irreligion; whereas the definition of the Council against them, if accurately examined, will be found to be altogether a representation of the truth, and especially if diligent attention be paid to the occasion which gave rise to these expressions, which was reasonable, and was as follows:—

§ 19.

² vid. ad
Afr. 5.

1 Cor. 8,
6.
² Cor. 5,
17.

3. The Council² wishing to negative the irreligious phrases of the Arians, and to use instead the acknowledged words of the Scriptures, that the Son is not from nothing but *from God*, and is *Word and Wisdom*, nor creature or work, but the proper offspring from the Father, the party of Eusebius, out of their inveterate heterodoxy, understood the phrase *from God* as belonging to us, as if in respect to it the Word of God differed nothing from us, and that because it is written, *There is one God, from whom all things*; and again, *Old things are passed away, behold, all things are new, and all things are from God*. But the Fathers, perceiving their craft and the cunning of their irreligion, were forced to express more distinctly the sense of the words *from God*. Accordingly, they wrote "from the substance of God³," in order that *from God*

³ Hence it stands in the Creed, "from the Father, *that is*, from the substance of the Father." vid. Eusebius's Letter, *infra*. According to the received doctrine of the Church all rational beings, and in one sense all beings whatever, are "from God," over and above the fact of their creation; and of this truth the Eusebians made use to deny our Lord's proper divinity. Athan. lays down elsewhere that nothing remains in consistence and life, except from a participation of the Word, which is to be considered a gift from Him, additional to that of creation, and separable in idea from it. vid. above, note k. Thus he says that the all-powerful and all-perfect, Holy Word of the Father, pervading all things, and developing every where His power, and illuminating all things visible

and invisible, gathers them within Himself and knits them in one, leaving nothing destitute of His power, but quickening and preserving all things and through all, and each by itself, and the whole together." contr. Gent. 42. Again, "God *not only* made us of nothing, *but also* vouchsafed to us a life according to God, and *by the grace of the Word*. But men, turning from things eternal to the things of corruption at the devil's counsel, have brought on themselves the corruption of death, who were, as I said, *by nature corrupted*, but *by the grace of the participation of the Word*, had escaped their natural state, had they remained good." Incarn. 5. Man thus considered is, in his first estate, a son of God and born of God, or, to use the term which occurs

might not be considered common and equal in the Son and in things generate, but that all others might be acknowledged as creatures, and the Word alone as from the Father. For though all things be said to be from God, yet this is not in the sense in which the Son is from Him; for as to the creatures, "of God" is said of them on this account, in that they exist not at random or spontaneously, nor come to be by chance¹, according to those philosophers who refer them to the combination of atoms, and to elements of similar structure,—nor as certain heretics speak of a distinct Framer,—nor as others again say that the constitution of all things is from certain Angels;—but in that, whereas God is, it was by Him that all things were brought into being, not being before, through His Word, but as to the Word, since He is not a creature, He alone is both called and is *from the Father*; and it is significant of this sense to say that the Son is "from the substance of the Father," for to no creature does this attach. In truth, when Paul says that *all things are from God*, he immediately adds, *and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom all things*, by way of shewing all men, that the Son is other than all these things which came to be from God, (for the things which came to be from God, came to be through His Son;) and that he had used his foregoing words with reference to the world as framed by God[†], and

¹ vid. de
Syn.
§ 35.

1 Cor. 8,
6.

so frequently in the Arian controversy, in the number, not only of the creatures, but of *things generate*, γενητά. This was the sense in which the Arians said that our Lord was Son of God; whereas, as Athan. says, "things generate, *being works*, cannot be called generate, except so far as, *after* their making, they partake of the begotten Son, and are therefore *said* to have been generated also; not at all in their own *nature*, but because of their participation of the Son in the Spirit." Orat. i. 56 [infra p. 261]. The question then was, as to the *distinction* of the Son's divine generation over that of holy men; and the Catholics answered that He was ἐξ οὐσίας, from the substance of God; not by participation of grace, not by resemblance, not in a limited sense, but really and simply, and therefore by an internal, divine act. vid. below, § 22. and infr. § 31. note k.

[†] When characteristic attributes and

prerogatives are ascribed to God, or to the Father, this is done only to the exclusion of creatures, or of false gods, not to the exclusion of His Son who is implied in the mention of Himself. Thus when God is called only wise, or the Father the only God, or God is said to be ingenerate, ἀγένητος, this is not in contrast to the Son, but to all things which are distinct from God. vid. Athan. Orat. iii. 8. Naz. Orat. 30, 13. Cyril. Thesaur. p. 142. "The words 'one' and 'only' ascribed to God in Scripture," says S. Basil, "are not used in contrast to the Son or the Holy Spirit, but with reference to those who are not God, and falsely called so." Ep. 8. n. 3. On the other hand, when the Father is mentioned, the other Divine Persons are implied in Him, "The Blessed and Holy Trinity," says S. Athan. "is indivisible and one in itself; and when the Father is mentioned, His Word is added, and the

NICEN. DEF. not as if all things were from the Father as the Son is. For neither are other things as the Son, nor is the Word one among others, for He is Lord and Framer of all; and on this account did the Holy Council declare expressly that he was of the substance^s of the Father, that we might believe the Word to be other than the nature of things generate, being alone truly from God; and that no subterfuge should be left open to the irreligious. This then was the reason why the Council wrote "of the substance."

§ 20. 4. Again, when the Bishops said that the Word must be described as the True Power and Image of the Father, like to the Father in all things and unvarying¹, and as unalterable, and as always, and as in Him without division; (for never was the Word not, but He was always, existing everlastingly with the Father, as the radiance of light,) the party of Eusebius endured indeed, as not daring to contradict, being put to shame by the arguments which were urged against them; but withal they were caught whispering to each other and winking with their eyes, that "like," and "always," and "power," and "in Him," were, as before, common to us and the Son, and that it was no difficulty to agree to these. As

¹ ἀπαράλλ-
λακτον

1 Cor. 11, 7. to "like," they said that it is written of us, *Man is the image and glory of God*; "always," that it was written, *For we which live are always*; "in Him," *In Him we live and move and have our being*; "unalterable," that it is written, *Nothing shall separate us from the love of Christ*; as to "power," that the caterpillar and the locust are called *power*, and *great power*, and that it is often said of the people, for instance, *All the power of the Lord came out of the land of Egypt*; and others are heavenly powers, for Scripture says, *The Lord*

2 Cor. 4, 11.
Acts 17, 28.
Rom. 8, 35.
who shall separate
Joel 2, 25.
Ex. 12, 41.
Ps. 46, 8.

Spirit in the Son; and if the Son is named, in the Son is the Father, and the Spirit is not external to the Word." ad Serap. i. 14.

^s Vid. also ad Afros, 4. Again, "I am," τὸ εἶναι, is really proper to God and is a whole, bounded or mutilated neither by aught before Him, nor after Him, for He neither was, nor shall be." Naz. Orat. 30. 18 fin. Also Cyril Dial. i. p. 392. Damasc. Fid. Orth. i. 9. and the Semiarians at Ancyra, Epiph. Hær. 73. 12 init. By the "essence," however, or, "substance" of God, the Council did not mean any

thing distinct from God, vid. note a infr. but God Himself viewed in His self-existing nature (vid. Tert. in Hermog. 3.), nay, it expressly meant to negative the contrary notion of the Arians, that our Lord was from something distinct from God, and in consequence of created substance. Moreover the term expresses the idea of God *positively*, in contradistinction to negative epithets, such as infinite, immense, eternal, &c. Damasc. Fid. Orthod. i. 4. and as little implies any thing distinct from God as those epithets do.

of powers is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge. Indeed Asterius, by title the sophist, had said the like in writing, having taken it from them, and before him Arius¹ having taken it also, as has been said. But the Bishops, discerning in this too their simulation, and whereas it is written, *Deceit is in the heart of the irreligious that imagine evil*, were again compelled on their part to concentrate the sense of the Scriptures, and to re-say and re-write what they had said before, more distinctly still, namely, that the Son is "one in substance^t" with the Father; by way of signifying, that the Son was from the Father, and not merely like, but is the same in likeness^u, and of shewing that the Son's likeness and unalterableness was different from such copy of the same as is ascribed to us, which we acquire from virtue on the ground of observance of the commandments.

5. For bodies which are like each other, may be separated and become at distances from each other, as are human sons relatively to their parents, (as it is written concerning Adam and Seth, who was begotten of him, that he was like him after his own pattern;) but since the generation of the Son

CHAP.
V.

¹ vid.
supr. p.
13. ref. 2.

Prov. 12,
20.

Gen. 5,
3.

^t vid. ad Afros, 5. 6. ad Serap. ii. 5. S. Ambrose tells us, that a Letter written by Eusebius of Nicomedia, in which he said, "If we call him true Son of the Father and uncreate, then are we granting that He is one in substance, *ὁμοούσιον*," determined the Council on the adoption of the term. de Fid. iii. n. 125. He had disclaimed "of the substance," in his Letter to Paulinus. Theod. Hist. i. 4. Arius, however, had disclaimed *ὁμοούσιον* already, Epiph. Hær. 69. 7. It was a word of old usage in the Church, as Eusebius of Cæsarea confesses in his Letter, infr. Tertullian in Prax. 13 fin. has the translation "unius substantiæ," (vid. Lucifer de non Parc. p. 218.) as he has "de substantia Patris," in Prax. 4. and Origen perhaps used the word, vid. Pamph. Apol. 5. and Theognostus and the two Dionysius's, *infra*, § 25. 26. And before them Clement had spoken of the *ἕνωσις τῆς μοναδικῆς οὐσίας*, "the union of the single substance," vid. Le Quien in Damasc. Fid. Orth. i. 8. Novatian too has "per substantie communionem," de Trinit. 31.

^u The Eusebians allowed that our Lord was like and the image of the

Father, but in the sense in which a picture is like the original, differing from it in substance and in fact. In this sense they even allowed the strong word *ἀπαράλλακτος* unvarying image, vid. beginning of § 20. [supra p. 34] which had been used by the Catholics, (vid. Alexander, ap. Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 740.) as by the Semiarians afterwards, who even added the words *κατ' οὐσίαν*, or "according to substance." Even this strong phrase, however, *κατ' οὐσίαν ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν*, or *ἀπαράλλακτως ὁμοιος*, did not appear to the Council an adequate safeguard of the doctrine. Athan. notices de Syn. that "like" applies to qualities rather than to substance, § 53. Also Basil. Ep. 8. n. 3. "while in itself," says the same Father, "it is frequently used of faint similitudes, and falling very far short of the original." Ep. 9. n. 3. Accordingly, the Council determined on the word *ὁμοούσιον* as implying, as the text expresses it, "the same in likeness," *ταὐτὸν τῇ ὁμοιώσει*, that the likeness might not be analogical. vid. the passage about gold and brass, p. 40. below, Cyril in Joan. l. iii. c. v. p. 302. [p. 351 O.T.]

NICEN. DEF. from the Father is not according to the nature of men, and not only like, but also inseparable from the substance of the Father, and He and the Father are one, as He has said Himself, and the Word is ever in the Father and the Father in the Word, as the radiance stands towards the light, (for this the phrase itself indicates,) therefore the Council, as understanding this, suitably wrote "one in substance," that they might both defeat the perverseness of the heretics, and shew that the Word was other than generated things. For, after thus writing, they at once added, "But they who say that the Son of God is from nothing, or created, or alterable, or a work, or from other substance, these the Holy Catholic Church anathematizes¹." And in saying this, they shewed clearly that "of the substance," and "one in substance," do negative² those syllables of irreligion, such as "created," and "work," and generated," and "alterable," and "He was not before His generation." And he who holds these, contradicts the Council; but he who does not hold with Arius, must needs hold and comprehend the decisions of the Council, suitably regarding them to signify the relation of the radiance to the light, and from thence gaining the illustration of the truth.

¹ vid. Euseb.'s Letter, infr. p. 31. not. p.

§ 21. 6. Therefore if they, as the others, make an excuse that the terms are strange, let them consider the sense in which the Council so wrote, and anathematize what the Council anathematized; and then if they can, let them find fault with the expressions. But I well know that, if they hold the sense of the Council, they will fully accept the terms in which it is conveyed; whereas if it be the sense³ which they wish to complain of, all must see that it is idle in them to discuss the wording, when they are but seeking handles for irreligion.

³ vid. p. 17. note m.

7. This then was the reason of these expressions; but if they still complain that such are not scriptural, that very complaint is a reason why they should be cast out, as talking idly and disordered in mind; and next why they should blame themselves in this matter, for they set the example, beginning their war against God with words not in Scripture. However, if a person is interested in the question, let him know, that, even if the expressions are not in so many words in the Scriptures, yet, as was said before, they

contain the sense of the Scriptures, and expressing it, they convey it to those who have their hearing unimpaired for religious doctrine. Now this circumstance it is for thee to consider, and for those ill-instructed men to learn. It has been shewn above, and must be believed as true, that the Word is from the Father, and the only Offspring^x proper to Him and natural. For whence may one conceive the Son to be, who is the Wisdom and the Word, in whom all things came to be, but from God Himself? However, the Scriptures also teach us this, since the Father says by David, *My heart was bursting of a good Word*, and, *From the womb before the morning star I begat Thee*; and the Son signifies to the Jews about Himself, *If God were your Father, ye would love Me; for I proceeded forth from the Father*. And again; *Not that any one has seen the Father, save He which is from God, He hath seen the Father*. And moreover, *I and My Father are one*, and, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, is equivalent with saying, "I am from the Father, and inseparable from Him." And John in saying, *The Only-begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him*, spoke of what he had learned from the Saviour. Besides, what else does *in the bosom* intimate, but the Son's genuine generation from the Father?

Ps. 45, 1.
Ib. 110,
3.
John 8,
42.
Ib. 6, 46.
Ib. 10,
30.
Ib. 14,
10.
Ib. 1, 18.

8. If then any man conceives as if God were compound, so as to have accidents in His substance^y, or any external

^x γέννημα, offspring; this word is of very frequent occurrence in Athan. He speaks of it, Orat. iv. 3. [infra pp. 516, 517] as virtually Scriptural. "If any one declines to say 'offspring,' and only says that the Word exists with God, let such a one fear lest, declining an expression of Scripture (τὸ λεγόμενον) he fall into extravagance, &c." Yet Basil, contr. Eunom. ii. 6—8. explicitly disavows the word, as an unscriptural invention of Eunomius. "That the Father begat we are taught in many places: that the Son is an offspring we never heard up to this day, for Scripture says, 'unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given.'" c. 7. He goes on to say that "it is fearful to give Him names of our own to whom God has given a name which is above every name;" and observes that offspring is not the word which even a human father would apply to his son, as for instance we

read, "Child, (τέκνον,) go into the vineyard," and "Who art thou, my son?" moreover that fruits of the earth are called offspring, ("I will not drink of the offspring of this vine,") rarely animated things, except indeed in such instances as, "O generation (offspring) of vipers." Nyssen defends his brother, contr. Eunom. Orat. iii. p. 105. In the Arian formula "an offspring, but not as one of the offsprings," it is synonymous with "work" or "creature." On the other hand Epiphanius uses it, e.g. Hær. 76. n. 8. and Naz. Orat. 29. n. 2. Eusebius, Demonstr. Ev. iv. 2. Pseudo-Basil. adv. Eunom. iv. p. 280. fin.

^y συμβεβηκός. And so elsewhere, when resisting the Arian and Sabellian notion that the wisdom of God is only a quality in the Divine nature, "In that case God will be compounded of substance and quality; for every quality is in the substance. And at this

§ 22.

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envelopement², and to be encompassed, or as if there is aught about Him which completes the substance, so that when we say "God," or name "Father," we do not signify the invisible and incomprehensible substance, but something about it, then let them complain of the Council's stating that the Son was from the substance of God; but let them reflect, that in thus considering they commit two blasphemies; for they make God material, and they falsely say that the Lord is not

¹ περὶ αὐ-
τὸν

Son of the very Father, but of what is about Him¹. But if God be simple, as He is, it follows that in saying "God" and naming "Father," we name nothing as if about Him, but signify His substance itself. For though to comprehend what the substance of God is be impossible, yet if we only understand that God is, and if Scripture indicates Him by means of these titles, we, with the intention of indicating Him and none else, call Him God and Father and Lord.

Ex. 3, 14.
15.

When then He says, *I am that I am*, and *I am the Lord God*, or when Scripture says, *God*, we understand nothing else by it but the intimation of His incomprehensible substance Itself, and that He Is, who is spoken of^a. Therefore

rate, whereas the Divine Unity (μονὰς) is indivisible, it will be considered compound, being separated into substance and accident." Orat. iv. 2. [infra p. 515.] vid. also Orat. i. 36. This is the common doctrine of the Fathers. Athenagoras, however, speaks of God's goodness as an accident, "as colour to the body," "as flame is ruddy and the sky blue," Legat. 24. This, however, is but a verbal difference, for shortly before he speaks of His being, τὸ ὄντως ὄν, and His unity of nature, τὸ μονοφυνές, as in the number of ἐπισυμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ. Eusebius uses the word συμβεβηκός in the same way, Demonstr. Evang. iv. 3. And hence S. Cyril, in controversy with the Arians, is led by the course of their objections to observe, "There are cogent reasons for considering these things as accidents συμβεβηκότα in God, though they be not." Thesaur. p. 263. vid. the following note.

² περιβολή, and so de Synod. § 34. which is very much the same passage. Some Fathers however, seem to say the reverse. E.g. Nazianzen says that "neither the immateriality of God nor ingenerateness, present to us His substance." Orat. 28. 9. And S. Augustine,

arguing on the word ingenuitus, says, that "not every thing which is said to be in God is said according to substance." de Trin. v. 6. And hence, while Athan. in the text denies that there are qualities or the like belonging to Him, περὶ αὐτὸν, it is still common in the Fathers to speak of qualities, as in the passage of S. Gregory just cited, in which the words περὶ θεὸν occur. There is no difficulty in reconciling these statements, though it would require more words than could be given to it here. Petavius has treated the subject fully in his work de Deo i. 7—11. and especially ii. 3. When the Fathers say that there is no difference between the divine 'proprietary' and essence, they speak of the fact, considering the Almighty as He is; when they affirm a difference, they speak of Him as contemplated by us, who are unable to grasp the idea of Him as one and simple, but view His Divine Nature as if in projection, (if such a word may be used,) and thus divided into substance and quality as man may be divided into genus and difference.

^a In like manner de Synod. § 34. Also Basil, "The substance is not any one of things which do not attach, but

let no one be startled on hearing that the Son of God is from the substance of the Father; rather let him accept the explanation of the Fathers, who in more explicit but equivalent language have for *from God* written "of the substance." For they considered it the same thing to say that the Word was *of God* and "of the substance of God," since the word "God," as I have already said, signifies nothing but the substance of Him Who Is. If then the Word is not in such sense from God, as to be Son, genuine and natural, from the Father, but only as creatures because they are framed, and as *all things are from God*, then neither is He from the substance of the Father, nor is the Son again Son according to substance, but in consequence of virtue, as we who are called sons by grace. But if He only is from God, as a genuine Son, as He is, then let the Son, as is reasonable, be called from the substance of God.

9. Again, the illustration of the Light and the Radiance § 23.

has this meaning. For the Saints have not said that the Word was related to God as fire kindled from the heat of the sun, which is commonly put out again, for this is an external work and a creature of its author, but they all preach of Him as Radiance^b, thereby to signify His being from the substance, proper and¹ indivisible, and His oneness with the Father. This also will secure His true² unalterableness and immutability; for how can these be His, unless He be

¹ ἀδιαίρε-
τον
² τὸ ἄ-
τρεπτον
καὶ ἀναλ-
οίωτον

is the very being of God." contr. Eun. i. 10 fin. "The nature of God is no other than Himself, for He is simple and uncompounded." Cyril Thesaur. p. 59. "When we say the power of the Father, we say nothing else than the substance of the Father." August. de Trin. vii. 6. And so Numenius in Eusebius, "Let no one deride, if I say that the name of the Immaterial is substance and being." Præp. Evang. xi. 10.

^b Athan.'s ordinary illustration is, as here, not from "fire," but from "radiance," ἀπαύγασμα, after S. Paul and the Author of the Book of Wisdom, meaning by radiance the light which a light diffuses by means of the atmosphere. On the other hand Arius in his letter to Alexander, Epiph. Hær. 69. 7. speaks against the doctrine of Hieracas that the Son was from the Father as a light from a light or as

a lamp divided into two, which after all was Arian doctrine. Athanasius refers to fire, Orat. iv. § 2 and 10. but still to fire and its radiance. However we find the illustration of fire from fire, Justin. Tryph. 61. [p. 149 O.T.] Tatian contr. Græc. 5. At this early day the illustration of radiance might have a Sabellian bearing, as that of fire in Athan.'s had an Arian. Hence Justin protests against those who considered the Son as "like the sun's light in the heaven," which "when it sets, goes away with it," whereas it is as "fire kindled from fire." Tryph. 128. [p. 229, 230 O.T.] Athenagoras, however, like Athanasius, says "as light from fire," using also the word ἀπόβροια, effluence: vid. also Orig. Periarch. i. 2. n. 4. Tertull. Ap. 21. [p. 47. O.T.] Theognostus infr. § 25.

NICEN. proper Offspring of the Father's substance? for this too must
 DEF. be taken to confirm His ¹identity with His own Father.

¹ παντό-
τητα

10. Our explanation then having so religious an aspect, Christ's enemies should not be startled at the "One in substance" either, since this term also admits of being soundly expounded and defended. Indeed, if we say that the Word is from the substance of God, (for after what has been said this must be a phrase admitted by them,) what does this mean but the truth and eternity of the substance from which He is begotten? for it is not different in kind, lest it be combined with the substance of God, as something foreign and unlike it. Nor is He like only outwardly, lest He seem in some respect or wholly to be other in substance, as brass shines like gold and silver like tin. For these are foreign and of other nature, and are separated off from each other in nature and qualities, nor is brass proper to gold, nor is the pigeon born from the dove²; but though they are considered like, yet they differ in substance. If then it be thus with the Son, let Him be a creature as we are, and not One in substance; but if the Son is Word, Wisdom, Image of the Father, Radiance, He must in all reason be One in substance. For unless³ it be proved that He is not from God, but an instrument⁴ different in nature and different in substance, surely the Council was sound in its doctrine and apposite in its decree^c.

² vid. de
Syn. §
41. Hyp.
Mel. et
Euseb.

³ εἰ ἰ. ε.
εἰ μὴ
⁴ ὄργανον

§ 24.

11. Further, let every corporeal thought be banished on this subject; and transcending every imagination of sense, let us, with the pure understanding and with mind alone, apprehend the Son's genuine⁵ relation towards the Father, and the Word's proper⁶ relation towards God, and the unvarying⁷ likeness of the radiance towards the light: for as the words "Offspring" and "Son" bear, and are meant to bear, no human sense, but one suitable to God, in like manner when we hear the phrase "one in substance," let us not fall upon human senses, and imagine partitions and divisions of the Godhead, but as having our thoughts directed to things

⁵ γνήσιον
⁶ ἰδιότη-
τα
⁷ ἀπα-
ράλλακ-
τον

^c As "of the substance" declared that our Lord was *uncreate*, so "one in substance" declared that He was *equal* with the Father; no term derived from "likeness," even "like in

substance" answering for this purpose, for such phrases might all be understood of *resemblance* or *representation*. vid. note t.

immaterial, let us preserve undivided the oneness of nature and the identity of light ; for this is proper to the Son as regards the Father, and in this is shewn that God is truly Father of the Word. Here again, the illustration of light and its radiance is in point^d. Who will presume to say that the radiance is unlike and foreign from the sun ? rather who, thus considering the radiance relatively to the sun, and the identity of the light, would not say with confidence, " Truly the light and the radiance are one, and the one is manifested in the other, and the radiance is in the sun, so that whoso sees this, sees that also ?" but such a oneness and natural possession¹, what should it be named by those who believe and see aright, but Offspring one in substance ? and God's Offspring what should we fittingly and suitably consider, but the Word, and Wisdom, and Power ? which it were a sin to say was foreign from the Father, or a crime even to imagine as other than with Him everlastingly.

12. For by this Offspring the Father made all things, and extended His Providence unto all things, by Him He exercises His love to man, and thus He and the Father are one, as has been said ; unless indeed these perverse men make a fresh attempt, and say that the substance of the Word is not the same as the Light which is in Him from the Father, as if the Light in the Son were one with the Father, but He Himself foreign in substance as being a creature. Yet this is simply the belief of Caiaphas and Samosatene, which the Church cast out, but they now are disguising ; and by this they fell from the truth, and were declared to be heretics. For if He partakes in fulness the light from the Father, why is He not rather that which others partake², that there be no medium introduced between Himself and the Father ? Otherwise, it is no longer clear that all things were generated by the Son, but by Him, of whom He too partakes^e. And if

¹ ἰδιότη-
τα

² vid. p.
15. note
e.

^d Athan. has just used the illustration of radiance in reference to " of the substance : " and now he says that it equally illustrates " one in substance ; " the light diffused from the sun being at once contemporaneous and homogeneous with its original.

^e The point in which perhaps all the ancient heresies concerning our Lord's divine nature agreed, was in consi-

dering His different titles to be those of different beings or subjects, or not really and properly to belong to one and the same person ; so that the Word was not the Son, or the Radiance not the Word, or our Lord was the Son, but only improperly the Word, not the true Word, Wisdom, or Radiance. Paul of Samosata, Sabellius, and Arius, agreed in considering that the Son

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this is the Word, the Wisdom of the Father, in whom the Father is revealed and known, and frames the world, and without whom the Father doth nothing, evidently He it is who is from the Father: for all things generated partake of Him, as partaking of the Holy Ghost. And being such, He cannot be from nothing, nor a creature at all, but rather the proper Offspring from the Father as the radiance from light.

was a creature, and that He was called, made after, or inhabited by the impersonal attribute called the Word or Wisdom. When the Word or Wisdom was held to be personal, it became the doctrine of Nestorius.

CHAP. VI.

AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

Theognostus ; Dionysius of Alexandria ; Dionysius of Rome ; Origen.

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VI.

§ 25.

1. THIS then is the sense in which the Fathers at Nicæa made use of these expressions ; but next that they did not invent them for themselves, (since this is one of their excuses,) but spoke what they had received from their predecessors, proceed we to prove this also, to cut off even this excuse from them. Know then, O Arians, foes of Christ, that Theognostus^a, a learned man, did not decline the phrase “of the substance,” for in the second book of his Hypotyposes, he writes thus of the Son :—

“The substance of the Son is not any thing procured from without, nor accruing out of nothing^b, but it sprang from the Father’s substance, as the radiance of light, as the vapour^c of water ; for neither the radiance, nor the vapour, is the water itself or the sun itself, nor is it alien ; but it is an effluence of the Father’s substance, which, however, suffers no partition. For as the sun remains the same, and is not impaired by the rays poured forth by it, so neither does the Father’s substance suffer change, though it has the Son as an Image of Itself^d.”

^a Athanasius elsewhere calls him “the admirable and excellent.” ad Serap. iv. 9. He was Master of the Catechetical school of Alexandria towards the end of the 3d century, being a scholar, or at least a follower of Origen. His seven books of Hypotyposes treated of the Holy Trinity, of angels, and evil spirits, of the Incarnation, and the Creation. Photius, who gives this account, Cod. 106, accuses him of heterodoxy on these points ; which Athanasius in a measure admits, as far as the wording of his treatise went, when he speaks of his

“investigating by way of exercise.” Eusebius does not mention him at all.

^b Vid. above § 15. fin. “God was alone,” says Tertullian, “because there was nothing external to Him, *extrinsecus* ; yet not even then alone, for He had with Him, what He had in Himself, His Reason.” in Prax. 5. Non per adoptionem spiritus filius fit *extrinsecus*, sed naturâ filius est. Origen. Periarch. i. 2. n. 4.

^c From Wisdom vii. 25. and so Origen, Periarch. i. 2. n. 5. and 9. and Athan. de Sent. Dionys. 15.

^d It is sometimes erroneously sup-

NICEN. DEF. Theognostus then, after first investigating in the way of an exercise^e, proceeds to lay down his sentiments in the foregoing words.

2. Next, Dionysius, who was Bishop of Alexandria, upon his writing against Sabellius and expounding at large the Saviour's economy according to the flesh, and thence proving against the Sabellians that not the Father but His Word was made flesh, as John has said, was suspected of saying that the Son was a thing made and generated, and not one in substance with the Father; on this he writes to his namesake Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, to explain that this was a slander upon him. And he assured him that he had not called the Son made, nay, did confess Him to be even one in substance. And his words run thus:—

“And I have written in another letter a refutation of the false charge they bring against me, that I deny that Christ was one in substance with God. For though I say that I have not found this term any where in Holy Scripture, yet my remarks which follow, and which they have not noticed, are not inconsistent with that belief. For I instanced a human production as being evidently homogeneous, and I observed that undeniably parents differed from their children only in not being the same individuals, otherwise

posed that such illustrations as this are intended to *explain* how the Sacred Mystery in question is possible, whereas they are merely intended to shew that the words we use concerning it are not *self-contradictory*, which is the objection most commonly brought against them. To say that the doctrine of the Son's generation does not intrench upon the Father's perfection and immutability, or negative the Son's eternity, seems at first sight inconsistent with what the words Father and Son mean, till another image is adduced, such as the sun and radiance, in which that alleged inconsistency is seen to exist in fact. Here one image corrects another; and the accumulation of images is not, as is often thought, the restless and fruitless effort of the mind to *enter into the Mystery*, but is a *safeguard* against

any one image, nay, any collection of images being supposed *sufficient*. If it be said that the language used concerning the sun and its radiance is but popular not philosophical, so again the Catholic language concerning the Holy Trinity may, nay, must be economical, not adequate, conveying the truth, not in the tongues of angels, but under human modes of thought and speech.

^e ἐν γυμνασίᾳ ἐξέτασας. And so § 27. of Origen, ζῆτῶν καὶ γυμνάζων. Constantine too, writing to Alexander and Arius, speaks of altercation, φυσικῆς τινος γυμνασίας ἕνεκα. Socr. i. 7. In somewhat a similar way, Athanasius speaks of Dionysius writing κατ' οἰκονομίαν, economically, or with reference to certain persons addressed or objects contemplated, de Sent. D. 6. and 26.

there could be neither parents nor children. And my letter, as I said before, owing to present circumstances I am unable to produce; or I would have sent you the very words I used, or rather a copy of it all, which, if I have an opportunity, I will do still. But I am sure from recollection that I adduced parallels of things kindred with each other; for instance, that a plant grown from seed or from root, was other than that from which it sprang, yet was altogether one in nature with it^g: and that a stream flowing from a fountain, gained a new name, for that neither the fountain was called stream, nor the stream fountain, and both existed, and the stream was the water from the fountain."

3. And that the Word of God is not a work or creature, § 26. but an offspring proper to the Father's substance and indivisible, as the great Council wrote, here you may see in the words of Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, who, while writing against the Sabellians, thus inveighs against those who dared to say so:—

"Next, I reasonably turn to those who divide and cut into pieces and destroy that most sacred doctrine of the Church of God, the Divine Monarchy^h, making it certain three powers and partitiveⁱ

ⁱ μεμε-
ρισμένας

^g The Eusebians at Nicæa objected to this image, Soer. i. 8. as implying that the Son was a *προβολή*, issue or development, as Valentinus taught. Epiph. Hær. 69. 7. Athanasius elsewhere uses it himself.

^h By the Monarchy is meant the doctrine that the Second and Third Persons in the Ever-blessed Trinity are ever to be referred in our thoughts to the First as the Fountain of Godhead, vid. p. 25. note e. and p. 33. note r. It is one of the especial senses in which God is said to be one. "We are not introducing three origins or three Fathers, as the Marcionites and Manichees, just as our illustration is not of three suns, but of sun and its radiance." Orat. iii. § 15 [infra p. 421 fin.], vid. also iv. § 1. "The Father is *union*, *ἔνωσις*," says S. Greg. Naz. "from whom and unto whom are the others." Orat. 42. 15. also Orat. 20. 7. and Epiph. Hær. 57. 5. Tertullian, before Dionysius, uses the word Mo-

narchia, which Praxeas had perverted into a kind of Unitarianism or Sabellianism, in Prax. 3. Irenæus too wrote on the Monarchy, i. e. against the doctrine that God is the author of evil. Eus. Hist. v. 20. [see S. Iren. fragments, p. 540 O.T.] And before him was Justin's work de Monarchiâ, where the word is used in opposition to Polytheism. The Marcionites, whom Dionysius presently mentions, are also specified in the above extract by Athan. vid. also Cyril. Hier. Cat. xvi. 3. [p. 206 O.T.] Epiphanius says that their three origins were God, the Creator, and the evil spirit. Hær. 42, 3. or as Augustine says, the good, the just, and the wicked, which may be taken to mean nearly the same thing. Hær. 22. The Apostolical Canons denounce those who baptize into Three Unoriginate; vid. also Athan. Tom. ad Antioch. 5. Naz. Orat. 20. 6. Basil denies *τρεῖς ἀρχικαὶ ὑποστάσεις*, de Sp. S. 38. which is a Platonic phrase.

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subsistencesⁱ and godheads three. I am told that some among you who are catechists and teachers of the Divine Word, take the lead in this tenet, who are diametrically opposed, so to speak, to Sabellius's opinions; for he blasphemously says that the Son is the Father, and the Father the Son, but they in some sort preach three Gods, as dividing the Holy Unity into three subsistences foreign to each other and utterly separate. For it must needs be that with the God of the Universe, the Divine Word is one, and the Holy Ghost must repose¹ and habitate in God; thus in one as in a summit, I mean the God of the Universe, must the Divine Trinity^k be gathered up and brought together. For it is the doctrine of the presumptuous Marcion, to sever and divide the Divine Monarchy into three origins,—a devil's teaching not that of Christ's true disciples and lovers of the Saviour's lessons. For they know well that a Trinity is preached by divine Scripture, but that neither Old Testament nor New preaches three Gods.

¹ ἐμφιλο-
χωρεῖν

4. Equally must one censure those who hold the Son to be a work, and consider that the Lord has come into being, as one of things which really came to be; whereas the divine oracles witness to a generation suitable to Him and becoming, but not to any fashioning or making. A blasphemy then is it, not ordinary, but even the highest, to say that the Lord is in any sort a handiwork.

ⁱ And so Dionysius Alex. in a fragment preserved by S. Basil, "If because the subsistences are three, they say that they are partitive, μεμερισμένας, still three there are, though these persons dissent, or they utterly destroy the Divine Trinity." de Sp. S. n. 72. Athan. expresses the same more distinctly, οὐ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις μεμερισμένας, Expos. Fid. § 2. In S. Greg. Naz. we find ἀμέριστος ἐν μεμερισμένοις ἢ θεότης. Orat. 31. 14. Elsewhere for μεμ. he substitutes ἀπεβήγγενας. Orat. 20. 6. ἀπεξενωμένας ἀλλήλων καὶ διεσπασμένας. Orat. 23. 6. as infra ξένας ἀλλήλων παντάσῃ κεχωρισμένας. The passage in the text comes into question in the controversy about the ἐξ ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας of the Nicene Creed, of which infra on the Creed itself in Eusebius's Letter.

^k The word τριάς translated Trinity is first used by Theophilus, ad Autol. ii. 15. Gibbon remarks that the doctrine of "a numerical rather than a general unity," which has been explicitly put forth by the Latin Church, is "favoured by the Latin language; τριάς seems to excite the idea of substance, trinitas of qualities." ch. 21. note 74. It is certain that the Latin view of the sacred truth, when perverted, becomes Sabellianism; and

that the Greek, when perverted, becomes Arianism; and we find Arius arising in the East, Sabellius in the West. It is also certain that the word Trinitas is properly abstract; and expresses τριάς or "a three," only in an ecclesiastical sense. But Gibbon does not seem to observe that Unitas is abstract as well as Trinitas; and that we might just as well say in consequence, that the Latins held an abstract unity or a unity of qualities, while the Greeks by μονάς taught the doctrine of "a one" or a numerical unity. "Singularitatem hanc dico, (says S. Ambrose,) quod Græcè μονότης dicitur; singularitas ad personam pertinet, unitas ad naturam." de Fid. v. 1. It is important, however, to understand, that "Trinity" does not mean the *state* or *condition* of being three, as humanity is the condition of being man, but is synonymous with "three persons." Humanity does not exist and cannot be addressed, but the Holy Trinity is a three, or a unity which exists in three. Apparently from not considering this, Luther and Calvin objected to the word Trinity, "It is a common prayer," says Calvin, "Holy Trinity, one God, have mercy on us. It displeases me, and savours throughout of barbarism." Ep. ad Polon. p. 796.

For if He came to be Son, once He was not; but He was always, if (that is) He be in the Father, as He says Himself, and if the Christ be Word and Wisdom and Power, (which, as ye know, divine Scripture says,) and these attributes be powers of God. If then the Son came into being, once these attributes were not; consequently there was a time, when God was without them; which is most extravagant. And why say more on these points to you, men full of the Spirit and well aware of the extravagances which come to view from saying that the Son is a work? Not attending, as I consider, to this circumstance, the authors of this opinion have entirely missed the truth, in explaining, contrary to the sense of divine and prophetic Scripture in the passage, the words, *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways unto His works.* For the sense of *He created*, as ye know, is not one, for we must understand *He created* in this place, as 'He set over the works made by Him,' that is, 'made by the Son Himself.' And *He created* here must not be taken for *made*, for creating differs from making; *Is not He Thy Father that hath bought thee? hath He not made thee and created thee?* says Moses in his great song in Deuteronomy. And one may say to them, O men of great hazard, is He a work, who is *the First-born of every creature, who is born from the womb before the morning star, who said, as Wisdom, Before all the hills He begets Me?* And in many passages of the divine oracles is the Son said to have been¹ generated, but no where to have² come into being; which manifestly convicts those of misconception about the Lord's generation, who presume to call His divine and ineffable generation a making². Neither then may we divide into three Godheads the wonderful and divine Unity; nor disparage with the name of 'work' the dignity and exceeding majesty of the Lord; but we must believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Christ Jesus His Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and hold that to the God of the universe the Word is united. For *I, says He, and the Father are one; and, I in the Father and the*

CHAP.
VI.

PROV. 8,
22.

DEUT. 32,
6.

COL. 1,
15.

PS. 110,
3.

PROV. 8,
25.

¹ γεγεν-
νησθαι
² γεγονέ-
ναι

¹ This extract discloses to us, (in connexion with the passages from Dionysius Alex. here and in the de Sent. D.) a remarkable anticipation of the Arian controversy in the third century. 1. It appears that the very symbol of ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, "once He was not," was asserted or implied; vid. also the following extract from Origen, § 27. and Origen Periarchon, iv. 28. where mention is also made of the ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, "out of nothing," which was the Arian symbol in opposition to "of the substance." Allusions are made besides, to "the Father not being always Father," de Sent. D. 15. and "the Word being brought to be by the true Word, and Wisdom by the true Wisdom;" ibid. 25. 2. The same special text is used in defence of the heresy, and

that not at first sight an obvious one, which is found among the Arians, Prov. viii. 22. 3. The same texts were used by the Catholics, which occur in the Arian controversy. e. g. Deut. xxxii. 6. against Prov. viii. 22. and such as Ps. ex. 3. Prov. viii. 25. and the two John x. 30. and xiv. 10. 4. The same Catholic symbols and statements are found, e. g. "begotten not made," "one in substance," "Trinity," ἀδιάκριτον, ἕναρχον, ἀειγενές, light from light, &c. Much might be said on this circumstance, as forming part of the proof of the very early date of the development and formation of the Catholic theology, which we are at first sight apt to ascribe to the 4th and 5th centuries.

NICEN. *Father in Me.* For thus both the Divine Trinity, and the holy DEF. preaching of the Monarchy, will be preserved.”

§ 27. 5. And concerning the everlasting co-existence of the Word with the Father, and that He is not of another substance or subsistence, but proper to the Father's, as the Bishops in the Council said, hear again from the labour-loving^m Origen also. For what he has written as if inquiring and exercising himself, that let no one take as expressive of his own sentiments, but of parties who are disputing in the investigation, but what heⁿ definitely declares, that is the sentiment of the labour-loving man. After his exercises¹ then against the heretics, straightway he introduces his personal belief, thus :—

¹ vid. p. 44. note e.

“ If there be an Image of the Invisible God, it is an invisible Image ; nay, I will be bold to add, that, as being the likeness of the Father, never was it not. For else was that God, who, according to John, is called Light, (for *God is Light*,) without the radiance of His proper glory, that a man should presume to assert the Son's origin of existence, as if before He was not. But when was not that Image of the Father's Ineffable and Nameless and Unutterable subsistence, that Expression and Word, and He that knows the Father ? for let him understand well who dares to say, ‘ Once the Son was not, ’ that he is saying, ‘ Once Wisdom was not, ’ and ‘ Word was not, ’ and ‘ Life was not. ’ ”

6. And again elsewhere he says :—

“ But it is not innocent nor without peril, if because of our weakness of understanding we deprive God, as far as in us lies, of the Only-begotten Word ever co-existing with Him ; and the Wisdom in which He rejoiced ; else He must be conceived as not always possessed of joy. ”

See, we are proving that this view has been transmitted from father to father ; but ye, O modern Jews and disciples of Caiaphas, how many fathers can ye assign to

^m φιλοπόνου, and so Serap. iv. 9.
ⁿ ἃ μὲν ὡς ζητῶν καὶ γυμνάζων ἔγραψε, ταῦτα μὴ ὡς αὐτοῦ φρονούντος δεχέσθω τις, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρὸς ἔριν φιλονοικούντων ἐν τῷ ζητεῖν, ἀδεῶς δρίζων ἀποφαίνεται, τοῦτο τοῦ φιλοπόνου τὸ

φρόνημά ἐστι. “ ἀλλὰ. Certe legendum ἄλλ' ἃ, idque omnino exigit sensus.” Montfaucon. Rather for ἀδεῶς read ἃ δὲ ὡς, and put the stop at ζητεῖν instead of δεχέσθω τις.

your phrases? Not one of the understanding and wise; for all abhor you, but the devil alone¹; none but he is your father in this apostasy, who both in the beginning scattered on you the seed of this irreligion, and now persuades you to slander the Ecumenical Council^o, for committing to writing, not your doctrines, but that which from the beginning those who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word have handed down to us^p. For the faith which the Council has

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supr. p.
9. note s.

^o vid. supr. § 4. Orat. i. § 7. Ad Afros 2, twice. Apol. contr. Arian. 7. ad Ep. Æg. 5. Epiph. Hær. 70. 9. Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 6. The Council was more commonly called *μεγάλη* vid. supr. § 26. The second General Council, A.D. 381, took the name of ecumenical. vid. Can. 6. fin. but incidentally. The Council of Ephesus so styles itself in the opening of its Synodical Letter.

^p The profession under which the decrees of Councils come to us is that of setting forth in writing what has ever been held orally or implicitly in the Church. Hence the frequent use of such phrases as *ἐγγραφῶς ἐξετέθη* with reference to them. Thus Damasus, Theod. Hist. v. 10. speaks of that "apostolical faith, which was *set forth in writing* by the Fathers in Nicæa." On the other hand, Ephrem of Antioch, speaks of the doctrine of our Lord's perfect humanity being "inculcated by our Holy Fathers, but not as yet [i. e. till the Council of Chalcedon] being *confirmed* by the decree of an ecumenical Council." Phot. 229. p. 801. (*ἐγγραφῶς*, however, sometimes relates to the act of subscribing. Phot. *ibid.* or to Scripture, Clement. Strom. i. init. p. 321.) Hence Athan. says ad Afros, 1. and 2. that "the Word of the Lord which was given through the ecumenical Council in Nicæa *remaineth for ever*;" and uses against its opposers the texts, "Remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set" (vid. also Dionysius in Eus. Hist. vii. 7.), and "He that curseth his father or his mother, shall surely be put to death." Prov. xxii. 28. Ex. xxi. 17. vid. also Athan. ad Epict. 1. And the Council of Chalcedon professes to "drive away the doctrines of error by a common decree, and *renew* the unswerving faith of the Fathers," Act. v. p. 452. [t. iv. 1453 ed. Col.] "as," they proceed, "from of old the prophets

spoke of Christ, and He Himself instructed us, and the creed of the Fathers has delivered to us," whereas "other faith it is not lawful for any to bring forth, or to write, or to draw up, or to hold, or to teach." p. 456. [1460 ed. Col.] vid. S. Leo. supr. p. 5. note m. This, however, did not interfere with their *adding* without *undoing*. "For" says Vigilius, "if it were unlawful to receive aught further after the Nicene statutes, on what authority venture we to assert that the Holy Ghost is of one substance with the Father, which it is notorious was there omitted?" contr. Eutyech. v. init.; he gives other instances, some in point, others not. vid. also Eulogius, apud Phot. Cod. 23. pp. 829. 853. Yet to add to the *confession* of the Church is not to add to the *faith*, since nothing can be added to the faith. Leo, Ep. 124. p. 1237. Nay, Athan. says that the Nicene faith is sufficient to refute every heresy, ad Max. 5. fin. also Leo. Ep. 54. p. 956. and Naz. Ep. 102. init. *excepting, however*, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit; which explains his meaning. The Henoticon of Zeno says the same, but with the intention of dealing a blow at the Council of Chalcedon. Evagr. iii. 14. p. 345. Aetius at Chalcedon says that at Ephesus and Chalcedon the Fathers did not profess to draw up an exposition of faith, and that Cyril and Leo did but *interpret the Creed*. Conc. t. 2. p. 428. [t. iv. 1430, 1431 ed. Col.] [see this whole subject very amply treated in Dr. Pusey's *On the Clause, And the Son*, pp. 76 sqq.] Leo even says that the Apostles' Creed is sufficient against all heresies, and that Eutyches erred on a point "of which our Lord wished no one of either sex in the Church to be ignorant," and he wishes Eutyches to take the plenitude of the Creed "*puro et simplici corde*." Ep. 31. p. 857, 8.

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DEF. confessed in writing, that is the faith of the Catholic Church ;
to assert this, the blessed Fathers so expressed themselves
while condemning the Arian heresy ; and this is a chief
reason why these apply themselves to calumniate the Council.
For it is not the terms which trouble them¹, but that
those terms prove them to be heretics, and presumptuous
beyond other heresies.

¹ *supr.* §
21. *init.*

CHAP. VII.

ON THE ARIAN SYMBOL “INGENERATE.”

This term afterwards adopted by them; and why; three senses of it. A fourth sense. Ingenerate denotes God in contrast to His creatures, not to His Son; Father the scriptural title instead; Conclusion.

1. THIS in fact was the reason, when the unsound nature of their phrases had been exposed at that time, and they were henceforth open to the charge of irreligion, that they proceeded to borrow of the Greeks the term Ingenerate^a, that, under shelter of it, they might reckon among the things generate and the creatures, that Word of God, by whom these very things came to be; so unblushing are they in their irreligion, so obstinate in their blasphemies against the Lord. If then this want of shame arises from ignorance of the term, they ought to learn of those who gave it them, and who have not scrupled to say that even intellect, which they derive from Good, and the soul which proceeds from intellect, though their respective origins be known, are notwithstanding ingenerate, for they understand that by so saying they do not disparage that first Origin of which the others come^b. This being the case, let them

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§ 28.

^a ἀγένητον. Opportunity will occur for noticing this celebrated word on Orat. i. 30—34. where the present passage is partly re-written, partly transcribed. Mention is also made of it in the De Syn. 46, 47. Athanasius would seem to have been but partially acquainted with the writings of the Anomœans, whose symbol it was, and to have argued with them from the writings of the elder Arians, who had also made use of it.

^b Montfaucon quotes a passage from Plato's Phædrus, in which the human soul is called “ingenerate and immor-

tal;” but Athan. is referring to another subject, the Platonic, or rather the Eclectic Trinity. Thus Theodoret, “Plotinus, and Numenius, explaining the sense of Plato, say, that he taught Three principles beyond time and eternal, Good, Intellect, and the Soul of all,” de Affect. Cur. ii. p. 750. And so Plotinus himself, “It is as if one were to place Good as the centre, Intellect like an immoveable circle round, and Soul a moveable circle, and moveable by appetite.” 4 Ennead. iv. c. 16. vid. Porphyry in Cyril. contr. Julian. viii. t. ult. p. 271. vid. ibid. i. p. 32.

NICEN. DEF. say the like themselves, or else not speak at all, of what they do not know. But if they consider they are acquainted with the subject, then they must be interrogated; for^c the expression is not from divine Scripture¹, but they are contentious, as elsewhere, for unscriptural positions. Just as I have related the reason and sense, with which the Council and the Fathers before it defined and published “of the substance,” and “one in substance,” agreeably to what Scripture says of the Saviour; so now let them if they can, answer on their part what has led them to this unscriptural phrase, and in what sense they call God Ingenerate?

¹ *supr. p.*
31. note
p.

2. In truth, I am told^d, that the name has different senses; philosophers say that it means, first, “what has not yet, but may, come to be;” next, “what neither exists, nor can come into being;” and thirdly, “what exists indeed, but was neither generated nor had origin of being, but is everlasting and indestructible^e.” Now perhaps they will wish to pass over the

Plot. 3 Ennead. v. 2 and 3. Athan.’s testimony that the Platonists considered their three *ὑποστάσεις* all ingenerate is perhaps a singular one. In 5 Ennead. iv. 1. Plotinus says what seems contrary to it, *ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ ἀγέννητος*, speaking of His *τὰγαθόν*. Yet Plato, quoted by Theodoret, *ibid. p. 749*, speaks of *εἶτε ἀρχὴν εἶτε ἀρχάς*.

^c *ἐπεὶ μάλιστα, ὅτι μάλιστα*, Orat. i. § 36. de Syn. § 21. *fin. ὅταν μάλιστα*, Apol. ad. Const. 23. *καὶ μάλιστα*, de Syn. § 42. 54.

^d And so de Syn. § 46. “we have on *careful inquiry* ascertained, &c.” Again, “I have acquainted myself on their account [the Arians’] with the meaning of *ἀγέννητον*.” Orat. i. § 30 [infra p. 225]. This is remarkable, for Athan. was a man of liberal education, as his Orat. *contr. Gent.* and de Incarn. shew, especially his acquaintance with the Platonic philosophy. Sulpicius too speaks of him as a juriconsultus, *Sacr. Hist. ii. 50*. S. Gregory Naz. says, that he gave some attention, but not much, to the subjects of general education, *τῶν ἐγκυκλίων*, that he might not be altogether ignorant, of what he nevertheless despised, Orat. 21. 6. In the same way S. Basil, whose cultivation of mind none can doubt, speaks slightly of his own philosophical knowledge. He writes of his “neglecting

his own weakness, and being utterly unexercised in such disquisitions;” *contr. Eunom. init.* And so in de Sp. § 5. he says, that “they who have given time” to vain philosophy, “divide causes into principal, cooperative,” &c. Elsewhere he speaks of having “expended much time on vanity, and wasted nearly all his youth in the vain labour of pursuing the studies of that wisdom which God has made foolishness,” Ep. 223. 2. In truth, Christianity has a philosophy of its own. Thus in the commencement of his *Via Dux* Anastasius says, “It is a first point to be understood, that the tradition of the Catholic Church does not proceed upon, or follow, the philosophical definitions in all respects, and especially as regards the mystery of Christ, and the doctrine of the Trinity, but a certain rule of its own, evangelical and apostolical.” p. 20.

^e Four senses of *ἀγέννητον* are enumerated, Orat. i. § 30 [infra pp. 225, 226]. 1. What is not as yet, but is possible; 2. what neither has been nor can be; 3. what exists, but has not come to be from any cause; 4. what is not made, but is ever. Only two senses are specified in the de Syn. § 46. and in these the question really lies; 1. what is, but without a cause; 2. uncreate.

first two senses, from the absurdity which follows ; for according to the first, things that already have come to be, and things that are expected to be, are ingenerate ; and the second is more extravagant still ; accordingly they will proceed to the third sense, and use the word in it ; though here, in this sense too, their irreligion will be quite as great. For if by *Ingenerate* they mean what has no origin of being, nor is generated or created, but eternal, and say that the Word of God is contrary to this, who comprehends not the craft of these foes of God ? who but would stone^f such madmen ? for, when they are ashamed to bring forward again those first phrases which they fabled, and which were condemned, the bad men have taken another way to signify them, by means of what they call *Ingenerate*. For if the Son be of things generate, it follows, that He too came to be from nothing ; and if He has an origin of being, then He was not before His generation ; and if He is not eternal, there was once when He was not^g. If these are their sentiments they ought to signify § 29. their heterodoxy in their own phrases, and not to hide their perverseness under the cloke of the *Ingenerate*. But instead of this, the evil-minded men are busy with their craftiness after their father, the devil ; for as he attempts to deceive in the guise of others, so these have broached the term *Ingenerate*, that they might pretend to speak piously

^f Βαλλέσθωσαν παρὰ πάντων, Orat. ii. § 28 [infra p. 319]. An apparent allusion to the punishment of blasphemy and idolatry under the Jewish Law. vid. reference to Ex. xxi. 17, in page 49, n. p. Thus, e. g. Nazianzen: "While I go up the mount with good heart, that I may become within the cloud, and may hold converse with God, for so God bids ; if there be any Aaron, let him go up with me and stand near. And if there be any Nadab or Abiud, or of the elders, let him go up, but stand far off, according to the measure of his purification. . . . But if any one is an evil and savage beast, and quite incapable of science and theology ; let him stand off still further, and depart from the mount ; or he will be stoned and crushed ; for the wicked shall be miserably destroyed. For as stones for the bestial are true words and strong. Whether

he be leopard, let him die spots and all," &c. &c. Orat. 28. 2.

^g The Arians argued that the word *Ingenerate* implied *generate* or *creature* as its correlative, and therefore indirectly signified *Creator* ; so that the Son being not *ingenerate*, was not the *Creator*. Athan. answers, that in the use of the word, whether there be a Son does not come into the question. As the idea of Father and Son does not include creation, so that of creator and creature does not include generation ; and it would be as illogical to infer that there are no creatures because there is a Son, as that there is no Son because there are creatures. Or, more closely, as a thing generate, though not the Father, is not therefore Son, so the Son though not *Ingenerate* is not therefore a thing generate. vid. p. 33, note r.

NICEN. DEF. of God, yet might cherish a concealed blasphemy against the Lord, and under this covering might teach it to others.

3. However, on the detecting of this sophism, what remains to them? "We have found another," say the evildoers; and then proceed to add to what they have said already, that Ingenerate means what has no author of being, but stands itself in this relation to things generate. Unthankful, and in truth deaf to the Scriptures! who do every thing, and say every thing, not to honour God, but to dishonour the Son, ignorant that he who dishonours the Son, dishonours the Father. For first, even though they denote God in this way, still the Word is not proved to be of things generated. For if He be viewed as offspring of the substance of the Father, He is of consequence with Him eternally. For this name of offspring does not detract from the nature of the Word, nor does Ingenerate take its sense from contrast with the Son, but with the things which come to be through the Son; and as he who addresses an architect, and calls him framer of house or city, does not under this designation allude to the son who is begotten from him, but on account of the art and science which he displays in his work, calls him artificer, signifying thereby that he is not such as the things made by him, and while he knows the nature of the builder, knows also that he whom he begets is other than his works; and in regard to his son calls him father, but in regard to his works, creator and maker; in like manner he who says in this sense that God is ingenerate, names Him from His works, signifying, not only that He is not generate, but that He is maker of things which are so; yet is aware withal that the Word is other than the things generate, and alone a proper ¹ offspring of the Father, through whom all things came to be and consist ^h.

¹ ἴδιον

§ 30.

² ἐνα τῶν πάντων

4. In like manner, when the Prophets spoke of God as All-powerful, they did not so name Him, as if the Word were included in that All ²; (for they knew that the Son was other than things generate, and Sovereign over them Himself, according to His likeness to the Father;) but because He is Sovereign over all things which through the Son He has

^h The whole of this passage is repeated in Orat. i. 32. &c. vid. for this particular argument, Basil also, contr. Eunom. i. 16.

made, and has given the authority of all things to the Son, and having given it, is Himself once more the Lord of all things through the Word. Again, when they called God, Lord of the powers¹, they said not this as if the Word was one of those powers, but because, while He is Father of the Son, He is Lord of the powers which through the Son have come to be. For again, the Word too, as being in the Father, is Lord of them all, and Sovereign over all; for all things, whatsoever the Father hath, are the Son's. This then being the force of such titles, in like manner let a man call God ingenerate, if it so please him; not however as if the Word were of generate things, but because, as I said before, God not only is not generate, but through His proper Word is He the maker of things which are so. For though the Father be called such, still the Word is the Father's Image, and one in substance with Him; and being His Image, He must be distinct from things generate, and from every thing; for whose Image He is, to Him hath He it to be proper² and to be like: so that he who calls the Father ingenerate and almighty, perceives in the Ingenerate and the Almighty, His Word and His Wisdom, which is the Son. But these wondrous men, and prompt for irreligion, hit upon the term Ingenerate, not as caring for God's honour, but from malevolence towards the Saviour; for if they had regard to honour and blessing, it rather had been right and good to acknowledge and to call God Father, than to give Him this name; for in calling God ingenerate, they are, as I said before, calling Him from things which came to be, and as a Maker only, that so they may imply the Word to be a work after their own pleasure; but he who calls God Father, in Him withal signifies His Son also, and cannot fail to know that, whereas there is a Son, through this Son all things that came to be were created.

CHAP.
VII.

¹ i. e.
of hosts.

² τὴν ἰδιό-
τητα

5. Therefore it will be much more accurate to denote God § 31. from the Son and to call Him Father, than to name Him and call Him Ingenerate from His works only; for the latter term refers to the works that have come to be at the will of God through the Word, but the name of Father points out the proper offspring from His substance. And whereas the Word surpasses things generate, by so much and more also

NICEN. DEF. doth calling God Father surpass the calling Him Ingenerate; for the latter is unscriptural and suspicious, as it has various senses; but the former is simple and scriptural, and more accurate, and alone implies the Son. And "Ingenerate" is a word of the Greeks who know not the Son: but "Father" has been acknowledged and vouchsafed by our Lord; for He knowing Himself whose Son He was, said, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*; and, *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father*; and, *I and the Father are one*; but no where is He found to call the Father Ingenerate. Moreover, when He teaches us to pray, He says not, "When ye pray, say, O God Ingenerate," but rather, *When ye pray, say, Our Father, which art in heaven*. And it was His Will, that the Summary of our faith should have the same bearing. For He has bid us be baptized, not in the name of Ingenerate and generate, not into the name of uncreate and creature, but into the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghostⁱ; for with such an initiation we too are made sons verily^k, and using

John 14,
10. 9.

Ib. 10,
30.

Matt. 6,
9.

ⁱ And so S. Basil, "Our faith was not in Framer and Work, but in Father and Son were we sealed through the grace in baptism." contr. Eunom. ii. 22. And a somewhat similar passage occurs Orat. ii. § 41.

^k *υιοποιούμεθα ἀληθῶς*. This strong term "truly" or "verily" seems taken from such passages as speak of the "grace and truth" of the Gospel, John i. 12—17. Again S. Basil says, that we are sons, *κυρίως*, "properly," and *πρώτως* "primarily," in opposition to *τροπικῶς*, "figuratively," contr. Eunom. ii. 23. S. Cyril too says, that we are sons "naturally" *φυσικῶς* as well as *κατὰ χάριν*, vid. Suicer Thesaur. v. *υἱός*. i. 3. Of these words, *ἀληθῶς*, *φυσικῶς*, *κυρίως*, and *πρώτως*, the first two are commonly reserved for our Lord; e.g. *τὸν ἀληθῶς υἱὸν*, Orat. ii. § 37. *ἡμεῖς υἱοί, οὐκ ὡς ἐκεῖνος φύσει καὶ ἀληθεία*, iii. § 19. Hilary seems to deny us the title of "proper" sons; de Trin. xii. 15; but his "proprium" is a translation of *ἴδιον*, not *κυρίως*. And when Justin says of Christ *ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱός*, Apol. ii. 6. [p. 62 O.T.] *κυρίως* seems to be used in reference to the word *κύριος* Lord, which he has just been using, *κυριολογεῖν*, being sometimes used by him as others in the sense of "naming as Lord," like *θεολογεῖν*.

vid. Tryph. 56. [p. 141 O.T.] There is a passage in Justin's ad Græc. 21. where he (or the writer) when speaking of *ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν*, uses the word in the same ambiguous sense; *οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄνομα ἐπὶ θεοῦ κυριολογεῖσθαι δυνατὸν*, 21; as if *κύριος*, the Lord, by which "I am" is translated, were a sort of symbol of that proper name of God which cannot be given. But to return; the true doctrine then is, that, whereas there is a primary and secondary sense in which the word Son is used, primary when it has its formal meaning of continuation of nature, and secondary when it is used nominally, or for an external resemblance to the first meaning, it is applied to the regenerate, not in the secondary sense, but in the primary. S. Basil and S. Gregory Nyssen consider Son to be "a term of relationship according to nature" (vid. supr. p. 16, note k), also Basil in Psalm 28, 1. The actual presence of the Holy Spirit in the regenerate in *substance*, (vid. Cyril. Dial. 7. p. 635.) constitutes this relationship of nature; and hence after the words quoted from S. Cyril in the beginning of the note, in which he says, that we are sons, *φυσικῶς*, he proceeds, "naturally, because *we are in Him*, and in Him alone." vid. Athan.'s

the name of the Father, we acknowledge from that name the Word in the Father. But if He wills that we should call His own Father our Father, we must not on that account measure ourselves with the Son according to nature, for it is because of the Son that the Father is so called by us; for since the Word bore our body and came to be¹ in us, therefore by reason of the Word in us, is God called our Father. For the Spirit of the Word in us, names through us His own Father as ours, which is the Apostle's meaning when he says, *God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.*

CHAP.
VII.

¹ γέγονεν
ἐν ἡμῖν

Gal. 4,
6.

6. But perhaps being refuted as touching the term Ingenerate also, they will say according to their evil nature, "It behoved, as regards our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ also, to state from the Scriptures² what is there written of Him, and not to introduce unscriptural expressions." Yes, it behoved, say I too; for the tokens of truth are more exact as drawn from Scripture, than from other sources¹; but the ill disposition and the versatile and crafty irreligion of the Eusebians, compelled the Bishops, as I said before, to publish more distinctly the terms which overthrow their irreligion; and what the Council did write has already been shewn to have an orthodox sense, while the Arians have been shewn to be corrupt in their expressions, and evil in their

§ 32.

² supr. p.
52.

words which follow in the text at the end of § 31. And hence Nysen lays down, as a received truth, that "to none does the term 'proper,' *κυριώτατον*, apply, but to one in whom the name responds with truth to the nature," *contr. Eunom. iii. p. 123.* And he also implies, p. 117, the intimate association of our sonship with Christ's, when he connects together regeneration with our Lord's eternal generation, neither being *διὰ παθοῦς*, or, of the will of the flesh. If it be asked, what the *distinctive* words are which are incommunicably the Son's, since so much is man's, it is obvious to answer, *ἴδιος υἱός* and *μονογενής*, which are in Scripture, and the symbols "of the substance," and "one in substance," of the Council; and this is the value of the Council's phrases, that, while they guard the Son's divinity, they allow full scope, without risk of entrenching on it, to the Catholic doctrine of the

fulness of the Christian privileges. *vid. supr. p. 33. note q.*

¹ "The holy and inspired Scriptures are sufficient of themselves for the preaching of the truth: yet there are also many treatises of our blessed teachers composed for this purpose." *contr. Gent. init.* "For studying and mastering the Scriptures, there is need of a good life and a pure soul, and virtue according to Christ," *Incarn. 57.* "Since divine Scripture is more sufficient than any thing else, I recommend persons who wish to know fully concerning these things" (the doctrine of the blessed Trinity), "to read the divine oracles," *ad Ep. Aeg. 4.* [*Hist. tracts p. 130 O.T.*] "The Scriptures are sufficient for teaching; but it is good for us to exhort each other in the faith, and to refresh each other with discourses." *Vit. S. Ant. 16.* And *passim* in Athan.

NICEN. DEF. dispositions. The term Ingenerate, having its own sense, and admitting of a religious use, they nevertheless, according to their own idea, and as they will, use for the dishonour of the Saviour, all for the sake of contentiously maintaining, like giants^m, their fight with God. But as they did not escape condemnation when they adduced these former phrases, so when they misconceive of the Ingenerate which in itself admits of being used well and religiously, they were detected, being disgraced before all, and their heresy every where proscribed.

Jer. 13, 23. 7. This then, as I could, have I related, by way of explaining what was formerly done in the Council; but I know that the contentious among Christ's foes will not be disposed to change even after hearing this, but will ever search about for other pretences, and for others again after those. For as the Prophet speaks, *If the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots*, then will they be willing to think religiously, who have been instructed in irreligion. Thou however, Beloved, on receiving this, read it by thyself; and if thou approvest of it, read it also to the brethren who happen to be present, that they too on hearing it, may welcome the Council's zeal for the truth, and the exactness of its sense; and may condemn that of Christ's foes, the Arians, and the futile pretences, which for the sake of their irreligious heresy they have been at the pains to frame for each other; because to God and the Father is due the glory, honour, and worship with His co-existent Son and Word, together with the All-holy and Life-giving Spirit, now and unto endless ages of ages. Amen.

^m And so, Orat. ii. § 32 [infra. p. 325]. κατὰ τοὺς μυθεομένους γίγαντας. And so Nazianzen, Orat. 43. 26. speaking of the disorderly Bishops during

the Arian ascendancy. Also Socr. v. 10. p. 268. d. Sometimes the Scripture giants are spoken of, sometimes the mythological.

APPENDIX.

LETTER OF EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA TO THE PEOPLE OF HIS DIOCESE ^a.

1. WHAT was transacted concerning ecclesiastical faith at the Great Council assembled at Nicæa, you have probably learned, Beloved, from other sources, rumour being wont to precede the accurate account of what is doing. But lest in such reports the circumstances of the case have been misrepresented, we have been obliged to transmit to you, first, the formula of faith presented by ourselves, and next, the second, which the Fathers put forth with some additions to our words. Our own paper then, which was read in the presence of our most pious ^b Emperor, and declared to be good and unexceptionable, ran thus :—

APPEN-
DIX.
§ 1.

2. As we have received from the Bishops who preceded us, and in our first catechisings, and when we received the Holy Laver,

§ 2.

^a This Letter is also found in Socr. Hist. i. 8. Theod. Hist. i. Gelas. Hist. Nic. ii. 34. p. 442. Niceph. Hist. viii. 22.

^b And so infr. "most pious," § 4. "most wise and most religious," *ibid.* "most religious," § 8. § 10. Eusebius observes in his Vit. Const. the same tone concerning Constantine, and assigns to him the same office in determining the faith (being as yet unbaptized). E.g. "When there were differences between persons of different countries, as if some common bishop appointed by God, he convened Councils of God's ministers; and not disdaining to be present and to sit amid their conferences," &c. i. 44. When he came into the Nicene Council, "it was," says Eusebius, "as some heavenly Angel of God," iii. 10. aluding to the brilliancy of the imperial

purple. He confesses, however, he did not sit down until the Bishops bade him. Again at the same Council, "with pleasant eyes looking serenity itself into them all, collecting himself, and in a quiet and gentle voice" he made an oration to the Fathers upon peace. Constantine had been an instrument in conferring such vast benefits, humanly speaking, on the Christian Body, that it is not wonderful that other writers of the day besides Eusebius should praise him. Hilary speaks of him as "of sacred memory," *Fragm.* 5. *init.* Athanasius calls him "most pious," *Apol. contr. Arian.* 9; "of blessed memory," *ad Ep. Æg.* 18. 19. Epiphanius "most religious and of ever-blessed memory," *Iier.* 70. 9. Posterity, as was natural, was still more grateful.

NICEN. and as we have learned from the divine Scriptures, and as we
 DEF. believed and taught in the presbytery, and in the Episcopate itself,
 so believing also at the time present, we report to you our faith,
 and it is this^c:—

§ 3. We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things visible and invisible.

And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God from God, Light from Light, Life from Life, Son Only-begotten, first-born of every creature, before all the ages, begotten from the Father, by whom also all things were made; who for our salvation was made flesh, and lived among men, and suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father, and will come again in glory to judge the quick and dead.

Matt. 28, 19. And we believe also in One Holy Ghost; believing each of These to be and to exist, the Father truly Father, and the Son truly Son, and the Holy Ghost truly Holy Ghost, as also our Lord, sending forth His disciples for the preaching, said, *Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Concerning whom we confidently affirm that so we hold, and so we think, and so we have held aforetime, and we maintain this faith unto the death, anathematizing every godless heresy. That this we have ever thought from our heart and soul, from the time we recollect ourselves, and now think and say in truth, before God Almighty and our Lord Jesus Christ do we witness, being able by proofs to shew and to convince you, that, even in times past, such has been our belief and preaching.

§ 4. 3. On this faith being publicly put forth by us, no room

^c "The children of the Church have received from their holy Fathers, that is, the holy Apostles, to guard the faith; and withal to deliver and preach it to their own children. . . . Cease not, faithful and orthodox men, thus to speak, and to teach the like from the divine Scriptures, and to walk, and to catechise, to the confirmation of yourselves and those who hear you; namely, that holy faith of the Catholic Church, as the holy and only Virgin of God received its custody from the holy Apostles of the Lord; and thus, in the case of each of those who are under catechising, who are to approach the Holy Laver, ye ought not only to preach faith to your children in the Lord, but also to teach them expressly, as your common mother teaches, to say: 'We believe in One God,'" &c. Epiph. Ancor. 119. fin. who thereupon proceeds to give at length the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. And so Athan. speaks of the

orthodox faith, as "issuing from Apostolical teaching and the Fathers' tradition, and confirmed by New and Old Testament." ad Adolph. 6. init. Cyril Hier. too as "declared by the Church and established from all Scripture." Cat. v. 12. [p. 58 O.T.] "Let us guard with vigilance what we have received. . . . What then have we received from the Scriptures but altogether this? that God made the world by the Word," &c. &c. Procl. ad Armen. p. 612. "That God, the Word, after the union remained such as He was, &c. so clearly hath divine Scripture, and moreover the doctors of the Churches, and the lights of the world taught us." Theodor. Dial. 3. init. "That it is the tradition of the Fathers is not the whole of our case; for they too followed the meaning of Scripture, starting from the testimonies, which just now we laid before you from Scripture." Basil de Sp. § 16. vid. also a remarkable passage in de Synod. § 6. fin. infra.

for contradiction appeared; but our most pious Emperor, before any one else, testified that it comprised most orthodox statements. He confessed moreover that such were his own sentiments, and he advised all present to agree to it, and to subscribe its articles and to assent to them, with the insertion of the single word, One in substance, which moreover he interpreted as not in the sense of the affections of bodies, nor as if the Son subsisted from the Father, in the way of division, or any severance; for that the immaterial, and intellectual, and incorporeal nature could not be the subject of any corporeal affection, but that it became us to conceive of such things in a divine and ineffable manner. And such were the theological remarks of our most wise and most religious Emperor; but they, with a view to the addition of One in substance, drew up the following formula:—

4. *The Faith dictated in the Council.*

“We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible:—

“And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, Only-begotten, that is, from the Substance of the Father; God from God, Light from Light, Very God from Very God, begotten not made, One in substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things in earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, was made man, suffered, and rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, and cometh to judge quick and dead.

“And in the Holy Ghost.

“And those who say, ‘Once He was not,’ and ‘Before His generation He was not,’ and ‘He came to be from nothing,’ or those who pretend that the Son of God is ‘Of other subsistence or substance^d,’ or ‘created,’ or ‘alterable,’ or ‘mutable,’ the Catholic Church anathematizes.”

5. On their dictating this formula, we did not let it § 5. pass without inquiry in what sense they introduced “of the substance of the Father,” and “one in substance with the Father.” Accordingly questions and explanations took

^d The only clauses of the Creed which admit of any question in their explanation, are the “He was not before His generation,” and “of other subsistence or substance.” Of these the former shall be reserved for a later part of the volume; the latter is treated of in a note at the end of this Treatise; *infr.* p. 66.

NICEN.
DEF.

place, and the meaning of the words underwent the scrutiny of reason. And they professed, that the phrase "of the substance" was indicative of the Son's being indeed from the Father, yet without being as if a part of Him. And with this understanding we thought good to assent to the sense of such religious doctrine, teaching, as it did, that the Son was from the Father, not however a part of His substance^e. On this account we assented to the sense ourselves, without declining even the term "One in substance," peace being the object which we set before us, and steadfastness in the orthodox view.

§ 6. 6. In the same way we also admitted "begotten, not made;" since the Council alleged that "made" was an appellative common to the other creatures which came to be through the Son, to whom the Son had no likeness. Wherefore, say they, He was not a work resembling the things which through Him came to be^f, but was of a substance

^e Eusebius does not commit himself to any positive sense in which the formula "of the substance" is to be interpreted, but only says what it does not mean. His comment on it is "of the Father, but not as a part;" where, what is not negative, instead of being an explanation, is but a recurrence to the original words of Scripture, of which *ἐξ οὐσίας* itself is the explanation; a curious inversion. Indeed it is very doubtful whether he admitted the *ἐξ οὐσίας* at all. He says, that the Son is not like the radiance of light so far as this, that the radiance is an inseparable accident of substance, whereas the Son is by the Father's will, *κατὰ γνώμην καὶ προαίρεσιν*, Demonstr. Ev. iv. 3. And though he insists on our Lord being *alone, ἐκ θεοῦ*, yet he means in the sense which Athan. refutes, supr. § 7 [pp. 12, 13]. viz. that He alone was created immediately from God, vid. next note f. It is true that he plainly condemns with the Nicene Creed the *ἐξ οὐκ οὐτως* of the Arians, "out of nothing," but an evasion was at hand here also; for he not only adds, according to Arian custom, "as others," (vid. note following,) but he has a theory that no being whatever is out of nothing, for non-existence cannot be the cause of existence. God, he says, "proposed His own will and

power as a sort of matter and substance of the production and constitution of the universe, so that it is not reasonably said, that any thing is out of nothing. For what is from nothing cannot be at all. How indeed can nothing be to any thing a cause of being? but all that is, takes its being from One who only is, and was, who also said, 'I am that I am.'" Demonstr. Ev. iv. 1. Again, speaking of our Lord, "He who was from nothing would not truly be Son of God, as neither is any other of things generate." Eccl. Theol. i. 9. fin.

^f Eusebius distinctly asserts, Dem. Ev. iv. 2. that our Lord is a creature. "This offspring," he says, "did He first produce Himself from Himself as a foundation of those things which should succeed, the perfect handy-work, *δημιούργημα*, of the Perfect, and the wise structure, *ἀρχιτεκτόνημα*, of the Wise," &c. Accordingly his avowal in the text is but the ordinary Arian evasion of "an offspring, not as the offsprings." E.g. "It is not without peril to say recklessly that the Son is generate out of nothing *similarly to the other generates*." Dem. Ev. v. 1. vid. also Eccl. Theol. i. 9. iii. 2. And he considers our Lord the only Son by a divine provision similar to that by which there is only one sun in the firmament, as a *centre* of light and heat.

which is too high for the level of any work¹, and which the Divine oracles teach to have been generated from the Father², the mode of generation being inscrutable and incalculable to every generated nature.

7. And so too on examination there are grounds for saying, § 7. that the Son is "one in substance" with the Father; not in the way of bodies, nor like mortal beings, for He is not such by division of substance, or by severance², no nor by any affection³, or alteration, or changing of the Father's substance and power⁴, (since from all such the ingenerate nature

APPEN-
DIX.
ποίημα

² κατ'
ἀποστο-
μήν
³ πάθος

"Such an Only-begotten Son, the excellent artificer of His will and operator, did the supreme God and Father of that operator Himself first of all beget, through Him and in Him giving subsistence to the operative words (ideas or causes) of things which were to be, and casting in Him the seeds of the constitution and governance of the universe; . . . Therefore the Father being one, it behoved the Son to be one also; but should any one object that He constituted not more, it is fitting for such a one to complain that He constituted not more suns, and moons, and worlds, and ten thousand other things." Dem. Ev. iv. 5. fin. vid. also iv. 6.

⁵ Eusebius does not say that our Lord is *from the substance of* the Father, but has a *substance from* the Father. This is the Semi-arian doctrine, which, whether confessing the Son from the substance of the Father or not, implied that His substance was not the Father's substance, but a second substance. The same doctrine is found in the Semi-arians of Ancyra, though they seem to have confessed "of the substance." And this is one object of the *ὁμοούσιον*, to hinder the confession "of the substance" from implying a second substance, which was not obviated or was even encouraged by the *ὁμοιούσιον*. The Council of Ancyra, quoting the text "As the Father hath life in Himself, so," &c. says, "since the life which is in the Father means substance, and the life of the Only-begotten which is begotten from the Father means substance, the word 'so' implies a likeness of substance to substance." Hær. 73. 10 fin. Hence Eusebius does not scruple to speak of "two substances," and

other writers of three substances, contr. Marc. i. 4. p. 25. He calls our Lord "a second substance." Dem. Ev. vi. Præf. Præp. Ev. vii. 12. p. 320. and the Holy Spirit a third substance, ibid. 15. p. 325. This it was that made the Latins so suspicious of three hypostases, because the Semi-arians, as well as they, understood *ὑπόστασις* to mean substance. Eusebius in like manner calls our Lord "another God," "a second God." Dem. Ev. v. 4. p. 226. v. fin. "second Lord." ibid. 3 init. 6. fin. "second cause." Dem. Ev. v. Præf. vid. also ἕτερον ἔχουσα τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ὑποκείμενον, Dem. Ev. v. 1. p. 215. καθ' ἑαυτὸν οὐσιωμένος. ibid. iv. 3. And so ἕτερος παρὰ τὴν πατέρα. Eccl. Theol. i. 60. p. 90. and ζῶν ἰδίαν ἔχων. ibid. and ζῶν καὶ ὑφ' ἑστῶς καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπάρχων ἕκτος. ibid. Hence Athan. insists so much, as in this treatise, on our Lord *not* being external to the Father. Once admit that He is in the Father, and we may call the Father, the *only* God, for He is included. And so again as to the Ingenerate, the term does not exclude the Son, for He is generate in the Ingenerate.

⁶ This was the point on which, as we have partly seen already, the Semi-arians made their principal stand against the "one in substance," though they also objected to it as being of a Sabellian character. E.g. Euseb. Demonstr. iv. 3. p. 148. d. p. 149. a, b. v. 1. pp. 213—215. contr. Marcell. i. 4. p. 20. Eccl. Theol. i. 12. p. 73. in laud. Const. p. 525. de Fide i. ap. Sirmond. tom. i. p. 7. de Fide ii. p. 16. and apparently his de Incorporali. And so the Semi-arians at Ancyra, Epiph. Hær. 73. 11. p. 858. a, b. And so Meletius, ibid. p. 878 fin. and Cyril

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of the Father is alien,) but because "one in substance with the Father" suggests that the Son of God bears no resemblance to the generated creatures, but that to His Father alone who begat Him is He in every way assimilated, and that He is not of any other subsistence and substance, but from the Fatherⁱ. To which term also, thus interpreted, it appeared well to assent; since we were aware that even among the ancients, some learned and illustrious Bishops and writers^k have used the term "one in substance," in their theological teaching concerning the Father and Son.

§ 8. 8. So much then be said concerning the faith which was published; to which all of us assented, not without inquiry, but according to the specified senses, mentioned before the most religious Emperor himself, and justified by the fore-mentioned considerations. And as to the anathematism published by them at the end of the Faith, it did not pain us, because it forbade to use words not in Scripture, from which almost all the confusion and disorder of the Church have come. Since then no divinely inspired Scripture has used the phrases, "out of nothing," and "once He was not," and the rest which follow, there appeared no ground for using or teaching them; to which also we assented as a good decision, since it had not been our custom hitherto to use these terms.

§ 9. 9. Moreover to anathematize "Before His generation He was not," did not seem preposterous, in that it is confessed

Hier. Catech. vii. 5. xi. 18. though of course Catholics would speak as strongly on this point as their opponents.

ⁱ Here again Eusebius does not say "from the Father's substance," but "not from other substance, but from the Father." According to note e. *supr.* he considered the will of God a certain matter or substance. Montfaucon in *loc.* and *Collect. Nov. Præf.* p. xxvi. translates without warrant "ex Patris hypostasi et substantiâ." As to the Son's perfect likeness to the Father which he seems here to grant, it has been already shewn, p. 35. note u, how the admission was evaded. The likeness was but a likeness after its own kind, as a picture is of the original. "Though our Saviour Himself teaches," he says, "that the Father is

the 'only true God,' still let me not be backward to confess Him also the true God, *as in an image*, and that possessed; so that the addition of 'only' may belong to the Father alone as archetype of the image. . . . As, supposing one king held sway, and his image was carried about into every quarter, no one in his right mind would say that those who held sway were two, but one who was honoured through his image; in like manner," &c. de *Eccles. Theol.* ii, 23, *vid. ibid.* 7. pp. 109. 111.

^k Athanasius in like manner, ad *Afros*, 6. speaks of "testimony of ancient Bishops about 130 years since;" and in de *Syn.* § 43. of "long before" the Council of Antioch, A.D. 269. *viz.* the *Dionysii*, &c. *vid. supra* p. 35. note t.

by all, that the Son of God was before the generation according to the flesh¹. Nay, our most religious Emperor did at the time prove, in a speech, that He was in being even according to His divine generation which is before all ages, since even before He was generated in energy, He was in virtue^m with the Father ingenerately, the Father being always Father, as King always, and Saviour always, having all things in virtue, and being always in the same respects and in the same way.

10. This we have been forced to transmit to you, Beloved, § 10. as making clear to you the deliberation of our inquiry and assent, and how reasonably we resisted even to the last minute as long as we were offended at statements which differed from our own, but received without contention what no longer pained us, as soon as, on a candid examination of the sense of the words, they appeared to us to coincide with what we ourselves have professed in the faith which we have already published.

¹ Socrates, who advocates the orthodoxy of Eusebius, leaves out this heterodox paragraph altogether. Bull, however, Defens. F. N. iii. 9. n. 3. thinks it an interpolation. Athanasius alludes to the early part of the clause, supr. p. 7. and ad Syn. § 13. where he says, that Eusebius implied that the Arians denied even our Lord's existence before His incarnation. As to Constantine, he seems to have been used on these occasions by the court Bishops who were his instructors, and who made him the organ of their own heresy. Upon the first rise of the Arian controversy he addressed a sort of pastoral letter to Alexander and Arius, telling them that they were disputing about a question of words, and recommending them to drop it and live together peaceably. Euseb. vit. C. ii. 69. 72.

^m Theognis, another of the Nicene Arians, says the same, according to Philostorgius; viz. "that God even before He begat the Son was a Father, as having the power, *δύναμις*, of begetting." Hist. ii. 15. Though Bull pronounces such doctrine to be heretical, as of course it is, still he considers that it expresses what *otherwise* stated may be orthodox, viz. the doctrine that our Lord was called the Word from eter-

nity, and the Son upon His descent to create the worlds. And he acutely and ingeniously interprets the Arian formula, "Before His generation He was not," to support this view. Another opportunity will occur of giving an opinion upon this question; meanwhile, the *parallel* on which the heretical doctrine is supported in the text is answered by many writers, on the ground that Father and Son are words of nature, but Creator, King, Saviour, are external, or what may be called accidental to Him. Thus Athanasius observes, that Father actually implies Son, but Creator only the power to create, as expressing a *δύναμις*; "a maker is before his works, but he who says Father, forthwith in Father implies the existence of the Son." Orat. iii. § 6 [infra p. 407]. vid. Cyril too, Dial. ii. p. 459. Pseudo-Basil, contr. Eun. iv. 1. fin. On the other hand Origen argues the reverse way, that since God is eternally a Father, therefore eternally Creator also: "As one cannot be father without a son, nor lord without possession, so neither can God be called All-powerful, without subjects of His power;" Periarch. i. 2. n. 10. hence he argued for the eternity of matter.

NOTE on page 61.

*On the meaning of the phrase ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας
in the Nicene Anathema.*

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Bishop Bull has made it a question, whether these words in the Nicene Creed mean the same thing, or are to be considered distinct from each other, advocating himself the latter opinion against Petavius. The history of the word ὑπόστασις is of too intricate a character to enter upon here; but a few words may be in place in illustration of its sense as it occurs in the Creed, and with reference to the view taken of it by the great divine, who has commented on it.

Bishop Bull, as I understood him (*Defens. F. N. ii. 9. § 11.*), considers that two distinct ideas are intended by the words οὐσία and ὑπόστασις, in the clause ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας; as if the Creed condemned those who said that the Son was not from the Father's substance, and those also who said that He was not from the Father's hypostasis or subsistence; as if a man might hold at least one of the two without holding the other. And in matter of fact, he does profess to assign two parties of heretics, who denied this or that proposition respectively.

Petavius, on the other hand (*de Trin. iv. 1.*), considers that the word ὑπόστασις, is but another term for οὐσία, and that not two but one proposition is contained in the clause in question; the word ὑπόστασις not being publicly recognised in its present meaning till the Council of Alexandria, in the year 362. *Constant. (Epist. Pont. Rom. pp. 274. 290. 462.)*, *Tillemont (Memoires S. Denys. d'Alex. § 15.)*, *Huet (Origenian. ii. 2. n. 3.)*, *Thomassin (de Incarn. iii. 1.)*, and *Morinus (de Sac. Ordin. ii. 6.)*, takes substantially the same view; while *Maranus (Præf. ad S. Basil. § 1. tom. 3. ed. Bened.)*, *Natalis Alexander, Hist. (Sæc. 1. Diss. 22. circ. fin.)*, *Burton (Testimonies to the Trinity, No. 71)*, and the *President of Magdalen (Reliqu. Sacr. vol. iii. p. 189.)*, differ from Petavius, if they do not agree with Bull.

Bull's principal argument lies in the strong fact, that S. Basil expressly asserts, that the Council did mean the two terms to be distinct, and this when he is answering the Sabellians, who grounded their assertion that there was but one ὑπόστασις, on the alleged fact, the Council had used οὐσία and ὑπόστασις indifferently.

Bull refers also to *Anastasius, Hodeg. 21. (22. p. 343. ?)* who says, that the Nicene Fathers defined that there are three hypostases or Persons in the Holy Trinity. Petavius considers that he derived this from *Gelasius of Cyzicus*, a writer of no great authority; but, as the passage occurs in *Anastasius*, they are the words of *Andrew of Samosata*. But what is more important, elsewhere *Anastasius* quotes a passage from *Amphilochius* to something of the same effect.

c. 10. p. 164. He states it besides himself, c. 9. p. 150. and c. 24. p. 364. In addition, Bull quotes passages from S. Dionysius of Alexandria, S. Dionysius of Rome (vid. above, pp. 44—48. and note i. p. 46.), Eusebius of Cæsarea, and afterwards Origen; in all of which three hypostases being spoken of, whereas antiquity, early or late, never speaks in the same way of three οὐσίαι, it is plain that ὑπόστασις then conveyed an idea which οὐσία did not. To these may be added a passage in Athanasius, in Illud, Omnia, &c. § 6.

Bishop Bull adds the following explanation of the two words as they occur in the Creed: he conceives that the one is intended to reach the Arians, and the other the Semi-arians; that the Semi-arians did actually make a distinction between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις, admitting in a certain sense that the Son was from the ὑπόστασις of the Father, while they denied that He was from His οὐσία. They then are anathematized in the words ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας; and, as he would seem to mean, the Arians in the ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως.

Now I hope it will not be considered any disrespect to so great an authority, if I differ from this view, and express my reasons for doing so.

1. First then, supposing his account of the Semi-arian doctrine ever so free from objection, granting that they denied the ἐξ οὐσίας, and admitted the ἐξ ὑποστάσεως, yet *who* are they who, according to his view, *denied* the ἐξ ὑποστάσεως, or said that the Son was ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως? he does not assign any parties, though he implies the Arians. Yet though as is notorious, they denied the ἐξ οὐσίας, there is nothing to shew that they or any other party of Arians maintained specifically that the Son was not of the ὑπόστασις, or subsistence of the Father. That is, the hypothesis supported by this eminent divine, does not answer the very question which it raises. It professes that those who denied the ἐξ ὑποστάσεως, were not the same as those who denied the ἐξ οὐσίας; yet it fails to tell us who did deny the ἐξ ὑποστάσεως, in a sense distinct from ἐξ οὐσίας.

2. Next, his only proof that the Semi-arians did hold the ἐξ ὑποστάσεως as distinct from the ἐξ οὐσίας, lies in the circumstance, that the three (commonly called) Semi-arian confessions of A.D. 341, 344, 351, known as Mark's of Arethusa, the Macrostiche, and the first Sirmian, anathematize those who say that the Son is ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, not anathematizing the ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας, which he infers thence was their own belief. Another explanation of this passage will be offered presently; meanwhile, it is well to observe, that Hilary, in speaking of the confession of Philippopolis which was taken from Mark's, far from suspecting that the clause involved an omission, defends it on the *ground of its retaining the Anathema*. de Synod. 35. thus implying that ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ was equivalent to ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας. And it may be added, that Athanasius in like manner, in his account of the Nicene Council above translated (de Decret. § 20. fin. [supra p. 36]), when repeating its anathema, drops the ἐξ ὑποστάσεως altogether, and reads τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, . . . ἢ ποίημα, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας, τοὺτους ἀναθεματίζει κ. τ. λ.

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3. Further, Bull gives us no proof whatever that the Semi-arians did deny the ἐξ οὐσίας; while it is very clear, if it is right to contradict so great a writer, that most of them did not deny it. He says that it is "certissimum" that the heretics who wrote the three confessions above noticed, that is, the Semi-arians, "*nunquam fassos, nunquam fassuros fuisse filium ἐξ οὐσίας, ἢ substantiâ, Patris progenitum.*" His reason for not offering any proof for this naturally is, that Petavius, with whom he is in controversy, maintains it also, and he makes use of Petavius's admission against himself. Now it may seem bold in a writer of this day to differ not only with Bull but with Petavius; but the reason for doing so is simple; it is because Athanasius asserts the very thing which Petavius and Bull deny, and Petavius admits that he does; that is, he allows it by implication when he complains that Athanasius had not got to the bottom of the doctrine of the Semi-arians, and thought too favourably of them. "*Horum Semi-arianorum, quorum antesignanus fuit Basilius Ancyrae episcopus, prorsus obscura fuit hæresis ut ne ipse quidem Athanasius satis illam exploratam habuerit.*" de Trin. i. x. § 7.

Now S. Athanasius's words are most distinct and express; "As to those who receive all else that was defined at Nicaea, but dispute about the 'One in substance' only, we must not feel as towards enemies . . . for, as *confessing that the Son is from the substance of the Father* and not of other subsistence, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως τὸν υἱόν, . . . they are not far from receiving the phrase 'One in substance' also. Such is Basil of Ancyra, in what he has written about the faith" de Syn. § 41 [infra p. 139];—a passage, not only express for the matter in hand, but remarkable too, as apparently using ὑπόστασις and οὐσία as synonymous, which is the main point which Bull denies. What follows in Athanasius is equally to the purpose: he urges the Semi-arians to accept the ὁμοούσιον, in consistency, *because* they maintain the ἐξ οὐσίας and the ὁμοιούσιον would not sufficiently secure it.

Moreover Hilary, while defending the Semi-arian decrees of Ancyra or Sirmium, says expressly, that according to them, among other truths, "*non creatura est Filius genitus, sed à naturâ Patris indiscreta substantia est.*" de Syn. 27.

Petavius, however, in the passage to which Bull appeals, refers in proof of this view of Semi-arianism, to those Ancyrene documents, which Epiphanius has preserved, Hær. 73. and which he considers to shew, that according to the Semi-arians the Son was not ἐξ οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς. He says, that it is plain from their own explanations that they considered our Lord to be, not ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, but ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιότητος [he does not say ὑποστάσεως, as Bull wishes] τοῦ πατρὸς and that, ἐνεργεία γεννητικῆ, which was one of the divine ἐνεργεῖαι, as creation, ἢ κτιστικῆ, was another. Yet surely Epiphanius does not bear out this representation better than Athanasius; since the Semi-arians, whose words he reports, speaks of "*υἱὸν ὅμοιον καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, p. 825 b, ὡς ἡ σοφία τοῦ σοφοῦ υἱὸς, οὐσία οὐσίας, p. 853 c, κατ' οὐσίαν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ*

καὶ πατρός. p. 854 c. ἐξουσία ὁμοῦ καὶ οὐσία πατρὸς μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ. NOTE.
 p. 858 d, besides the strong word γήσιος, *ibid.* and Athan. de Syn. § 41. not to insist on other of their statements.

The same fact is brought before us even in a more striking way in the conference at Constantinople, A.D. 360, before Constantius, between the Anomæans and Semi-arians, where the latter, according to Theodoret, shew no unwillingness to acknowledge even the ὁμοούσιον, because they acknowledge the ἐξ οὐσίας. When the Anomæans wished the former condemned, Silvanus of Tarsus said, "If God the Word be not out of nothing, nor a creature, nor of other substance, οὐσίας, therefore is He one in substance, ὁμοούσιος, with God who begot Him, as God from God, and Light from Light, and He has the same nature with His Father." Hist. ii. 23. Here again it is observable, as in the passage from Athanasius above, that, while apparently reciting the Nicene Anathema, he omits ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως, as if it were superfluous to mention a synonyme.

At the same time there certainly is reason to suspect that the Semi-arians approximated towards orthodoxy as time went on; and perhaps it is hardly fair to determine what they held at Nicæa by their statements at Ancyra, though to the latter Petavius appeals. Several of the most eminent among them, as Meletius, Cyril, and Eusebius of Samosata conformed soon after; on the other hand in Eusebius, who is their representative at Nicæa, it will perhaps be difficult to find a clear admission of the ἐξ οὐσίας. But at any rate he does not maintain the ἐξ ὑποστάσεως, which Bull's theory requires.

On various grounds then, because the Semi-arians as a body did not deny the ἐξ οὐσίας, nor confess the ἐξ ὑποστάσεως, nor the Arians deny it, there is reason for declining Bishop Bull's explanation of these words as they occur in the Creed; and now let us turn to the consideration of the authorities on which that explanation rests.

As to Gelasius, Bull himself does not insist upon his testimony, and Anastasius is too late to be of authority. The passage indeed which he quotes from Amphilochius is important, but as he was a friend of S. Basil, perhaps it does not very much increase the weight of S. Basil's more distinct and detailed testimony to the same point, and no one can say that that weight is inconsiderable.

Yet there is evidence the other way which overbalances it. Bull, who complains of Petavius's rejection of S. Basil's testimony concerning a Council which was held before his birth, cannot maintain his own explanation of its Creed without rejecting Athanasius's testimony respecting the doctrine of his contemporaries, the Semi-arians; and moreover the more direct evidence, as we shall see, of the Council of Alexandria, A.D. 362, S. Jerome, Basil of Ancyra, and Socrates.

First, however, no better comment upon the sense of the Council can be required than the incidental language of Athanasius and others, who in a foregoing extract exchanges οὐσία for ὑπόστασις in a way which is natural only on the supposition that he used them as synonymes. Elsewhere, as we have seen, he omits the word ἢ ὑποστάσεως in the Nicene Anathema, while Hilary considers the Anathema sufficient *with* that omission.

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In like manner Hilary expressly translates the clause in the Creed by *ex alterâ substantia vel essentiâ*. *Fragm. ii. 27.* And somewhat in the same way Eusebius says in his letter, *ἐξ ἑτέρας τινὸς ὑποστάσεως τε καὶ οὐσίας*.

But further, Athanasius says expressly, *ad Afros*,—"Hypostasis is substance, *οὐσία*, and means nothing else than simply being, which Jeremiah calls existence when he says," &c. § 4. It is true, he elsewhere speaks of three Hypostases, but this only shews that he attached no fixed sense to the word. This is just what I would maintain; its sense must be determined by the context, and, whereas it always stands in all Catholic writers for the *Una Res*, (as the 4th Lateran speaks,) which *οὐσία* denotes, when Athanasius says, "three hypostases," he takes the word to mean *οὐσία* in that particular sense in which it is three, and when he makes it synonymous with *οὐσία*, he uses it to signify Almighty God in that sense in which He is one.

Leaving Athanasius, we have the following evidence concerning the history of the word *ὑπόστασις*. S. Jerome says, "The whole school of secular learning understanding nothing else by hypostasis than *usia*, substance." *Ep. xv. 4.* Where, speaking of the Three Hypostases he uses the strong language, "If you desire it, then be a *new faith* framed *after* the Nicene, and let the orthodox confess in terms like the Arian."

In like manner, Basil of Ancyra, George, and the other Semi-arians, say distinctly, "This hypostasis our Fathers called substance," *οὐσία*. *Epiph. Hær. 74. 12. fin.*; in accordance with which is the unauthorized addition to the Sardican Epistle, "*ὑπόστασις, ἣν αὐτοὶ οἱ αἰρετικοὶ οὐσίαν προσαγορεύουσι*." *Theod. Hist. ii. 6.*

If it be said that Jerome from his Roman connection, and Basil and George as Semi-arians, would be led by their respective theologies for distinct reasons thus to speak, it is true, and may have led them to too broad a statement of the fact; but then on the other hand it was in accordance also with the theology of S. Basil, so strenuous a defender of the formula of the Three Hypostases, to suppose that the Nicene Fathers meant to distinguish *ὑπόστασις* from *οὐσία* in their anathema.

Again, Soerates informs us that, though there was some dispute about hypostasis at Alexandria shortly before the Nicene Council, yet the Council itself "devoted not a word to the question," *Hist. iii. 7.*; which hardly consists with its having intended to rule that *ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως* was distinct from *ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας*.

And in like manner the Council of Alexandria, A.D. 362, in deciding that the sense of Hypostasis was an open question, not only from the very nature of the case goes on the supposition that the Nicene Council had not closed it, but says so in words again and again in its Synodal Letter. If the Nicene Council had already used "hypostasis" in its present sense, what remained to Athanasius at Alexandria but to submit to it?

Indeed the history of this Council is perhaps the strongest argument against the supposed discrimination of the two terms by the Council of Nicæa. Bull can only meet it by considering that

an innovation upon the "veterem vocabuli usum" began at the date of the Council of Sardica, though Socrates mentions the dispute as existing at Alexandria before the Nicene Council, Hist. iii. 4. 5. while the supposititious confession of Sardica professes to have received the doctrine of the one hypostasis by tradition as Catholic.

NOTE.

Nor is the use of the word in earlier times inconsistent with these testimonies; though it occurs so seldom, in spite of its being a word of S. Paul, that testimony is our principal evidence. Socrates's remarks deserve to be quoted; "Those among the Greeks who have treated of the Greek philosophy, have defined substance, οὐσία, in many ways, but they had made no mention at all of hypostasis. Irenæus the Grammarian, in his alphabetical Atticist, even calls the term barbarous; because it is not used by any of the ancients, and if any where found, it does not mean what it is now taken for. Thus in the Phœnix of Sophocles it means an 'ambush;' but in Menander, 'preserves,' as if one were to call the wine-lees in a cask 'hypostasis.' However it must be observed, that, in spite of the old philosophers being silent about the term, the more modern continually use it for substance, οὐσίας." Hist. iii. 7. The word principally occurs in Origen among Ante-Nicene writers, and he, it must be confessed, uses it, as far as the context decides its sense, to mean subsistence or person. In other words, it was the word of a certain school in the Church, which afterwards was accepted by the Church; but this proves nothing about the sense in which it was used at Nicæa. The three Hypostases are spoken of by Origen, his pupil Dionysius, as afterwards by Eusebius of Cæsarea, (though he may notwithstanding have considered hypostasis synonymous with substance,) and Athanasius (Origen in Joan. ii. 6. Dionys. ap. Basil de Sp. S. n. 72. Euseb. ap. Soer. i. 23. Athan. in Illud Omnia, &c. 6.); and the Two Hypostases of the Father and the Son, by Origen, Ammonius, and Alexander (Origen in Cels. viii. 2. Ammon. ap. Caten. in Joan. x. 30. Alex. ap. Theod. i. 3. p. 740). As to the passage in which two hypostases are spoken of in Dionysius's letter to Paul of Samosata, that letter certainly is not genuine, as might be shewn on a fitting occasion, though it is acknowledged by very great authorities.

I confess that to my mind there is an antecedent probability that the view which has here been followed is correct. Judging by the general history of doctrine, one should not expect that the formal ecclesiastical meaning of the word should have obtained every where so early. Nothing is more certain than that the doctrines themselves of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation were developed, or, to speak more definitely, that the propositions containing them were acknowledged, from the earliest times; but the particular terms which now belong to them are most uniformly of a later date. Ideas were brought out, but technical phrases did not obtain. Not that these phrases did not exist, but either not as technical, or in use in a particular School or Church, or with a particular writer, or as ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, as words discussed, nay resisted, perhaps used by some local Council, and then at length accepted generally from their

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obvious propriety. Thus the words of the Schools pass into the service of the Catholic Church. Instead then of the word *ὑπόστασις* being, as Maran says, received in the East "summo consensu," from the date of Noetus or at least Sabellius, or of Bull's opinion "apud Catholicos Dionysii ætate ratum et firmum illud fuisse, tres esse in divinis hypostases," I would consider that the present use of the word was in the first instance Alexandrian, and that it was little more than Alexandrian till the middle of the fourth century.

Lastly, it comes to be considered how the two words are to be accounted for in the Creed, if they have not distinct senses. Coustant supposes that *ἐξ οὐσίας* was added to explain *ἐξ ὑποστάσεως*, lest the latter should be taken in a Sabellian sense. On which we may perhaps remark besides, that the reason why *ὑπόστασις* was selected as the principal term was, that it was agreeable to the Westerns as well as admitted by the Orientals. Thus, by way of contrast, we find the Second General Council, at which there were no Latins, speaking of Three Hypostases, and Pope Damasus and the Roman Council speaking a few years sooner of the Holy Ghost as of the same hypostasis and usia with the Father and the Son. Theod. Hist. ii. 17. Many things go to make this probable. For instance, Coustant acutely points out, though Maran and the President of Magdalen dissent, that this probably was a point of dispute between the two Dionysii; the Bishop of Alexandria asserting, as we know he did assert, Three Hypostases, the Bishop of Rome protesting in reply against "Three *partitive* Hypostases," as involving tritheism, and his namesake rejoining, "If because there are Three Hypostases, any say that they are partitive, three there are, though they like it not." Again, the influence of the West shews itself in the language of Athanasius, who, contrary to the custom of his Church, of Origen, Dionysius, and his own immediate patron and master Alexander, so varies his own use of the word, as to make his writings almost an example of that freedom which he vindicated in the Council of Alexandria. Again, when Hosius went to Alexandria before the Nicene Council, and a dispute arose with reference to Sabellianism about the words *ὑπόστασις* and *οὐσία*, what is this too, but the collision of East and West? It should be remembered moreover that Hosius presided at Nicæa, a Latin in an Eastern city; and again at Sardica, where, though the decree in favour of the One Hypostasis was not passed, it seems clear from the history that he was resisting persons with whom in great measure he agreed. Further, the same consideration accounts for the omission of the *ἐξ οὐσίας* from the Confession of Mark and the two which follow, on which Bull relies in proof that the Semi-arians rejected this formula. These three Semi-arian Creeds and these only, were addressed to the Latins, and therefore their compilers naturally select that synonyme which was most pleasing to them, as the means of securing a hearing; just as Athanasius on the other hand in his *de Decretis*, writing to the Greeks, omits *ὑποστάσεως*, and writes *οὐσίας*.

EPISTLE OF S. ATHANASIUS,

ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA,

CONCERNING THE COUNCIL HELD AT ARIMINUM IN ITALY
AND AT SELEUCIA IN ISAURIA.

CHAP. I

HISTORY OF THE COUNCILS.

Reason why two Councils were called. Inconsistency and folly of calling any; and of the style of the Arian formularies; occasion of the Nicene Council; proceedings at Ariminum; Letter of the Council to Constantius; its decree. Proceedings at Seleucia; reflections on the conduct of the Arians.

1. PERHAPS news has reached even yourselves concerning the Council, which is at this time the subject of general conversation; for letters both from the Emperor and the Prefects^a were circulated far and wide for its convocation. However, you take that interest in the events which have occurred, that I have determined upon giving you an account of what I have seen myself^b or have ascertained, which may save you from the suspense attendant on the reports of others; and this the more, because there are parties who are in the practice of misrepresenting what is going on.

2. At Nicæa then, which had been fixed upon, the Council did not meet, but a second edict^c was issued, convening the

CHAP.
I.
§ 1.

^a There were at this time four prætorian præfects, who divided between them this administration of the Empire. They had been lately made merely civil officers, Constantine having suppressed the celebrated troops which they used to command. At Ariminum, one of them, Taurus, was present; and was the instrument of the Emperor in overawing the Council.

^b From these words Tillemont and Gibbon infer that Athanasius was present at least at Seleucia, but, as Montfaucon observes, such a supposition is not required by the words, and is in itself improbable.

^c The Council was originally to have been held at Nicæa, but the party of Basil did not like a second meeting in the same place, and Nicomedia was

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Western Bishops at Ariminum in Italy, and the Eastern at Seleucia the Rugged, as it is called, in Isauria. The professed reason of such a meeting was to treat of the faith touching our Lord Jesus Christ; and those who alleged it, were Ursacius, Valens^d, and one Germinius^e from Pannonia; and from Syria, Acacius, Eudoxius^f, and Patrophilus of Seythopolis^g. These men who had always been of the Arian party, and understood neither how they believe or whereof they affirm, and were silently deceiving first one and then another, and scattering the second sowing¹ of their heresy, influenced some persons of consequence, and the Emperor Constantius among them, being a heretic², on some pretence about the Faith, to call a Council; under the idea that they should be

¹ *supr.*
p. 5.
note k.
² *infr.*
p. 90.
note p.

substituted. The greater number of Bishops had set out, when an earthquake threw the city into ruins. Nicæa was then substituted again at Basil's wish, Soz. iv. 16. but it was considered too near the seat of the earthquake to be safe. Then the Eusebian or Acacian influence prevailed, and the Council was divided into two; but at first Ancyra, Basil's see, was to have been one of them, (where a celebrated Council of Semi-arians actually was held at the time,) Hil. de Syn. 8. but this was changed for Seleucia. A delegation of Bishops from each Province was summoned to Nicomedia; but to Nicæa, all Bishops whatever, whose health admitted of the journey, according to Sozomen; but Hilary says, only one or two from each province of Gaul were summoned to Ariminum; he himself was at Seleucia, under compulsion of the local magistrate, being in exile there for the faith, Supl. Sev. ii. 57.

^d Ursacius, Bishop of Singidon, and Valens, Bishop of Mursa, are generally mentioned together. They were pupils of Arius; and as such are called young by Athan. ad Ep. Æg. 7. by Hilary ad Const. i. 5. (*imperitis et improbis duobus adoloescentibus.*) and by the Council of Sardica, ap. Hilar. Fragm. ii. 12. They first appear at the Council of Tyre, A. D. 335. The Council of Sardica deposed them; in 349, they publicly retracted their charges against Athanasius, who has preserved their letters. Apol. contr. Arian. 58. [Hist. tracts pp. 86, 87 O.T.] Valens was the more prominent of the two; he was a

favourite Bishop of Constantius, was an extreme Arian in his opinions, and the chief agent at Ariminum in effecting the lapse of the Latin Fathers.

^e Germinius was made Bishop of Sirmium by the Eusebians in 351, instead of Photinus whom they deposed for a kind of Sabellianism. However, he was obliged in 358 to sign the Semi-arian formula of Ancyra; yet he was an active Eusebian again at Ariminum. At a later date he approached very nearly to Catholicism.

^f Acacius has been mentioned, p. 7. note p. Eudoxius is said to have been a pupil of Lucian, Arius's Master, though the dates scarcely admit it. Eustathius, Catholic Bishop of Antioch, whom the Eusebians subsequently deposed, refused to admit him into orders. Afterwards he was made Bishop of Germanicia in Syria, by his party. He was present at the Council of Antioch in 341, spoken of *infra*, § 22. and carried into the West in 345, the fifth Confession, called the Long, *μακρόστιχος*. *infr.* § 26. He afterwards passed in succession to the sees of Antioch (*vid. supr.* p. 1. note a.), and Constantinople, and baptized the Emperor Valens into the Arian profession.

^g Patrophilus was one of the original Arian party, and took share in all their principal acts, but there is nothing very distinctive in his history. Sozomen assigns to these six Bishops the scheme of dividing the Council into two, Hist. iv. 16. and Valens undertook to manage the Latins, Acacius the Greeks.

able to put into the shade the Nicene Council, and prevail upon all to turn round, and to establish irreligion every where instead of the Truth. CHAP. I.

3. Now here I marvel first, and think that I shall carry every thinking man whatever with me, that, whereas a Catholic Council had been fixed, and all were looking forward to it, it was all of a sudden divided into two, so that one part met here, and the other there. However, this would seem providential, in order in the respective Councils to exhibit the faith without guile or corruption of the one party, and to expose the dishonesty and duplicity of the other. Next, this too was on the mind of myself and my true brethren here, and made us anxious, the impropriety of this great gathering which we saw in progress; for what pressed so much, that the whole world was to be put in confusion, and those who at the time bore the profession of clerks, should run about far and near, seeking how best to learn to believe in our Lord Jesus Christ? Certainly if they were believers already, they would not have been seeking, as though they were not. And to the catechumens, this was no small scandal; but to the heathen, it was something more than common, and even furnished broad merriment^h, that Christians, as if waking out of sleep at this time of day, should be making out how they were to believe concerning Christ; while their professed clerks, though claiming deference from their flocks, as teachers, were infidels on their own shewing, in that they were seeking what they had not. And the party of Ursacius, who were at the bottom of all this, did not understand what wrath they were storing up against themselves, as our Lord says by His saints, *Woe unto them, through whom My Name is blasphemed among the Gentiles*; and by His own mouth in the Gospels, *Whoso shall offend one of these little ones, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the* § 2.

^h The heathen Ammianus speaks of "the troops of Bishops hurrying to and fro at the public expense," and "the Synods, in their efforts to bring over the whole religion to their side, being the ruin of the posting establishments." Hist. xxi. 16. "The spectacle proceeded to that pitch of indecency," says Eusebius, "that at

length in the very midst of the theatres of the unbelievers, the solemn matters of divine teaching were subjected to the basest mockery." in vit. Const. ii. 61. Heathen Philosophers attended the Nicene Council, "from an interest to learn what the Christian doctrine was." Soz. i. 18.

Is. 52. 5.
Rom. 2,
24.
Matt. 18,
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depth of the sea, than, as Luke adds, that he should offend one of these little ones.

§ 3.

4. What defect of teaching was there for religious truth in the Catholic Churchⁱ, that they should search after faith now, and should prefix this year's Consulate to their profession of it? Yet Ursacius, and Valens, and Germinius, and their friends have done, what never took place, never was heard of among Christians. After putting into writing what it pleased them to believe, they prefix to it the Consulate, and the month and the day of the current year^k; thereby to shew all thinking men, that their faith dates, not from of old, but now, from the reign of Constantius^l; for whatever they write has a view to their own heresy. Moreover, though

ⁱ "Who is there, who when he heard, upon his first catechisings, that God had a Son, and had made all things in His proper Word, did not so understand it in that sense which we now intend? who, when the vile Arian heresy began, but at once, on hearing its teachers, was startled, as if they taught strange things?" Orat. ii. § 34 [infra p. 328]. And Hilary with the same sense, "I call the God of heaven and earth to witness, that, before I had heard either term, I always felt concerning the two words that by 'one in substance' ought to be understood 'like in substance,' that is, that nothing can be like Him in nature, but That which is of the same nature. Regenerated long since, and for a while a Bishop, yet I never heard the Nicene Creed till I was in exile, but Gospels and Apostles intimated to me the meaning of 'one in substance' and 'like in substance.'" de Syn. 91. vid. also ad Const. ii. 7.

^k "Faith is made a thing of dates rather than Gospels, while it is written down by years, and is not measured by the confession of baptism." ad Const. ii. 4. "We determine yearly and monthly creeds concerning God, we repent of our determinations; we defend those who repent, we anathematize those whom we have defended; we condemn our own doings in those of others, or others in us, and gnawing each other, we are well nigh devoured one of another." *ibid.* 5.

^l "Who are you? whence and when came ye? what do ye on my property being none of mine? by what right, O Marcion, cuttest thou my wood? by

what license, O Valentinus, turnest thou my springs? by what power, O Apelles, movest thou my landmarks? Mine is possession. . . I possess of old, I have prior possession. . . I am heir of the Apostles." Tertull. de Præscr. 37. Tardily for me hath this time of day put forth these, in my judgment, most impious doctors. Full late hath that faith of mine, which Thou hast instructed, encountered these Masters. Before these names were heard of, I thus believed in Thee, I thus was new born by Thee, and thenceforth I thus am Thine." Hil. de Trin. vi. 21. "What heresy hath ever burst forth, but under the name of some certain men, in some certain place, and at some certain time? Who ever set up any heresy, who first divided not himself from the consent of the universality and antiquity of the Catholic Church?" Vincent Lir. Commonit. 24. "I will tell thee my mind briefly and plainly, that thou shouldest remain in that Church which, being founded by the Apostles, endures even to this day. When thou hearest that those who are called Christ's, are named, not after Jesus Christ, but after some one, say Marcionites, Valentinians, &c. know then it is not Christ's Church, but the synagogue of Antichrist. For by the very fact that they are formed afterwards, they shew that they are those who the Apostle foretold should come." Jerom. in Lucif. 27. "If the Church was not . . . whence hath Donatus appeared? from what soil has he sprung? out of what sea hath he emerged? from what heaven hath he fallen?" August. de Bapt. contr. Don. iii. 3.

pretending to write about the Lord, they nominate another sovereign for themselves, Constantius, who has bestowed on them this reign of irreligion^m; and they who deny that the Son is everlasting, have called him Eternal Emperor; such foes of Christ are they in behalf of irreligion.

5. But perhaps the dates in the holy Prophets form their excuse for the Consulate; so bold a pretence, however, will serve but to publish more fully their ignorance of the subject. For the prophecies of the sacred writers do indeed specify their times (for instance, Esaias and Osee lived in the days of Ozias, Joatham, Achaz, and Ezekias; Jeremias, in the days of Josias; Ezekiel and Daniel prophesied unto Cyrus and Darius; and others in other times); yet they were not laying the foundations of divine religion; it was before them, and was always, for before the foundation of the world had God prepared it for us in Christ. Nor were they signifying the respective dates of their own faith; for they had been believers before these dates, which did but belong to their own preaching. And this preaching chiefly related to the Saviour's coming, and secondarily to what was to happen to Israel and the nations; and the dates denoted not the commencement of faith, as I said before, but of the prophets themselves, that

^m Athan. says, that after Eusebius had taken up the patronage of the heresy, he made no progress till he had gained the Court. Hist. Arian. 66. shewing that it was an act of external power by which Arianism grew, not an inward movement in the Church, which indeed loudly protested against the Emperor's proceeding. "If Bishops are to judge," he says shortly before, "what has the Emperor to do with this matter? if the Emperor is to threaten, what need of men styled Bishops? where in the world was such a thing heard of? where had the Church's judgment its force from the Emperor, or his sentence was at all recognised? many Councils have been before this, many judgments of the Church, but neither the Fathers ever argued with the Emperor about them, nor the Emperor meddled with the concerns of the Church. Paul the Apostle had friends of Caesar's household, and in his Epistle he saluted the Philippians in their name, but he took them not to him as partners in his judgments. But now a new spectacle, and this the discovery of the Arian

heresy," &c. § 52. [Hist. tracts p. 266 O.T.] Again, "In what then is he behind Antichrist? what more will he do when he comes? or rather, on his coming will he not find the way by [Constantius] prepared for him unto his deceiving without effort? for he too is to claim the judgments for the court instead of the Churches, and of these he is to become head." § 76. [ib. p. 287.] And so Hosius to Constantius, "Cease, I charge thee, and remember that thou art a mortal man. Fear the day of judgment; keep thyself clear against it. Interfere not with things ecclesiastical, nor be the man to charge us in a matter of the kind; rather learn them thyself from us. God has put into thy hand the kingdom; to us He hath intrusted the things of the Church; and as he who is traitorous to thy rule speaks against God who has thus ordained, so fear thou, lest drawing to thyself the things of the Church, thou fallst beneath a great accusation." Apud Athan. *ibid.* 44 [ib. p. 258]. *vid. infr.* p. 90, note p.

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is, when it was they thus prophesied. But our modern sages, not in historical narration, nor in prediction of the future, but, after writing, "The Catholic Faith was published," immediately add the Consulate and the month and the date; that, as the sacred writers specified the dates of their histories, and of their own ministries, so these may mark the date of their own faith. And would that they had written, touching "their ownⁿ;" (for it does date from to-day;) and had not made their essay as touching "the Catholic," for they did not write, "Thus we believe," but "the Catholic Faith was published."

§ 4. 6. The boldness then of their design shews how little they understand the subject; while the novelty of their phrase befits their heresy. For thus they shew, when it was they began their own faith, and that from that same time present they would have it proclaimed. And according to the Evangelist Luke, there *was made a decree* concerning the taxing, and this decree before was not, but began from those days in which it was made by its framer, they also in like manner, by writing, "The Faith is now published," shewed that the sentiments of their heresy are young, and were not before. But if they add "of the Catholic Faith," they fall before they know it into the extravagance of the Phrygians, and say with them, "To us first was revealed," and "from us dates the Faith of Christians." And as those inscribe it with the names of Maximilla and Montanus¹, so do these with "Constantius, Sovereign," instead of Christ. If, however, as they would have it, the faith dates from the present Consulate, what must the Fathers do, and the blessed Martyrs? nay, what will they themselves do with their own catechumens, who departed to rest before this Consulate? how will they wake them up, that so they may obliterate their former lessons, and may sow in turn the seeming discoveries which they have now put into writing^o? So ignorant they are on

¹ vid.
infr.
Orat. iii.
§ 47.

ⁿ "He who speaketh of his own, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, speaketh a lie." Athan. contr. Apoll. i. fin. "They used to call the Church a virgin," says Hegesippus, "for it was not yet defiled by profane doctrines... the Simonists, Dosithians &c. . . each privately (ἰδίως) and separately has brought in a private opinion." ap. Euseb. Hist. iv. 22. So-

phronius at Seleucia cried out, "If to publish day after day our own private (ἰδίαν) will, be a profession of faith, accuracy of truth will fail us." Socr. ii. 40.

^o "However the error was, certainly error reigned so long as heresies were not. Truth needed a rescue, and looked out for Marcionites and Valentinians. Meanwhile, gospelling was nought,

the subject ; with no knowledge but that of making excuses, and those unbecoming and unplausible, and carrying with them their own refutation. CHAP. I.

7. As to the Nicene Council, it was not a common meeting, § 5. but convened upon a pressing necessity, and for a reasonable object. The Syrians, Cilicians, and Mesopotamians, were out of order in celebrating the Feast, and kept Easter with the Jews; on the other hand, the Arian heresy had risen up against the Catholic Church, and found supporters in the Eusebians, who were both zealous for the heresy, and conducted the attack upon religious people. This gave occasion for an Ecumenical¹ Council, that the feast might be every where celebrated on one day, and that the heresy which was springing up might be anathematized. It took place then ; and the Syrians submitted, and the Fathers pronounced the Arian heresy to be the forerunner of Antichrist⁴, and drew

¹ *supr.*
p. 49,
note o.

faith was nought, nought was the baptism of so many thousand thousand, so many works of faith performed, so many virtues, so many gifts displayed, so many priesthoods, so many ministries exercised, nay, so many martyrdoms crowned." Tertull. Præser. 29. " " Profane novelties,' which if we receive, of necessity the faith of our blessed ancestors, either all or a great part of it must be overthrown ; the faithful people of all ages and times, all holy saints, all the chaste, all the continent, all the virgins, all the Clergy, the Deacons, the Priests, so many thousands of confessors, so great armies of martyrs, so many famous populous cities and commonwealths, so many islands, provinces, kings, tribes, kingdoms, nations, to conclude, almost now the whole world, incorporated by the Catholic Faith to Christ their head, must needs be said, so many hundred years, to have been ignorant, to have erred, to have blasphemed, to have believed they knew not what." Vinc. Comm. 24. " O the extravagance ! the wisdom, hidden after Christ's coming, they announce to us to-day, which is a thing to draw tears. For if the faith began thirty years since, while near four hundred are past since Christ was manifested, nought hath been our gospel that long while, and nought our faith, and fruitlessly have martyrs been mar-

tyred, and fruitlessly have such and so great rulers ruled the people." Greg. Naz. ad Cledon. Ep. 102. p. 97.

^p This seems to have been an innovation in these countries of about fifty years old, or from about the year 276. It is remarkable, that the Quartodeciman custom had come to an end in Proconsular Asia, where it had existed from S. John's time, before it began in Syria. Tillemont refers the change to Anatolius of Laodicea ; the writer of this note has attempted in a former work to prove Paul of Samosata the author of it.

⁴ *πρόδρομος*, præcursor, is almost a received word for the predicted apostasy or apostate (vid. note on S. Cyril's Cat. xv. 9. also *infr.* note p.), but the distinction was not always carefully drawn between the apostate and the Antichrist. Constantius is called Antichrist by Athan. Hist. Arian. 67. his acts are the *προόμιον καὶ παρασκευὴ* of Antichrist. Hist. Arian. 70 fin. 71. and 80. Constantius is the image, *εἰκων*, of Antichrist. 74. and 80. and shews the likeness, *ὁμοίωμα*, of the malignity of Antichrist. 75. vid. also 77. *πρόδρομος* 77. " Let Christ be expected, for Antichrist is in possession." Hilar. contr. Const. init. Constantius, Antichrist. *ibid.* 5. Speaking of Auxentius, the Arian Bishop of Milan, he says, " Of one thing I warn you, beware of Antichrist ; it is ill that a love of walls has

COUNC. up a suitable formula against it. And yet in this, many as
 ARIM. they are, they ventured on nothing like the proceedings^r of
 AND these three or four men^s. Without prefixing Consulate,
 SELEU. month, and day, they wrote concerning the Easter "It seemed
 good as follows," for it did then seem good that there should
 be a general compliance; but about the faith they wrote
 not, "It seemed good," but, "Thus believes the Catholic
 Church;" and thereupon they confessed how the faith lay,
 in order to shew that their own sentiments were not novel,
 but Apostolical; and what they wrote down, was no discovery
 of theirs, but is the same as was taught by the Apostles¹.

¹ infr.
 p. 84.
 note c.

seized you, it is ill that your veneration for God's Church lies in houses and edifices; it is ill that under this plea ye insinuate the name of peace. Is there any doubt that Antichrist is to sit in these? Mountains and woods and lakes and prisons and pits are to be more safe; for in these did prophets, sojourning or sunk, still by God's spirit prophesy," contr. Aux. 12. Lucifer calls Constantius præcursor Antichristi. p. 89. possessed with the spirit of Antichrist, p. 219. friend of Antichrist, p. 259. Again, S. Jerome, writing against Jovinian, says that he who so says that there are no differences of rewards is Antichrist, ii. 21. S. Leo, alluding to 1 John iv. 10. calls Nestorius and Eutyches, Antichristi præcursores, Ep. 75. p. 1022. Again, Antichrist, whoever opposes what the Church has once settled, with an allusion to opposition to the see of S. Peter. Ep. 156. c. 2. Anastasius speaks of the ten horns of Monophysitism, Hodeg. 6. also 8. and 24. and calls Severus, Monophysite Bp. of Antioch, Antichrist, for usurping the judicial powers of Christ and His Church. *ibid.* p. 92.

^r "They know not to be reverent even to their leaders. And this is why commonly schisms exist not among heretics; because while they are, they are not visible. Schism is their very unity. I am a liar if they do not dissent from their own rules, while every man among them equally alters at his private judgment (*suo arbitrio*) what he has received, just as he who gave to them composed it at his private judgment. The progress of the thing is true to its nature and its origin. What was a right to Valentinus, was a right to Valentinians, what

to Marcion was to the Marcionites, to innovate on the faith at their private judgment. As soon as any heresy is thoroughly examined, it is found in many points dissenting from its parent. Those parents for the most part have no Churches; they roam about without Mother, without see, bereaved of the faith, without a country, without a home." Tertull. *Præscr.* 42. At Seleucia Acacius said, "If the Nicene faith has been altered once and many time since, no reason why we should not dictate another faith now." Eleusius the Semi-arian answered, "This Council is called, not to learn what it does not know, not to receive a faith which it does not possess, but walking in the faith of the fathers" (meaning the Semi-arian Council of the Dedication, A.D. 341. *vid. infr.* § 22.) "it swerves not from it in life or death." On this Socrates (*Hist.* ii. 40.) observes, "How call you those who met at Antioch Fathers, O Eleusius, you who deny *their* Fathers? for those who met at Nicæa, and unanimously professed the Consubstantial, might more properly receive the name, &c. But if the Bishops at Antioch set at nought their own fathers, those who come after are blindly following parricides; and how did they receive a valid ordination from them, whose faith they set at nought as reprobate? But if those had not the Holy Ghost, which cometh through laying on of hands, neither did these receive the priesthood; for did they receive from those who have not wherewith to give?"

^s *ὀλίγοι τινές*, says Pope Julius, ap. Athan. *Apol.* 34 [*Hist. tracts* p. 55. O.T.]. *ἔγραψάν τινες περὶ πίστεως* says Athan. *ad Ep. Æg.* 5. [*ib. p.* 130 O.T.]

8. But the Councils which they have set in motion, what colourable pretext have they¹? If any new heresy has risen since the Arian, let them tell us the positions which it has devised, and who are its inventors? and in their own formula, let them anathematize the heresies antecedent to this Council of theirs, among which is the Arian, as the Nicene Fathers did, that it may be made appear that they too have some cogent reason for saying what is novel². But if no such event has happened, and they have it not to shew, but rather they themselves are uttering heresies, as holding Arius's irreligion, and are exposed day by day, and day by day shift their ground^t, what need is there of Councils, when the Nicene is sufficient, as against the Arian heresy, so against the rest, which it has condemned one and all by means of the sound faith? For even the notorious Aetius, who was surnamed godless³, vaunts not of the discovering of any mania of his own, but under stress of weather has been wrecked upon Arianism, himself and the persons whom he has beguiled. Vainly then do they run about with the pretext that they have demanded Councils for the faith's-sake; for divine Scripture is sufficient above all things; but if a Council be needed on the point, there are the proceedings of the Fathers, for the Nicene Bishops did not neglect this matter, but stated the doctrine so exactly, that persons reading their words honestly, cannot but be reminded by them of the religion towards Christ announced in divine Scripture⁴.

CHAP.
I.
§ 6.
ad Ep.
Æg. 10.

² vid.
infr.
notes b
and c.

³ vid. p.
3. note f.

⁴ vid. p.
57, note
1; p. 60,
note c.
§ 7.

9. Having therefore no reason on their side, but being in difficulty whichever way they turn, in spite of their pretences, they have nothing left but to say; "Forasmuch as we con-

¹ vid. de Decr. init. and § 4. and p. 2. note c. We shall have abundant instances of the Arian changes as this Treatise proceeds. "It happens to thee," says S. Hilary to Constantius, "as to unskilful builders, always to be dissatisfied with what thou hast done; thou art ever destroying what thou art ever building." *contr. Constant.* 23. "O miserable state! with what seas of cares, with what storms, are they tossed! for now at one time, as the wind driveth them, they are carried away headlong in error; at another time, coming again to themselves, they are beaten back like contrary waves;

sometimes with rash presumption, they allow such things as seem uncertain, at another time of pusillanimity they are in fear even about those things which are certain; doubtful which way to take, which way to return, what to desire, what to avoid, what to hold, what to let go, &c." *Vincent. Comm.* 20. "He writes," says Athan. of Constantius, "and while he writes repents, and while he repents is exasperated; and then he grieves again, and not knowing how to act, he shews how bereft the soul is of understanding." *Hist. Arian.* 70. [*Hist. tracts* p. 282 O.T.] vid. also ad Ep. Æg. 6.

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tradict our predecessors, and transgress the traditions of the Fathers, therefore we have thought good that a Council should meet^u; but again, whereas we fear lest, should it meet at one place, our pains will be thrown away, therefore we have thought good that it be divided into two; that so when we put forth our articles to these separate portions, we may overreach with more effect, with the threat of Constantius the patron of this irreligion, and may abrogate the acts of Nicæa, under pretence of their simplicity.” If they have not put this into words, yet this is the meaning of their deeds and their disturbances. Certainly, many and frequent as have been their speeches and writings in various Councils, never yet have they made mention of the Arian heresy as unchristian¹; but, if any present happened to accuse the heresies, they always took up the defence of the Arian, which the Nicene Council had anathematized; nay, rather, they cordially welcomed the professors of Arianism. This then is in itself a strong argument, that the aim of the present Councils was not truth, but the annulling of the acts of Nicæa; but the proceedings of them and their friends in the Councils themselves, make it equally clear that this was the case:—So that it follows to relate every thing as it occurred.

¹ infr.
note b.

§ 8. 10. When all were in expectation that they were to assemble in one place, whom the Emperor’s letters convoked, and to form one Council, they were divided into two; and, while some betook themselves to Seleucia called the Rugged, the others met at Ariminum, to the number of those four hundred bishops and more, among whom were Germinius, Auxentius, Valens, Ursacius, Demophilus, and Caius^x. And, while the

^u “The Emperor [Theodosius] had a conversation with Nectarius, Bishop [of Constantinople], in what way to make Christendom concordant, and to unite the Church. This made Nectarius anxious; but Sisinnius, a man of ready speech and of practical experience, and thoroughly versed in the interpretation of the sacred writings and in the doctrines of philosophy, having a conviction that disputations would but aggravate the party spirit of the heresies instead of reconciling schisms, advises him to avoid dialectic engagements, and to appeal to the statements of the ancients, and to put the question

to the heresiarchs from the Emperor, whether they made any sort of account of the doctors who belonged to the Church before the division, or came to issue with them as aliens from Christianity; for if they made their authority null, therefore let them venture to anathematize them. But if they did venture, then they would be driven out by the people.” Socr. v. 10.

^x There were two Arian Bishops of Milan of the name of Auxentius, but little is known of them besides. S. Hilary wrote against the elder; the other came into collision with S. Ambrose. Demophilus, Bishop of Berea,

whole assembly was discussing the matter from the Divine Scriptures, these men produced a paper, and, reading the Consulate, they demanded that the whole Council should acquiesce in it, and that no questions should be put to the heretics beyond it, nor inquiry made into their meaning, but that it should be sufficient;—and it ran as follows^y:

СНАР.
I.

11. The Catholic Faith was published in the presence of our Sovereign the most religious and gloriously victorious Emperor, Constantius, Augustus, the eternal and majestic, in the Consulate of the most illustrious Flavians, Eusebius, and Hypatius, in Sirmium on the 11th of the Calends of June^z.

viii.
Confession, or
3rd Sirmian, of
359. vid.
§ 29.
infr.

We believe in one Only and True God, the Father Almighty, Creator and Framers of all things:

And in one Only-begotten Son of God, who, before all ages, and before all origin, and before all conceivable time, and before all comprehensible substance, was begotten impassibly from God; through whom the ages were disposed and all things were made; and Him begotten as the Only-begotten, Only from the Only Father, God from God, like to the Father who begat Him, according to the Scriptures; whose generation no one knoweth save the Father alone who begat Him. We know that He, the Only-begotten Son of God, at the Father's bidding came from the heavens for the abolishment of sin, and was born of the Virgin Mary, and conversed with the disciples, and fulfilled the economy according to the Father's will, and was crucified, and died and descended into the parts beneath the earth, and had the economy of things there, whom the gatekeepers of hell saw and shuddered; and He rose from the dead the third day, and conversed with the disciples, and fulfilled the economy, and when the forty days were full ascended into the heavens, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and is coming in the last day of the resurrection in the glory of the Father, to render to every one according to his works.

And in the Holy Ghost, whom the Only-begotten of God Himself, Jesus Christ, had promised to send to the race of men, the Paraclete, as it is written, "I go to the Father, and I will ask the Father, and He shall send unto you another Paraclete, even the Spirit of Truth." He shall take of Mine and shall teach and bring to your remembrance all things.

was one of those who carried the long Confession into the West, though not mentioned by Athan. below. He was afterwards claimed by Aetius, as agreeing with him. Of Caius, an Illyrian Bishop, nothing is known except that he sided throughout with the Arian party.

^y The Creed which follows had been prepared at Sirmium shortly before, and is the third, or, as some think, the fourth, drawn up at Sirmium. It was

the composition of Mark of Arethusa, yet it was written in Latin; and though Mark was a Semi-arian, it distinctly abandons the word substance. But this point of history is involved in much obscurity. As it stands it is a patchwork of two views. It will be observed, that it is the Creed on which Athanasius has been animadverting above.

^z May 22, 359, Whitsun-Eve.

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But whereas the term "substance," has been adopted by the Fathers in simplicity, and gives offence as being misconceived by the people, and is not contained in the Scriptures, it has seemed good to remove it, that it be never in any case used of God again, because the divine Scriptures no where use it of Father and Son. But we say that the Son is like the Father in all things, as all the Holy Scriptures say and teach^a.

§ 9. 12. When this had been read, the dishonesty of its framers was soon apparent. For on the Bishops proposing that the Arian heresy should be anathematized together with the other heresies^b, and all assenting, Ursacius and Valens and their friends refused; till in the event the Fathers condemned them, on the ground that their confession had been written, not in sincerity, but for the annulling of the Acts of Nicæa, and the introduction instead of their miserable heresy. Marvelling then at the deceitfulness of their language and their unprincipled intentions, the Bishops said; "Not as if in need of faith have we come hither; for we have within us faith, and that in soundness: but that we may put to shame those who gainsay the truth and attempt novelties. If then ye have drawn up this formula, as if now beginning to believe, ye are not so much as clerks, but are starting with school; but if you meet us with the same views, with which we have come hither, let there be a general unanimity, and let us anathematize the heresies, and preserve the teaching of the Fathers. Thus pleas for Councils will not longer circulate about, the Bishops at Nicæa having anticipated them once for all, and done all that was needful for the Catholic Church^c." However, even then, in

^a This clause shews the presence and influence of the Acacian party; but the confession is raised towards the end by the introduction of the phrase, "like in all things," *κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον*, which was added by Constantius himself, Epiph. Hær. 73. 22. and which in the minds of the more orthodox included "substance," vid. S. Cyril, Catech. iv. 7. xi. 18. a sense, however, which is contradictory to what goes before. It is impossible to go into this subject without being involved in historical difficulties, which there would be no room for discussing.

^b The Eusebian party began after the Nicene Council by attacking Atha-

nasius; then they held Councils to explain the faith; then they attacked the received terms of theology, and thereby the Nicene Creed, professing to adhere to Scripture. At Seleucia, as described infra, they openly attacked the Creed. But they did not dare avow the Arian heresy; the first step then on the part of the Catholics was to demand of them a condemnation of it. The Anomœans perplexed the Eusebians by letting out the secret of their real Arianism.

^c It need scarcely be said, that the great object of the Arians was to obtain a *consideration* of the doctrine settled at Nicæa by a new Council.

spite of this general agreement of the Bishops, still the above-mentioned refused. So at length the whole Council, condemning them as ignorant and deceitful men, or rather as heretics, gave their suffrages in behalf of the Nicene Council, and gave judgment all of them that it was enough; but as to the forenamed Ursacius and Valens, Germinius, Auxentius, Caius, and Demophilus, they pronounced them to be heretics, deposed them as not really Christians¹, but Arians, and wrote against them in Latin what has been translated in its substance² into Greek, thus:—

CHAΡ.
I.

13. *Copy of an Epistle from the Council to Constantius, Augustus*^d:—

§ 10.

“We believe it has been ordered by God’s command, upon the mandate^e of your religiousness, that we, the Bishops of the Western Provinces, came from all parts to Ariminum, for the manifestation of the Faith to all Catholic Churches and the detection of the heretics. For upon a discussion, in which we all took part who are right-minded, it was resolved to adhere to that faith which, enduring from antiquity we have ever received from Prophets, Gospels, and Apostles, from God Himself, and our Lord Jesus Christ, the upholder of your dominion, and the author of your welfare. For we deemed it to be a sin, to mutilate any work of the saints, and in particular of those who in the case of the Nicene formulary, held

This Athan. all through his works strenuously resists. In the Letter which follows, the Council observes, that the Emperor had commanded “to treat of the faith,” under which ambiguous phrase the Arians attempted to “propose,” as they say, “something novel for their consideration.” And so at Sardica the Council writes to Pope Julius, that the Emperors Constantius and Constans had proposed three subjects for its consideration; first, “that all points in discussion should be debated afresh (*de integro*), and above all concerning the holy faith and the integrity of the truth which [the Arians] had violated.” Hil. Fragm. ii. 11. Enemies of the Arians seem to have wished this as well as themselves; and the Council got into difficulty in consequence. Hosius the president and Protogenes Bishop of the place wrote to the Pope to explain, “from fear,” says Sozomen, “lest some might think that there was any innovation upon the Nicene decrees.” iii. 12. From his way of stating the matter, Sozomen seems to have himself

believed that the Council did publish a creed. And, as has been alluded to in a former note, p. 70. a remarkable confession, and attributed to the Council, does exist. Accordingly Athanasius, Eusebius of Vercellæ, and the Council of Alexandria, A. D. 362, protest against the idea. “It is true that certain persons wished to add to the Nicene Council as if there was something wanting, but the Holy Council was displeased,” &c. Tom. ad Antioch. However, Vigilius of Thapsus repeats the report. *contr. Eutyech. v. init.*

^d The same version of the Letter which follows is found in Socr. ii. 39. Soz. iv. 10. Theod. Hist. ii. 19. Niceph. i. 40. On comparison with the Latin original, which is preserved by Hilary, Fragm. viii. it appears to be so very freely executed, that it has been thought better here to translate it from the text of Hilary.

^e *Expræcepto*. *Præceptum* becomes a technical word afterwards for a royal deed, charter, or edict; and it has somewhat of that meaning even here.

¹ *supr.*
p. 27,
note h.
² *κατὰ*
δύναμιν

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session together with Constantine of glorious memory, the Father of your religiousness. Which formulary was put abroad and gained entrance into the minds of the people, and being at that time drawn up against Arianism, is found to be such, that heresies are overthrown by it; from which, if aught were subtracted, an opening is made to the poison of the heretics.

Accordingly Ursacius and Valens formerly came into suspicion of the said Arian heresy, and were suspended from Communion, and asked pardon according to their letters¹, and obtained it then at the Council of Milan, in the presence of the legates of the Roman Church. And since Constantine was at the Nicene Council, when the formulary was drawn up with great deliberation, and after being baptized with the profession of it, departed to God's rest, we think it a crime to mutilate aught in it, and in any thing to detract from so many Saints, and Confessors, and Successors of Martyrs who drew it up; considering that they in turn preserved all doctrine of the Catholics who were before them, according to the Scriptures, and that they remained unto these times in which thy religiousness has received the charge of ruling the world from God the Father through our God and Lord Jesus Christ. For them, they were attempting to pull up what had been reasonably laid down. For, whereas the letters of your religiousness commanded to treat of the faith, there was proposed to us by the aforementioned troublers of the Churches, Germinius being associated with Auxentius^f and Caius, something novel for our consideration, which contained many particulars of perverse doctrine. Accordingly, when they found that what they proposed publicly in the Council was unacceptable, they considered that they must draw up another statement. Indeed it is certain that they have often changed these formularies in a short time. And lest the Churches should have a recurrence of these disturbances, it seemed good to keep the ancient and reasonable institutions. For the information therefore of your clemency, we have instructed our legates to acquaint you of the judgment of the Council by our letter, to whom we have given this sole direction, not to execute the legation otherwise than for the stability and permanence of the ancient decrees; that your wisdom also might know, that peace would not be accomplished by the removal of those decrees, as the aforesaid Valens and Ursacius, Germinius and Caius, engaged. On the contrary, troubles have in consequence been excited in all regions and the Roman Church.

On this account we ask your clemency to regard and hear all our legates with favourable ears and a serene countenance, and

^f Auxentius, omitted in Hilary's copy, is inserted here, and in the Decree which follows, from the Greek, since Athanasius has thus given his sanction to the fact of his being condemned at Ariminum. Yet Auxentius appeals to Ariminum triumphantly. Hil. contr. Aux. fin. Socrates, Hist. ii. 37. says, that Demophilus also was de-

posed, but he was an Eastern Bishop, if he be Demophilus of Berea. vid. Coustant. on Hil. Fragm. vii. p. 1342. Yet he is mentioned also by Athanasius as present, supra, § 9. A few words are wanting in the Latin in the commencement of one of the sentences which follow.

¹ supr.
p. 74.
note d.

not to suffer aught to be abrogated to the dishonour of the ancients; so that all things may continue which we have received from our forefathers, who, as we trust, were prudent men, and acted not without the Holy Spirit of God; because by these novelties not only are faithful nations troubled, but the infidels also are deterred from believing. We pray also that you would give orders that so many Bishops, who are detained at Ariminum, among whom are numbers who are broken with age and poverty, may return to their own country, lest the members of their Churches suffer, as being deprived of their Bishops. This, however, we ask with earnestness, that nothing be innovated, nothing withdrawn; but that all remain incorrupt which has continued in the times of the Father of your sacred piety and in your own religious days; and that your holy prudence will not permit us to be harassed, and torn from our sees; but that the Bishops may in quiet give themselves always to the prayers, which they do always offer for your own welfare and for your reign, and for peace, which may the Divinity bestow on you, according to your merits, profound and perpetual! But our legates will bring the subscriptions and names of the Bishops or Legates, as another letter informs your holy and religious prudence.

14. *Decree of the Council* §.

§ 11.

As far as it was fitting, dearest brethren, the Catholic Council has had patience, and has so often displayed the Church's forbearance towards Ursacius and Valens, Germinius, Caius, and Auxentius; who by so often changing what they had believed, have troubled all the Churches, and still are endeavouring to introduce their heretical spirit into Christian minds. For they wish to annul the formulary passed at Nicæa, which was framed against the Arian and other heresies. They have presented to us besides a creed drawn up by themselves, which we could not lawfully receive. Even before this have they been pronounced heretics by us, and it has been confirmed by a long period, whom we have not admitted to our communion, but condemned them in their presence by our voices. Now then, what seems good to you, again declare, that it may be ratified by the subscription of each.

All the Bishops answered, It seems good that the aforementioned heretics should be condemned, that the Church may remain in unshaken faith, which is truly Catholic, and in perpetual peace.

15. Matters at Ariminum then had this speedy issue; for

§ This Decree is also here translated from the original in Hilary, who has besides preserved the "Catholic Definition" of the Council, in which it professes its adherence to the Creed of Nicæa, and in opposition to the Sirmian Confession which the Arians had

proposed, acknowledges in particular both the word and the meaning of "substance:" "substantiæ nomen et rem, à multis sanctis Scripturis insinuatam mentibus nostris, obtinere debere sui firmitatem." *Fragm. vii. 3.*

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there was no disagreement there, but all of them with one accord both put into writing what they decided upon, and deposed the Arians^h. Meanwhile the transactions in Seleucia the Rugged were as follows: it was in the month called by the Romans September, by the Egyptians Thoth, and by the Macedonians Gorpiaeusⁱ, and the day of the month according to the Egyptians the 16th, upon which all the members of the Council assembled together. And there were present about a hundred and sixty; and whereas there were many who were accused among them, and their accusers were crying out against them, Acacius, and Patrophilus, and Uranius of Tyre, and Eudoxius, who usurped the Church of Antioch, and Leontius, and Theodotus, and Evagrius, and Theodulus, and George who has been driven from the whole world^k, adopt an unprincipled course. Fearing the proofs which their accusers had to shew against them, they coalesced with the rest of the Arian party^l, (who were mercenaries in the cause of irreligion as if for this purpose, and

^h Athanasius seems to have known no more of the proceedings at Ariminum, which perhaps were then in progress, when he wrote this Treatise; their termination, as is well known, was very unhappy, "Ingemuit totus orbis," says S. Jerome, "et Arianum se esse miratus est." ad Lucif. 19. A deputation of ten persons was sent from the Council to Constantius, to which Valens opposed one of his own. Constantius pretended the barbarian war, and delayed an answer till the beginning of October, the Council having opened in July. The postscript to this Treatise contained the news of this artifice and of the Council's distress in consequence, which Athanasius had just heard. He also seems to have inserted into his work, § 30 and 31, upon the receipt of the news of the mission of Valens to Constantinople, a mission which ended in the submission of the Catholic delegacy. Upon this returning to Ariminum with the delegates and the Arian creed they had signed (vid. *infr.* § 30.), Valens, partly by menaces and partly by sophistry, succeeded in procuring the subscriptions of the Council also to the same formula.

ⁱ Gorpiaeus was the first month of the Syro-Macedonic year among the

Greeks, dating according to the era of the Seleucidæ. The Roman date of the meeting of the Council was the 27th of September. The original transactions at Ariminum had at this time been finished as much as two months, and its deputies were waiting for Constantius in Constantinople.

^k There is little to observe of these Acacian Bishops in addition to what has been said of several of them, except that George is the Cappadocian, the notorious intruder into the see of S. Athanasius. The charges which lay against them were of various kinds. Socrates says that the Acacian party consisted in all of 34; others increase it by a few more.

^l The Eusebian or Court party are here called Acacian, and were Anomœans and Semi-arians alternately, or more properly as they may be called Homœan or Scriptural; for Arians, Semi-arians, and Anomœans, all used theological terms as well as the Catholics. The Semi-arians numbered about 100, the remaining dozen might be the Egyptian Bishops who were zealous supporters of the Catholic cause. However, there were besides a few Anomœans or Arians, as Athan. calls them, with whom the Acacians now coalesced.

were ordained by Secundus who had been deposed by the great Council,) the Libyan Stephen, and Seras, and Pollux, who were under accusation upon various charges, next Pancratius, and one Ptolemy a Meletian^m. And they made a pretence of entering upon the question of faith, but it was clearⁿ they were doing so from fear of their accusers; and they took the part of the heresy, till at length they were left by themselves. For, whereas supporters of the Acacians lay under suspicion and were very few, but the others were the majority; therefore the Acacians, acting with the boldness of desperation, altogether denied the Nicene formula, and censured the Council, while the others, who were the majority, accepted the whole proceedings of the Council, except that they complained of the word "Consubstantial," as obscure and open to suspicion. When then time passed, and the accusers pressed, and the accused put in pleas, and thereby were led on further by their irreligion and blasphemed the Lord, thereupon the majority of Bishops became indignant^o, and deposed Acacius, Patrophilus, Uranius, Eudoxius, and George the contractor¹, and others from Asia, Leontius, and Theodosius, Evagrius and Theodoret, and excommunicated Asterius, Eusebius, Augerus, Basilicus, Phœbus, Fidelius, Euty chius, and Magnus. And this they did on their non-appearance, when summoned to defend themselves on charges which numbers preferred against them. And they decreed that so they should remain, until they made their defence and cleared themselves

¹ pork contractor to the troops, ἰσοδέκτην, Hist. Arian. 75. vid. Naz. Orat. 21. 16.

^m The Meletian schismatics of Egypt had formed an alliance with the Arians from the first. Athan. imputes the alliance to ambition and avarice in the Meletians, and to zeal for their heresy in the Arians. Ad Ep. Æg. 22. vid. also Hist. Arian. 78. [Hist. tracts pp. 151, 289, 290 O.T.] After Sardica the Semi-arians attempted a coalition with the Donatists of Africa. Aug. contr. Cresc. iii. 38.

ⁿ Acacius had written to the Semi-arian Macedonius of Constantinople in favour of the *κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον*, and of the Son's being *τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας*, and this the Council was aware of. Soz. iv. 22. Acacius made answer that no one ancient or modern was ever judged by his writings. Soer. ii. 40.

^o They also confirmed the Semi-arian Confession of the Dedication,

341. of which *infra*. § 22. Basil of Ancyra, the leading Semi-arian, was not present; and he and Mark of Arethusa were both parties to the Acacian third Sirmium Confession, which had been proposed at Ariminum. George of Laodicea, however, who was with him at the Council of Ancyra in the foregoing year, acted as the leader of the Semi-arians. After this the Acacians drew up another Confession, which Athan. has preserved, *infra*, § 29. in which they persist in their rejection of all but Scripture terms. This the Semi-arian majority rejected, and proceeded to depose its authors. There is nothing to remark as regards the names of Arian Bishops here introduced into the text.

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of the offences imputed to them. And after despatching the sentence pronounced against them to the diocese of each, they proceeded to Constantius, that most irreligious^p Augustus, to report to him their proceedings, as they had been ordered. And this was the termination of the Council in Seleucia.

§ 13. 16. Who then but must approve of the conscientious conduct of the Bishops at Ariminum? who endured such labour of journey and perils of sea, that by a sacred and canonical resolution they might depose the Arians, and guard inviolate the definitions of the Fathers. For each of them deemed that, if they undid the acts of their predecessors, they were affording a pretext to their successors to undo what they themselves then were enacting¹. And who but must condemn the fickleness of the party of Eudoxius and Acacius, who sacrifice² the honour due to their own

¹ *supr.*
p. 80,
note r.

² *προπι-
νουσι.*
infr. §
16. *fin.*

^p Up to the year 356, Athanasius had treated Constantius as a member of the Church; but at that date the Eusebian or Court party abandoned the Semi-arians for the Anomeans, George of Cappadocia was sent as Bishop to Alexandria, Athanasius was driven into the desert, S. Hilary and other Western Bishops were sent into banishment, Hosius was persecuted into signing an Arian confession, and Pope Liberius into communicating with the Arians. Upon this Athanasius changed his tone and considered that he had to deal with an Antichrist. We have seen above, note g, the language both of himself and others in consequence. In his *Apol. contr. Arian. init.* (A.D. 350.) ad Ep. Æg. 5. (356.) and his *Apol. ad Constant. passim.* (356.) he calls the Emperor most pious, religious, &c. At the end of the last mentioned work, § 27. the news comes to him while in exile of the persecution of the Western Bishops and the measures against himself. He still in the peroration calls Constantius, "blessed and divinely favoured Augustus," and urges on him that he is a "Christian, *φιλῶχριστος*, Emperor." In the works which follow, *Apol. de fuga*, § 26. (357.) he calls him an heretic; and *Hist. Arian.* § 45, &c. (358.) speaking of the treatment of Hosius, &c. he calls him "Ahab," "Bel-

shazzar," "Saul," "Antichrist." The passage at the end of the *Apol. contr. Arian.* [*Hist. tracts*, p. 123 O.T.] in which he speaks of the "much violence and tyrannical power of Constantius," is an addition of Athan.'s at a later date, *vid. Montfaucon's note on § 88. fin.* This is worth mentioning, as it shews the unfairness of the following passage from Gibbon, ch. xxi. note 116. "As Athanasius dispersed secret invectives against Constantius, see the Epistle to the monks," [i. e. *Hist. Arian. ad Monach. A.D. 358.*] "*at the same time* that he assured him of his profound respect, we might distrust the professions of the Archbishop. tom. i. p. 677." [i. e. apparently *Apol. ad Const. A.D. 356.*] Again in a later part of the chapter, "In his public Apologies, which he addressed to the Emperor himself, he sometimes affected the praise of moderation; *whilst at the same time* in secret and vehement invectives he exposed Constantius as a weak and wicked prince, the executioner of his family, the tyrant of the republic, and the Antichrist of the Church." He offers no proof of this assertion. It may be added that S. Greg. Naz. praises Constantius, but it is in contrast to Julian. *Orat. iv. 3. v. 6.* And S. Ambrose, but it is for his enmity to paganism. *Ep. i. 18. n. 32.*

fathers to partizanship and patronage of the Ario-maniacs¹? for what confidence can be placed in their acts, if the acts of their fathers be undone? or how call they them fathers and themselves successors, if they set about impeaching their judgment? and especially what can Acacius say of his own master, Eusebius, who not only gave his subscription in the Nicene Council, but even in a letter¹ signified to his flock, that that was true faith, which the Council had declared? for, if he explained himself in that letter in his

¹ vid.
supr. de
Decr.
§ 3.

¹ “The dumb ass forbade the madness of the prophet,” παραφρονίαν. On the word Ἀρειομανῖται, Gibbon observes, “The ordinary appellation with which Athanasius and his followers chose to compliment the Arians, was that of Ariomanites,” ch. xxi. note 61. Rather, the name originally was a state title, enjoined by Constantine, vid. Petav. de Trin. i. 8 fin. Naz. Orat. p. 794. note e. and thenceforth used by the general Church, e.g. Eustathius of Antioch, ap. Theod. Hist. i. 7. Constant. ap. Concil. t. i. p. 456. b. Hilar. de Trin. vi. Julius ap. Athan. Apol. 23. Council of Egypt, ibid. 6. Phæbadius, contr. Arian. circ. fin. Epiph. Hier. 69. 19. (ὁ μανιώδης Ἀρείου.) Greg. Naz. Orat. ii. 37. τὴν Ἀρείου καλῶς ὀνομασθεῖσαν μανίαν, and so ὁ τῆς μανίας ἐπώνυμος. Orat. 43. 30. vid. also Orat. 20. 5. and so Proclus, τὴν Ἀρείου μανίαν. ad Armen. p. 618 fin. And Athan. e.g. μανίαν διαβόλου. ad Serap. i. 1. also ad Serap. i. 17 fin. 19 init. 20 d. 24 e. 29 e. ii. 1 fin. iv. 5 init. 6 fin. 15 fin. 16 fin. In some of these the denial of the divinity of the Holy Ghost is the madness. In like manner Hilary speaks continually of their “furor.” de Trin. e. g. i. 17. Several meanings are implied in this title; the real reason for it was the fanatical fury with which it spread and maintained itself; e.g. ὁ μανικός ἐραστής τοῦ χριστοῦ, enthusiastic. Chrysost. in Esai. vi. l. Hom. iv. 3. p. 124. Thus Athan. contrasts the Arian hatred of the truth, with the mere worldliness of the Meletians, supr. p. 89. note m. Hence they are ἄσεβεις, χριστομάχοι, and governed by κακόνοια and κακοφροσύνη. Again Socrates speaks of it as a flame which ravaged, ἐπενέμετο, provinces and cities. i. 6. And Alexander cries out, ὡ ἀνοσίου τύφου καὶ ἀμέτρον μανίας. Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 741. vid. also pp. 735, 6, 747. And we read much of their eager spirit

of proselytism. Theod. ibid. The original word *mania* best expresses it in English. Their cruelty came into this idea of their “mania;” hence Athan. in one place calls the Arian women, in the tumult under George of Cappadocia, *Manades*. “They running up and down like Bacchanales and furies, μαινάδες καὶ ἐρίνυες, thought it a misfortune not to find opportunity for injury, and passed that day in grief in which they could do no harm.” Hist. Arian. 59. [Hist. tracts p. 272 O.T.] Also “profana Arionorum novitas velut quedam Bellona aut Furia.” Vincent. Common. 6. Eustathius speaks of οἱ παράδοχοι τῆς ἀρείου θυμέλης μεσόχοροι. ap. Phot. 225. p. 759. And hence the strange paronomasia of Constantine, Ἀρὲς, ἄρειε, with an allusion to Hom. II. v. 31. A second reason, or rather sense, of the appellation was what is noted, supr. p. 2, note e. that, denying the Word, they have forfeited the gift of reason, e.g. τῶν Ἀρειομανιτῶν τὴν ἀλογίαν. de Sent. Dion. init. vid. ibid. 24 fin. Orat. ii. § 32. c. iii. § 63. throughout. Hence in like manner Athan. speaks of the heathen as mad who did not acknowledge God and His Word. contr. Gent. fin. also 23 fin. Hence he speaks of εἰδωλομανία. contr. Gent. 10. and 21 fin. Again, Incarn. 47. he speaks of the *mania* of oracles, which belongs rather to the former sense of the word. Other heresies had the word *mania* applied to them, e.g. that of Valentinus Athan. Orat. ii. § 70 [infra p. 382]. κὰν μαινῆται. Epiphanius speaks of the ἐμμανῆς διδασκαλία of the Noetians. Hier. 57. 2. Nazianzen contrasts the sickness, νόσος, of Sabellius with the madness of Arius, Orat. 20. 5; but Athan. says, μαινεται μὲν Ἀρείου, μαινεται δὲ Σαβέλλιος, Orat. iv. 25 [infra p. 543]: But this note might be prolonged indefinitely.

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own way¹, yet he did not contradict the Council's terms, but even charged it upon the Arians, that, their position that the Son was not before His generation, was not even consistent with His being before Mary. What then will they proceed to teach the people who are under their teaching? that the Fathers erred? and how are they themselves to be trusted by those, whom they teach to disobey their Teachers? and with what faces too will they look upon the sepulchres of the Fathers whom they now name heretics? And why do they defame the Valentinians, Phrygians, and Manichees, yet give the name of saint to those whom they themselves suspect of making parallel statements? or how can they any longer be Bishops, if they were ordained by persons whom they accuse of heresy¹? But if their sentiments were wrong and their writings seduced the world, then let their memory perish altogether; when, however, you cast out their books, go and cast out their relics too from the cemeteries, so that one and all may know that they are seducers, and that you are parricides.

¹ p. 80,
note r;
p. 82,
note u.

§ 14.
1 Cor.
11, 2.

The blessed Apostle approves of the Corinthians because, he says, *ye remember me in all things, and keep the traditions as I delivered them to you*; but they, as entertaining such views of their predecessors, will have the daring to say just the reverse to their flocks: "We praise you not for remembering your fathers, but rather we make much of you, when you hold not their traditions." And let them go on to cast a slur on their own ignoble birth, and say, "We are sprung not of religious men but of heretics." For such language, as I said before, is consistent in those who barter² their Fathers' fame and their own salvation for Arianism, and fear not the words of the divine proverb, *There is a generation that curseth their father*, and the threat lying in the Law against such.

² *προπί-
νουσι*, de
Decr.
§ 4.

Prov.
30, 11.

17. They then, from zeal for the heresy, are of this obstinate temper; you, however, be not troubled at it, nor take their audacity for truth. For they dissent from each other, and, whereas they have revolted from their Fathers, are not of one and the same mind, but float about with various and discordant changes. And, as quarrelling with

¹ *ὡς ἠθέλησεν*. vid. also de Decr. § 3. *ὡς ἠθέλησαν*. ad Ep. Æg. 5.

the Council of Nicæa, they have held many Councils themselves, and have published a faith in each of them, and have stood to none¹, nay, they will never do otherwise, for per-¹ ad Ep. versely seeking, they will never find that Wisdom which they hate. I have accordingly subjoined portions both of Arius's writings and of whatever else I could collect, of their publications in different Councils; whereby you will learn to your surprise with what object they stand out against an Ecumenical² Council and their own Fathers² without blushing.

CHAP.
I.

ad Ep.

Æg. 6.

[Hist.

tracts,

p. 132

O.T.]

² supr.

p. 49,

note o.

CHAP. II.

HISTORY OF ARIAN OPINIONS.

Arius's own sentiments; his Thalia and Letter to S. Alexander; corrections by Eusebius and others; extracts from the works of Asterius; letter of the Council of Jerusalem; first Creed of Arians at the Dedication of Antioch; second, Lucian's on the same occasion; third, by Theophronius; fourth, sent to Constans in Gaul; fifth, the Macrostiche sent into Italy; sixth, at Sirmium; seventh, at the same place; and eighth also, as given above in Chapter i; ninth, at Seleucia; tenth, at Constantinople; eleventh, at Antioch.

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I. ARIUS and his friends thought and professed thus: "God made the Son out of nothing, and called Him His Son;" "The Word of God is one of the creatures;" and "Once He was not;" and "He is alterable; capable, when it is His will, of altering."

§ 15.

Accordingly they were expelled from the Church by Alexander of blessed memory. However, after his expulsion, when he was with the Eusebians, he drew up his heresy upon paper, and imitating, as if in festivity¹, no grave writer, but the Egyptian Sotades, in the dissolute tone of his metre^a, he writes at great length, for instance as follows:—

¹ ὡς ἐν
θαλίᾳ

2. *Blasphemies of Arius.*

God Himself then, in His own nature, is ineffable by all men.

Equal or like Himself He alone has none, or one in glory.

^a Again, Orat. i. § 2—5. he calls him the Sotadean Arius; and speaks of the "dissolute manners," and "the effeminate tone," and the "jests" of the Thalia; a poem which, he says shortly before, "is not even found among the more respectable Greeks, but among those only who sing songs over their wine, with noise and revel," [infra p. 182]; vid. also de Sent. D. 6. Constantine also after the Ἄρες Ἄρειε, proceeds, ἐπισχέτω δέ σε ἡ γοῦν Ἀφροδίτης ὁμιλία. Epiph. Hær. 69. 9 fin. Socrates too says that "the character of the book was gross and dissolute." Hist. i. 9. The Arian Philostorgius tells us that "Arius wrote songs for the sea and for the mill and for the road, and then set them to suitable music," Hist. ii. 2. It is remarkable that Athanasius

should say the *Egyptian* Sotades, and again in Sent. D. 6. There were two Poets of the name; one a writer of the Middle Comedy, Athen. Deipn. vii. 11; but the other, who is here spoken of, was a native of Maronea in Crète, according to Suidas (in voc.), under the successors of Alexander, Athen. xiv. 4. He wrote in Ionic metre, which was of infamous name from the subjects to which he and others applied it. vid. Suid. ibid. Some read "Sotadicos" for "Socraticos," Juv. Satir. ii. 10. vid. also Martial Ep. ii. 86. The characteristic of the metre was the recurrence of the same cadence, which virtually destroyed the division into verses, Turneb. in Quinct. i. 8. and thus gave the composition that lax and slovenly air to which Athanasius

And Ingenerate we call Him, because of Him who is generate by nature. CHAP.
II.

We praise Him as Unoriginate because of Him who has an origin.
And adore Him as everlasting, because of Him who in time has
come to be.

The Unoriginate made the Son an origin of things generated ;
And advanced Him as a Son to Himself by adoption.
He has nothing proper to God in proper subsistence.
For He is not equal, no, nor one in substance ^b with Him.
Wise is God, for He is the teacher of Wisdom ^c.
There is full proof that God is invisible to all beings,
Both to things which are through the Son, and to the Son He is
invisible.

I will say it expressly, how by the Son is seen the Invisible ;
By that power by which God sees, and in His own measure,
The Son endures to see the Father, as is lawful.
Thus there is a Three, not in equal glories.
Not intermingling with each other ^d are their subsistences.
One more glorious than the other in their glories unto immensity.
Foreign from the Son in substance is the Father, for He is
Unoriginate.

alludes. Horace's Ode, "Miserarum est nec amori, &c." is a specimen of this metre, and some have called it Sotadic ; but Bentley shews in loc. that Sotades wrote in the Ionic à majore, and that his verse had somewhat more of system than is found in the Ode of Horace. Athenæus implies that all Ionic metres were called Sotadic, or that Sotades wrote in various Ionic metres. The Church adopted the Doric music, and forbade the Ionic and Lydian. The name "Thalia" commonly belonged to convivial songs ; Martial contrasts the "lasciva Thalia" with "carmina sanctiora," Epigr. vii. 17. vid. Thaliarchus, "the master of the feast," Horat. Od. i. 9. If one were to attempt to form a judgment on the nature of Arius's proceeding, it would be this ; that he attempted to popularize his heresy by introducing it into the common employments and recreations of life, and having no reverence, he fell into the error of modern religionists, who, with a better creed, sing spiritual songs at table, and use in their chapels glees and opera airs. This would be more offensive of old even than now, in proportion to the keener sensibilities of the South and the more definite ideas which music

seems to have conveyed to their minds ; and more especially in a case where the metre Arius employed had obtained so shocking a reputation, and was associated in the minds of Christians with the deeds of darkness, in the midst of which in those heathen times the Church lived and witnessed.

^b This passage ought to have been added to note t, p. 35. *supr.* as containing a more direct denial of the *ὁμοούσιον* ; so incorrect is Gibbon's assertion, that on Eusebius's "ingenuously confessing that it was incompatible with the principles of their theological system, the *fortunate opportunity* was eagerly embraced by the Bishops," as if they were bent at all hazards, and without reference to the real and substantial agreement or disagreement of themselves and the Arians, to find some word which might accidentally serve to exclude the latter from communion.

^c That is, Wisdom, or the Son, is but the *disciple* of Him who is Wise, and not the *attribute* by which He is Wise, which is what the Sabellians said, vid. Orat. iv. § 2. and what Arius imputed to the Church.

^d ἀνεπιμικτοί, that is, he denied the *περιχώρησις*, vid. *infra*, Orat. iii. 3, &c.

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ARIM.
AND
SELEU.

Understand that the One was ; but the Two was not, before it was
in existence.

It follows at once that, though the Son was not, the Father was God.

Hence the Son, not being, (for He existed at the will of the Father,)

Is God Only-begotten, and He is alien from either.

Wisdom existed as Wisdom by the will of the Wise God.

Hence He is conceived in numberless conceptions^e.

Spirit, Power, Wisdom, God's glory, Truth, Image, and Word.

Understand that He is conceived to be Radiance and Light.

One equal to the Son, the Superior is able to generate.

But more excellent, or superior, or greater, He is not able.

At God's will the Son is what and whatsoever He is.

And when and since He was, from that time He has subsisted
from God.

He, being a strong God, praises in His degree the Superior.

To speak in brief, God is ineffable by His Son.

For He is to Himself what He is, that is, unspeakable.

So that nothing which is called comprehensible^f

Does the Son know to speak about; for it is impossible for Him

To investigate the Father, who is by Himself.

For the Son does not know His own substance,

For, being Son, He really existed, at the will of the Father.

What argument then allows, that He who is from the Father

Should know His own parent by comprehension?

For it is plain that, for That which hath origin

To conceive how the Unoriginate is,

Or to grasp the idea, is not possible.

§ 16. 3. And what they wrote by letter to Alexander of blessed
memory, the Bishop, runs as follows:—

*To Our Blessed Pope^g and Bishop, Alexander, the Presbyters
and Deacons, send health in the Lord.*

Our faith from our forefathers, which also we have learned from

^e ἐπινοίας, that is, our Lord's titles are but *names*, or *figures*, not properly belonging to Him but only existing in our minds.

^f κατὰ κατάληψιν, that is, there is nothing comprehensible in the Father for the Son to know and declare. On the other hand the doctrine of the Anomæans, who in most points agreed with Arius, was, that all men could know Almighty God perfectly; according to Socrates, who says, "Not to seem to be slandering, listen to Eunomius him-

self, what words he dares to use in sophistry concerning God; they run thus:—^g God knows not of His substance more than we do; nor is it known to Him more, to us less; but whatsoever we may know of it, that He too knows; and what again He, that you will find without any distinction in us." Hist. iv. 7.

^g Alexander is also so called, Theod. Hist. i. 4. p. 749. Athanasius, Hieron. contr. Joan. 4. Heraclas, also of Alexandria, by Dionysius apud Euseb. Hist.

thee, Blessed Pope, is this:—We acknowledge One God, alone Ingenerate, alone Everlasting, alone Unoriginate, alone True, alone having Immortality, alone Wise, alone Good, alone Sovereign; Judge, Governor, and Providence of all, unalterable and unchangeable, just and good, God of Law and Prophets and New Testament; who generated an Only-begotten Son before eternal times, through whom He has made both the ages and the universe; and generated Him, not in semblance, but in truth; and that He made Him subsist at His own will unalterable and unchangeable; perfect creature of God, but not as one of the creatures; offspring, but not as one of things generated; nor as Valentinus pronounced that the offspring of the Father was an issue^h; nor as Manichæus taught that the offspring was a portion of the Father, one in substanceⁱ; or as Sabellius, dividing the One, speaks of a Son-and-Father^k; nor as Hieracas, of one torch from another, or as a lamp divided into two^l; nor that He who was before, was afterwards generated or new-created into a Son^m, as thou too thyself, Blessed

vii. 7. Epiphanius of Cyprus, Hieron. Ep. 57, 2. John of Jerusalem, Hier. contr. Joan. 4. Cyprian of Carthage, Ep. ap. Cypr. 31. Augustine of Hippo, Hier. Ep. 141 init. Lupus, Pragmatius, Leontius, Theoplastus, Eutropius, &c. of Gaul, by Sidon. Apoll. Ep. vi. Eutyches, Archimandrite, Abraham Abbot, are called by the same name, in the Acts of Chalcedon.

^h What the Valentinian *προβολή* was, is described in Epiph. Hær. 31, 13. The *Æons*, wishing to shew thankfulness to God, contributed together (*ἐρανισαμένους*) whatever was most beautiful of each of them, and moulding these several excellencies into one, formed this Issue, *προβαλέσθαι πρόβλημα*, to the honour and glory of the Profound, *βύθος*, and they called this star and flower of the Pleroma, Jesus, &c. And so Tertullian “a joint contribution, ex ære collatitio, to the honour and glory of the Father, ex omnium defloratione constructum,” contr. Valent. 12. Accordingly Origen protests against the notion of *προβολή*, Periarch. iv. p. 190. and Athanasius Expos. § 1. The Arian Asterius too considers *προβολή* to introduce the notion of *τεκνογονία*, Euseb. contr. Marc. i. 4. p. 20. vid. also Epiph. Hær. 72. 7. Yet Eusebius uses the word *προβάλλεσθαι*. Eccles. Theol. i. 8. On the other hand Tertullian uses it with a protest against the Valentinian sense. Justin has *προβληθέν γέννημα*, Tryph. 62. [p. 150 O.T.] And Nazianzen calls the Almighty Father *προβολεὺς* of the Holy Spirit. Orat. 29. 2. Arius introduces the word here as an *argumentum ad invidiam*. Hil. de Trin. vi. 9.

ⁱ The Manichees adopting a material notion of the divine substance, considered that it was divisible, and that a portion of it was absorbed by the power of darkness, vid. Appendix to Translation of S. Augustine's Confessions, ii. pp. 320 sqq.

^k *ὕψιστόρα*. This word is made the symbol of the Noetians or Sabellians by both Catholics and Arians, as if their doctrine involved or avowed Patripassianism, or that the Father suffered. Without entering upon the controversy raised by Beausobre (Hist. Manich. iii. 6. § 7, &c.), Mosheim (Ant. Constant. sæc. ii. § 68. iii. 32.), and Lardner (Cred. part ii. ch. 41.), on the subject, we may refer to the following passages for the use of the term. It is ascribed to Sabellius, Ammon. in Caten. Joan. i. 1. p. 14: to Sabellius and Marcellus, Euseb. Eccl. Theol. ii. 5: to Marcellus, Cyr. Hier. Catech. xv. 9. also iv. 8. xi. 16. Epiph. Hær. 73. 11 fin.: to Sabellians, Athan. Expos. Fid. 2. and 7 Can. Constant. and Greg. Nyssen. contr. Eun. xii. p. 733: to certain heretics, Cyril. Alex. in Joann. p. 243. [p. 282 O.T.]: to Praxeas and Montanus, Mar. Merc. p. 128: to Sabellius, Cæsar. Dial. i. p. 550: to Noetus, Damasc. Hær. 57.

^l Hieracas was a Manichæan. He compared the Two Divine Persons to the two lights of one lamp, where the oil is common and the flame double, thus implying a substance distinct from Father and Son, or to a flame divided into two by (for instance) the papyrus which was commonly used instead of a wick. vid. Hilar. de Trin. vi. 12.

^m Bull considers that the doctrine

COUNC. Pope, in the midst of the Church and in Session hast often con-
ARIM. demned; but, as we say, at the will of God, created before times
AND and before ages, and gaining life and being from the Father, who
SELEU. gave subsistence to His glories together with Him. For the Father
did not, in giving to Him the inheritance of all things, deprive Him-
self, of what He has ingenerately in Himself; for He is the Fountain
of all things.

Thus there are Three Subsistences. And God, being the cause
of all things, is Unoriginate and altogether Sole, but the Son being
generated apart from time by the Father, and being created and
founded before ages, was not before His generation, but being
generated apart from time before all things, alone was made to
subsist by the Father. For He is not eternal or co-eternal or co-
ingenerate with the Father, nor has He His being together with the
Father, as some speak of relationsⁿ, introducing two ingenerate
origins, but God is before all things as being a One and an
Origin of all. Wherefore also He is before the Son; as we have
learned also from thy preaching in the midst of the Church. So
far then as from God He has being, and glories, and life, and all
things are delivered unto Him, in such sense is God His origin.

Rom. 11, For He is above Him, as being His God and before Him. But
36. if the terms *from Him*, and *from the womb*, and *I came forth from*
Ps. 110, 3. *the Father, and I am come*¹, be understood by some to mean as if a
John 16, part of Him, one in substance, or as an issue, then the Father is
28. according to them compounded and divisible and alterable and
¹ ἦκω material, and, as far as their belief goes, has the circumstances of a
and so body, who is the Incorporeal God.
Chrys. Hom. 3.

Hebr. This is a part of what the Arians cast out from their
init. heretical hearts.

Epiph. 4. And before the Nicene Council took place, similar state-
Hær. 73. of such Fathers is here spoken of as

31. and held that our Lord's *συγκατάβασις* to
36. createtheworldwas *α γέννησις*, and cer-
§ 17. tainly such language as that of Hippol.
contr. Noet. § 15. favours the supposition.
But one class of the Sabellians
may more probably be intended, who
held that the Word became the Son
on His incarnation, such as Marcellus,
vid. Euseb. Eccles. Theol. i. 1. contr.
Marc. ii. 3. vid. also Eccles. Theol.
ii. 9. p. 114 b. *μηδ' ἄλλοτε ἄλλην κ.τ.λ.*
Also the Macrostich says, "We ana-
themize those who call Him the
mere Word of God, not allowing Him
to be Christ and Son of God before
all ages, but from the time He took on
Him our flesh; such are the followers
of Marcellus and Photinus, &c." infra,
§ 26 [pp. 113, 114]. Again, Athan-
asius, Orat. iv. 15 [infra p. 531], says
that, of those who divide the Word
from the Son, some called our Lord's
manhood the Son, some the two Na-
tures together, and some said "that

the Word Himself became the Son
when He was made man." It makes it
more likely that Marcellus is meant,
that Asterius seems to have written
against him before the Nicene Council,
and that Arius in other of his writings
borrowed from Asterius. vid. de De-
cret. § 8.

ⁿ Eusebius's letter to Euphrasius,
which is mentioned just after, expresses
this more distinctly—"If they co-
exist, how shall the Father be Father
and the Son Son? or how the One
first, the Other second? and the One
ingenerate and the other generate?"
Acta Conc. 7. p. 301. The phrase *τὰ*
πρὸς τι Bull well explains to refer to
the Catholic truth that the Father or
Son being named, the Other is therein
implied without naming. Defens. F.
N. iii. 9. § 4. Hence Arius, in his Letter
to Eusebius, complains that Alexander
says, *ἄελ ὁ θεός, ἄελ ὁ υἱός· ἅμα πατήρ,*
ἅμα υἱός. Theod. Hist. i. 4.

ments were made by Eusebius's party, Narcissus, Patrophilus, Maris, Paulinus, Theodotus, and Athanasius of Nazarbi^o. And Eusebius of Nicomedia wrote over and above to Arius, to this effect, "Since your sentiments are good, pray that all may adopt them; for it is plain to any one, that what has been made was not before its generation; but what came to be, has an origin of being." And Eusebius of Cæsarea in Palestine, in a letter to Euphration the Bishop, did not scruple to say plainly that Christ was not true God^p. And Athanasius of Nazarbi uncloked the heresy still further, saying that the Son of God was one of the hundred sheep. For writing to Alexander the Bishop, he had the extreme audacity to say: "Why complain of the Arians, for saying, The Son of God is made as a creature out of nothing, and one among others? For all that are made being represented in parable by the hundred sheep, the Son is one of them. If then the hundred are not created and generated, or if there be beings beside that hundred, then may the Son be not a creature nor one among others; but if those hundred are all generate, and there is nothing besides the hundred save God alone, what extravagance do the Arians utter, when, as comprehending and reckoning Christ in the hundred, they say that He is one among others?" And George who now is in Laodicea, and then was presbyter of Alexandria, and was staying at Antioch, wrote to Alexander the Bishop; "Do not complain of the Arians, for saying, 'Once the Son of God was not,' for Esaias came to be son of Amos, and, whereas Amos was before Esaias came to be, Esaias was not before, but came to be afterwards." And he wrote to the Arians, "Why complain of Alexander the Pope¹, saying, that the Son is from the Father? for you too need not fear to say that the Son was from God. For if the Apostle wrote, *All things are*

¹ p. 96,
note g.

1 Cor. 11,
12.

^o Most of these original Arians were attacked in a work of Marcellus's which Eusebius answers. "Now he replies to Asterius," says Eusebius, "now to the great Eusebius," [of Nicomedia,] "and then he turns upon that man of God, that indeed thrice blessed person Paulinus, [of Tyre.] Then he goes to war with Origen. . . . Next he marches out against Narcissus, and pursues the other Eusebius," himself. "In a word, he counts for nothing all the Ecclesias-

tical Fathers, being satisfied with no one but himself." contr. Marc. i. 4. There is little to be said of Maris and Theodotus. Nazarbi is more commonly called Anazarbus, and is in Cilicia.

^p This is quoted, among other passages from Eusebius, in the 7th General Council, Act. 6. p. 409. [t. 8. 1148 e ed. Col.] "The Son Himself is God, but not Very God."

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from God, and it is plain that all things are made of nothing, though the Son too is a creature and one of things made, still He may be said to be from God in that sense in which all things are said to be from God." From him then the Arians learned to pretend to the phrase *from God*, and to use it indeed, but not in a good meaning. And George himself was deposed by Alexander for certain reasons, and among them for manifest irreligion; for he was himself a presbyter, as has been said before.

§ 18. 5. On the whole then such were their statements, as if they all were in dispute and rivalry with each other, which should make the heresy more irreligious, and display it in a more naked form. And as for their letters I have them not at hand, to dispatch them to you; else I would have sent you copies; but, if the Lord will, this too I will do, when I get possession of them. And one Asterius^a from Cappadocia, a many-headed Sophist, one of the Eusebians, whom they could not advance into the Clergy, as having done sacrifice in the former persecution in the time of Constantius's grandfather, writes, with the countenance of the Eusebians, a small treatise, which was on a par with the crime of his sacrifice, yet answered their wishes; for in it, after comparing, or rather preferring, the locust and the caterpillar to Christ, and saying that Wisdom in God was other than Christ, and was the Franer as well of Christ as of the world, he went round the Churches in Syria and elsewhere, with introductions from the Eusebians, that as he once had been at pains to deny the truth, so now he

^a Asterius has been mentioned above, p. 13, note b. Philostorgius speaks of him as adopting Semi-arian terms; and Acacius gives an extract from him containing them, ap. Epiph. Hær. 72. 6. and doubtless both he (to judge by his fragments) and Eusebius write with much less of revolting impiety than others of their party. Thus in one of the extracts made in the text he distinguishes after the manner of the Semi-arians between the γεννητικὴ and the δημιουργικὴ δύναμις. Again, the illustration of the Sun in another much resembles Euseb. Dem. iv. 5. So does his doctrine, supr. de Decr. § 8. that the Son was generated to create other beings, and that, because they

could not bear the hand of the Almighty, also vid. Orat. ii. 24. cf. Dem. iv. 4. Eccl. Theol. i. 8. 13. Præp. vii. 15. but especially Eusebius's avowal, "not that the Father was not able, did He beget the Son; but because those things which were made were not able to sustain the power of the Ingenerate, therefore speaks He through a Mediator. contr. Sabell. i. p. 9. At the same time if he is so to be considered, it is an additional proof that the Semi-arians of 325 were far less Catholic than those of 359. He seems to be called many-headed with an allusion to the Hydra, and to his activity in the Arian cause and his fertility in writing. He wrote comments on Scripture.

might make free with it. The bold man intruded himself into forbidden places, and seating himself in the place of Clerks^r, he used to read publicly this treatise of his, in spite of the general indignation. The treatise is written at great length, but portions of it are as follows:—

CHAP.
II.

“For the Blessed Paul said not that he preached Christ, His, that is, God’s, ‘proper Power’ or ‘Wisdom,’ but without the article, *God’s Power and God’s Wisdom*, preaching that the proper power of God Himself was distinct, which was connatural and co-existent with Him ingenerately, generative indeed of Christ, creative of the whole world; concerning which he teaches in his Epistle to the Romans, thus, *The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things which are made, even His eternal power and godhead.* For as no one would say that the Godhead there mentioned was Christ, but the Father Himself, so, as I think, His eternal power is also not the Only-begotten God, but the Father who begat Him. And he tells us of another Power and Wisdom of God, namely, that which is manifested through Christ, and made known through the works themselves of His Ministry.”

And again:—

“Although His eternal Power and Wisdom, which truth argues to be Unoriginate and Ingenerate, would appear certainly to be one and the same, yet many are those powers which are one by one created by Him, of which Christ is the First-born and Only-begotten. All however equally depend upon their Possessor, and all His powers are rightly called His, who has created and uses them; for instance, the Prophet says that the locust, which became a divine punishment of human sin, was called by God Himself, not only the power of God, but the great power. And the blessed David too in most of the Psalms, invites, not Angels alone, but Powers also to praise God. And while he invites them all to the hymn, he presents before us their multitude, and is not unwilling to call them ministers of God, and teaches them to do His will.”

6. These bold words against the Saviour did not content § 19. him, but he went further in his blasphemies, as follows:

“The Son is one among others; for He is first of things generated, and one among intellectual natures; and as in things visible the sun is one among what is apparent, and it shines upon the

^r None but the clergy might enter the Chancel, i. e. in Service time. Hence Theodosius was made to retire by S. Ambrose. Theod. v. 17. The Council of Laodicea, said to be held A.D. 372, forbids any but persons in

orders, *ιερατικοι*, to enter the Chancel and then communicate. Can. 19. vid. also 44. Conc. t. i. p. 788, 789. It is doubtful what orders, the word *ιερατικοι* is intended to include. vid. Bingham Antiqu. viii. 6. § 7.

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And again he says, Once He was not, writing thus:—
 "And before the Son's generation, the Father had pre-existing knowledge how to generate; since a physician too, before he cured, had the science of curing¹." And he says again: "The Son was created by God's beneficent earnestness; and the Father made Him by the superabundance of His Power." And again: "If the will of God has pervaded all the works in succession, certainly the Son too, being a work, has at His will come to be and been made." Now though Asterius was the only person to write all this, the Eusebians felt the like in common with him.

¹ p. 65,
note m.

§ 20. 7. These are the doctrines for which they are contending; for these they assail the Ancient Council, because its members did not propound the like, but anathematized the Arian heresy instead, which they were so eager to recommend. On this account they put forward, as an advocate of their irreligion, Asterius who sacrificed, a sophist too, that he might not spare to speak against the Lord, or by a shew of reason to mislead the simple. And they were ignorant, the shallow men, that they were doing harm to their own cause. For the ill savour of their advocate's idolatrous sacrifice, betrayed still more plainly that the heresy is Christ's foe. And now again, the general agitations and troubles which they are exciting, are in consequence of their belief, that by their numerous murders and their monthly Councils, at length they will undo the sentence which has been passed against the Arian heresy². But here too they seem ignorant, or to pretend ignorance, that even before Nicæa that heresy was held in detestation, when Artemas³ was laying its foundations, and before him Caiaphas's assembly and that of the Pharisees his contemporaries. And at all times is this school of Christ's foes detestable, and will not cease to be hateful,

² vid. infr.
§ 32.

³ Artemas or Artemon was one of the chiefs of a school of heresy at Rome at the end of the second century. Theodotus was another, and the more eminent. They founded separate sects. Their main tenet is what would

now be called Unitarianism, or that our Lord was a mere man. Artemas seems to have been more known in the East; at least is more frequently mentioned in controversy with the Arians, e. g. by Alexander, Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 739.

the Lord's Name being full of love, and the whole creation bending the knee, and confessing *that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.* CHAP. II.
Phil. 2, 11.

8. Yet so it is, they have convened successive Councils against that Ecumenical One ¹, and are not yet tired ^t. After the Nicene, the Eusebians had been deposed; however, in course of time they intruded themselves without shame upon the Churches, and began to plot against the Bishops who withstood them, and to substitute in the Church men of their own heresy. Thus they thought to hold Councils at their pleasure, as having those who concurred with them, whom they had ordained on purpose for this very object ². Accordingly, they assemble at Jerusalem, and there they write thus:— § 21.
¹ p. 49, note o.
² p. 84, note b.

The Holy Council assembled in Jerusalem ^u by the grace of God, to the Church of God which is in Alexandria, and to all throughout Egypt, Thebais, Libya, and Pentapolis, also to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons throughout the world, health in the Lord.

To all of us who have come together into one place from different provinces, to the great celebration, which we have held at the consecration of the Saviour's Martyr ^x, built to God the

^t It will be observed, that the Eusebian or court party from 341 to 358, contained in it two elements, the more religious or Semi-arian which tended to Catholicism, and ultimately coalesced with it, the other the proper Arian or Anomœan which was essentially heretical. During the period mentioned, it wore for the most part the Semi-arian profession. Athanasius as well as Hilary does justice to the Semi-arians; but Athanasius does not seem to have known or estimated the quarrel between them and the Arians as fully as Hilary. Accordingly, while the former is bent in this treatise in bringing out the great fact of the variations of the heretical party, Hilary, wishing to commend the hopeful Semi-arians to the Gallic Church, makes excuses for them, on the ground of the necessity of explanations of the Nicene formulary, "necessitatem hanc furor hereticus imponit." Hil. de Syn. 63. vid. also 62. and 28. At the same time, Hilary himself bears witness quite as strongly as Athan. to the

miserable variations of the heretical party, vid. sup. p. 76, note k. as Ammianus in p. 75, note h. The same thing is meant in Nazianzen's well-known declaration against Councils, "Never saw I Council brought to a useful issue, nor remedying, but rather increasing existing evils." Ep. 130.

^u This Council at Jerusalem was a continuation of one held at Tyre at which Athan. was condemned. It was very numerously attended; by Bishops (as Eusebius says, Vit. Const. iv. 43.), from Macedonia, Pannonia, Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Libya. One account speaks of the number as being above 200. He says that "an innumerable multitude from all provinces accompanied them." It was the second great Council in Constantine's reign, and is compared by Eusebius (invidiously) to the Nicene, c. 47. At this Council Arius was solemnly received, as the Synodal Letter goes on to say.

^x This Church, called the Martyr or Testimony, was built over the spot

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King of all, and to His Christ, by the zeal of the most religious Emperor Constantine, the grace of Christ provided a higher gratification, in the conduct of that most religious Emperor himself, who, by letters of his own, banishing from the Church of God all jealousy, and driving far away all envy, by means of which, the members of Christ had been for a long season in dissension, exhorted us, what was our duty, with open and peaceable mind to receive Arius and his friends, whom for a while jealousy which hates virtue had contrived to expel from the Church. And the most religious Emperor bore testimony in their behalf by his letter to the exactness of their faith, which, after inquiry of them, and personal communication with them by word of mouth, he acknowledged, and made known to us, subjoining to his own letters their orthodox teaching in writing^v, which we all confessed to be sound and ecclesiastical. And he reasonably recommended that they should be received and united to the Church of God, as you will know yourselves from the transcript of the same Epistle, which we have transmitted to your reverences. We believe that yourselves also, as if recovering the very members of your own body, will experience great joy and gladness, in acknowledging and recovering your own bowels, your own brethren and fathers; since not only the Presbyters who are friends of Arius are given back to you, but also the whole Christian people and the entire multitude, which on occasion of the aforesaid men have a long time been in dissension among you. Moreover it were fitting, now that you know for certain what has passed, and that the men have communicated with us and have been received by such a Holy Council, that you should with all readiness hail this your coalition and peace with your own members, specially since the articles of the faith which they have published preserve indisputable the universally confessed apostolical tradition and teaching.

§ 22. 9. This was the first of their Councils, and in it they were speedy in divulging their views, and could not conceal them.

made sacred by our Lord's death, burial, and resurrection, in commemoration of the discovery of the Holy Cross, and has been described from Eusebius in the preface to the Translation of S. Cyril's Catechetical Lectures, p. xxiv. It was begun A.D. 326, and dedicated at this date, A.D. 335, on Saturday the 13th of September. The 14th however is the feast of the Exaltatio S. Crucis both in East and West.

^v This is supposed to be the same Confession which is preserved by Socr. i. 26. and Soz. ii. 27. and was presented to Constantine by Arius in 330. It says no more than "And in the Lord Jesus Christ His Son, who was begot-

ten from Him before all the ages God and Word, through whom all things were made, both in the heavens and upon earth;" afterwards it professes to have "received the faith from the holy Evangelists," and to believe "as all the Catholic Church and as the Scriptures teach." The Synodal Letter in the text adds "apostolical tradition and teaching." Arius might safely appeal to Scripture and the Church for a creed which did not specify the point in controversy. In his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia before the Nicene Council where he does state the distinctive articles of his heresy he appeals to him as a fellow pupil in the School of Lucian, not to tradition. Theod. Hist. i. 4.

For when they said that they had banished all jealousy, and, after the expulsion of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, recommended the reception of Arius and his friends, they shewed, that their measures against Athanasius himself then, and before against all the other Bishops who withstood them, had for their object their receiving Arius's party, and introducing the heresy into the Church. But although they had approved in this Council all Arius's malignity, and had ordered to receive his party into communion, as they had set the example, yet feeling that even now they were short of their wishes, they assembled a Council at Antioch under colour of the so-called Dedication^z; and, since they were in general and lasting odium for their heresy, they publish different letters, some of this sort, and some of that; and what they wrote in one letter was as follows:—

We have not been followers of Arius,—how could Bishops, such as we, follow a Presbyter?—nor did we receive any other faith beside that which has been handed down from the beginning^a. But, after taking on ourselves to examine and to verify his faith, we have admitted him rather than followed him; as you will understand from our present avowals.

^{1st} Con-
fession
or 1st of
Antioch,
A.D. 341.

For we have been taught from the first, to believe in one God, the God of the Universe, the Framer and Preserver of all things both intellectual and sensible.

And in One Son of God, Only-begotten, existing before all ages, and being with the Father who begat Him, by whom all things were made, both visible and invisible, who in the last days according to

^z i.e. the dedication of the *Domini-cum Aureum*, which had been ten years in building, vid. the description of it in Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 50. This Council is one of great importance in the history, though it was not attended by more than 90 Bishops according to Ath. infr. or 97 according to Hilary de Syn. 28. The Eusebians had written to the Roman see against Athan. and eventually called on it to summon a Council. Accordingly, Julius proposed a Council at Rome; they refused to come, and instead held this meeting at Antioch. Thus in a certain sense it is a protest of the East against the Pope's authority. Twenty-five Canons are attributed to this Council, which have been received into the Code of the Catholic Church,

though not as *from* this Council, which took at least some of them from more ancient sources. It is remarkable that S. Hilary calls this Council an assembly of Saints. de Syn. 32. but it is his course throughout to look at these Councils on their hopeful side. vid. note t.

^a The Council might safely appeal to antiquity, since, with Arius in the Confession noticed supr. note y, they did not touch on the point in dispute. The number of their formularies, three or four, shews that they had a great difficulty in taking any view which would meet the wishes and express the sentiments of one and all. The one that follows, which is their first, is as meagre as Arius's, quoted note y.

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the good pleasure of the Father came down, and took flesh of the Virgin, and fulfilled all His Father's will; and suffered and rose again, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and cometh again to judge quick and dead, and remaineth King and God unto all ages.

And we believe also in the Holy Ghost; and if it be necessary to add, we believe concerning the resurrection of the flesh, and the life everlasting.

§ 23.

10. Here follows what they published next at the same Dedication in another Epistle, being dissatisfied with the first, and devising something newer and fuller :

iiid Con-
fession
or 2d of
Antioch,
A.D. 341.

We believe^b, conformably to the evangelical and apostolical tradition, in One God, the Father Almighty, the Framer, and Maker, and Preserver of the Universe, from whom are all things.

And in One Lord Jesus Christ, His Only-begotten Son, God, by whom are all things, who was begotten before all ages from the Father, God from God, whole from whole, sole from sole¹, perfect from perfect, King from King, Lord from Lord, Living Word, Living Wisdom, true Light, Way, Truth, Resurrection, Shepherd, Door, both unalterable and unchangeable^c; unvarying image^d of the Godhead, Substance, Will, Power, and Glory of the

¹ Vid.
xth Con-
fession,
infr.
§ 30.

^b This formulary is that known as *the Formulary of the Dedication*. It is quoted as such by Socr. ii. 39, 40. Soz. iv. 15. and infr. § 29. Sozomen says that the Eusebians attributed it to Lucian, alleging that they had found a copy written by his own hand; but he decides neither for or against it himself. Hist. iii. 5. And the Auctor de Trinitate (in Theodoret's works, t. 5.), allows that it is Lucian's, but interpolated. Dial. iii. init. vid. Routh, Reliqu. Sacr. vol. iii. p. 294—6. who is in favour of its genuineness; as are Bull, Cave, and S. Basnage. Tillemont and Constant take the contrary side; the latter observing (ad Hilar. de Synod. 28.) that Athanasius, infr. § 36, speaks of parts of it as Acacius's, and that Acacius attributes its language to Asterius. The Creed is of a much higher cast of doctrine than the two former, (§ 22. and note y.) containing some of the phrases which in the fourth century became badges of Semi-arianism.

^c These strong words and those which follow, whether Lucian's or not, mark the great difference between this confession and the foregoing. It would seem as if the Eusebians had at

first tried the assembled Bishops with a negative confession, and finding that they would not accept it, had been forced upon one of a more orthodox character. It is observable too that even the Council of Jerusalem, but indirectly received the Confession on which they re-admitted Arius, though they gave it a real sanction. The words "unalterable and unchangeable" are formal Anti-arian symbols, as the *τρέπτον* or alterable was one of the most characteristic parts of Arius's creed. vid. Orat. i. § 35, &c.

^d *Ὁ ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν κατ' οὐσίαν*, which was synonymous with *ὁμοιούσιος*, vid. infr. § 38. and one of the symbols of Semi-arianism, (not as if it did not express truth, but because it marked the limit of Semi-arian approximation to the absolute truth,) something has been said, supr. p. 35, note u. It was in order to secure the true sense of *ἀπαράλλακτον* that the Council adopted the word *ὁμοούσιον*. *Ἀπαράλλακτον* is accordingly used as a familiar word by Athan. de Decr. supr. § 20. 24. Orat. iii. § 36. contr. Gent. 41. 46 fin. Philostorgius ascribing it to Asterius, and Acacius quotes a passage from his

Father; the first born of every creature, who was in the beginning with God, God the Word, as it is written in the Gospel, *and the Word was God*; by whom all things were made, and in whom all things consist; who in the last days descended from above, and was born of a Virgin according to the Scriptures, and was made Man, Mediator^c between God and man, and Apostle of our faith, and Prince of life, as He says, *I came down from heaven, not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me*; who suffered for us and rose again on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and is coming again with glory and power, to judge quick and dead.

And in the Holy Ghost, who is given to those who believe for comfort, and sanctification, and initiation, as also our Lord Jesus Christ enjoined His disciples, saying, *Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost*; that of Father being truly Father, and of Son being truly Son, and of the Holy Ghost being truly Holy Ghost, the names not being given without meaning or effect, but denoting accurately the peculiar subsistence, rank, and glory of each that is named, so that they are three in subsistence, and in agreement one^f.

writings containing it. (vid. supr. note q.) Acacius at the same time forcibly expresses what is meant by the word, τὸ ἔκτυπον καὶ τρανὲς ἐκμαγεῖον τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς οὐσίας; and S. Alexander before him, τὴν κατὰ πάντα ὁμοιότητα αὐτοῦ ἐκ φύσεως ἀπομαζόμενος. Theod. Hist. i. 3. (as, in the legend, the impression of our Lord's face on the cloth at His crucifixion.) Χαρακτήρ, Hebr. i. 3. contains the same idea. "An image not inanimate, not framed by the hand, nor work of art and imagination, (ἐπίνοιας,) but a living image, yea, the very life (αὐτοῦσα); ever preserving the unvarying (τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον), not in likeness of fashion, but in its very substance." Basil. contr. Eunom. i. 18. The Auctor de Trinitate says, speaking of the word in this very creed, "Will in nothing varying from will (ἀπαράλλακτος) is the same will; and power nothing varying from power is the same power; and glory nothing varying from glory is the same glory." The Macedonian replies, "Unvarying I say, the same I say not." Dial. iii. p. 993. Athan. de Decr. l. c. seems to say the same. That is, in the Catholic sense, the image was not ἀπαράλλακτος, if there was any difference, unless He was one with Him of whom He was the image. vid. Hil. supra, p. 76, note i.

^c This statement perhaps is the most Catholic in the Creed; not that the

former are not more explicit in themselves, or that in a certain true sense our Lord may not be called a Mediator before He became incarnate, but because the Arians, even Eusebius, seem to have made His mediatorship consist essentially in His divine nature, whereas this Confession speaks of our Lord as made Mediator when He came in the flesh. On the other hand, Eusebius, like Philo and the Platonists, considers Him as made in the beginning, the "Eternal Priest of the Father," Demonst. v. 3. de Laud. C. 3, p. 503 fin. "an intermediate divine power," 11, p. 525. "mediating and joining generated substance to the Ingenerate," 12, p. 528. vid. infr. pp. 115. and 119. notes f. and o.

^f This phrase, which is of a more Arian character than any other part of the Confession, is justified by S. Hilary on the ground, that when the Spirit is mentioned, agreement is the best symbol of unity. de Syn. 32. It is protested against in the Sardican Confession. Theod. Hist. ii. 6. p. 846. A similar passage occurs in Origen, contr. Cels. viii. 12. to which Huet. Origen ii. 2. n. 3. compares Novatian. de Trin. 22. The Arians insisted on the "oneness in agreement" as a fulfilment of such texts as "I and my Father are one;" but this subject will come before us in Orat. iii. § 10. vid. infr. § 48.

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Holding then this faith, and holding it in the presence of God and Christ, from beginning to end, we anathematize every heretical heterodoxy^g. And if any teaches, beside the sound and right faith of the Scriptures, that time, or season, or age^h, either is or has been before the generation of the Son, be he anathema. Or if any one says, that the Son is a creature as one of the creaturesⁱ, or an offspring as one of the offsprings, or a work as one of the works, and not the aforesaid articles one after another, as the divine Scriptures have delivered, or if he teaches or preaches beside what we received, be he anathema. For all that has been delivered in the divine Scriptures, whether by Prophets or Apostles, do we truly and conscientiously both believe and followⁱ.

¹ vid.
p. 10,
note u.

§ 24. 11. And one Theophronius^k, Bishop of Tyana, put forth before them all the following statement of his personal faith. And they subscribed it, accepting the faith of this man:—

iii^d Confession
or 3d of
Antioch,
A.D. 341.

God knows, whom I call as a witness upon my soul, that so I believe:—in God the Father Almighty, the Creator and Maker of the Universe, from whom are all things:

And in His Only-begotten Son, God, Word, Power, and Wisdom, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things; who was begotten from the Father before the ages, perfect God from perfect God^l

^g The whole of these anathemas are an Eusebian addition. The Council anathematizes “every heretical heterodoxy;” *not*, as Athanasius observes, supra, § 7. the Arian.

^h The introduction of these words “time,” “age,” &c. allows them still to hold the Arian formula “once He was not;” for our Lord was, as they held, *before* time, but still created.

ⁱ This emphatic mention of Scripture is also virtually an Arian evasion; to hold certain truths, “as Scripture has delivered,” might either mean *because* and *as in fact*, or *so far as*, and admitted of a silent reference to themselves as interpreters of Scripture.

^k Nothing is known of Theophronius; his Confession is in great measure a relapse into Arianism proper; that is, as far as the absence of characteristic symbols is a proof of a wish to introduce the heresy. The phrase “perfect God” will be mentioned in the next note.

^l It need scarcely be said, that “perfect from perfect” is a symbol on which the Catholics laid stress, Athan. Orat. ii. 35. Epiph. Hær. 76. p. 945. but it admitted of an evasion. An especial reason for insisting on it in the pre-

vious centuries had been the Sabellian doctrine, which considered the title “Word” when applied to our Lord to be adequately explained by the ordinary sense of the term, as a word spoken by us. vid. on the *λόγος προφορικὸς*, inf. p. 113, note z. In consequence they insisted on His *τὸ τέλειον*, perfection, which became almost synonymous with His personality. Thus the Apollinarians, e. g. denied that our Lord was *perfect* man, because His *person* was not human. Athan. contr. Apoll. i. 2. Hence Justin, Tatian, are earnest in denying that our Lord was a portion divided from the Divine Substance, *οὐ κατ’ ἀποτομήν*, &c. &c. Just. Tryph. 128. [p. 229 fin. O.T.] Tatian. contr. Græc. 5. And Athan. condemns the notion of “the *λόγος ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἀτελής, γεννηθεὶς τέλειος*, Orat. iv. 11 [infra p. 526.]. The Arians then, as being the especial opponents of the Sabellians, insisted on nothing so much as our Lord’s being a real, living, substantial, Word. vid. Eusebius passim. “The Father,” says Acacius against Marcellus, “begat the Only-begotten, alone alone, and perfect perfect; for there is nothing imperfect in the Father, wherefore

and being with God in subsistence, and in the last days descended, and was born of the Virgin according to the Scriptures, and was made man, and suffered, and rose again from the dead, and ascended into the heavens, and sat down on the right hand of His Father, and cometh again with glory and power to judge quick and dead, and remaineth for ever :

And in the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, which also God promised by His Prophet to pour out upon His servants, and the Lord promised to send to His disciples : which also He sent, as the Acts of the Apostles witness.

But if any one teaches, or holds in his mind, aught beside this faith, be he anathema ; or with Marcellus of Ancyra ^m, or Sabellius, or Paul of Samosata, be he anathema, both himself and those who communicate with him.

12. Ninety Bishops met at the Dedication under the § 25.
Consulate of Marcellinus and Probinus, in the 14th of the
Indiction ⁿ, Constantius the most irreligious ¹ being present. ¹ p. 90,
Having thus conducted matters at Antioch at the Dedic-
tion, thinking that their composition was deficient still, and
fluctuating moreover in their own views, again they draw up
afresh another formulary, after a few months, professedly
concerning the faith, and despatch Narcissus, Maris, Theo-

note p.

neither is there in the Son, but the Son's perfection is the genuine offspring of His perfection, and superperfection." ap. Epiph. Hær. 72. 7. Τέλειος then was a relative word, varying with the subject matter, vid. Damasc. F. O. i. 8. p. 138. and when the Arians said that our Lord was perfect God, they meant, " perfect, in that sense in which He is God"—i. e. as a secondary divinity.—Nay, in one point of view they would use the term of His divine Nature more freely than the Catholics sometimes had. For, Hippolytus, e.g. though of course really holding His perfection from eternity as the Son, yet speaks of His *condescension* in coming upon earth as a kind of completion of His Sonship, He becoming thus a Son a second time ; whereas the Arians holding no real condescension or assumption of a really new state, could not hold that our Lord was in any respect essentially other than He had been before the incarnation. "Nor was the Word," says Hippolytus, " before the flesh and by Himself, perfect Son, though being perfect Word, Only-begotten ; nor could the flesh subsist by itself without the Word,

because that in the Word it has its consistence : thus then He was manifested One perfect Son of God." contr. Noet. 15.

^m Marcellus wrote his work against Asterius in 335, the year of the Arian Council of Jerusalem, which at once took cognizance of it, and cited Marcellus to appear before them. The next year a Council held at Constantinople condemned and deposed him, about the time that Arius came thither for re-admission into the Church. From that time his name is frequently introduced into the Arian anathemas, vid. Macrosthich. § 26. By adding those " who communicate with him," the Eusebians intended to strike at the Roman see, which had acquitted Marcellus in a Council held in June of the same year.

ⁿ The commencement and the origin of this mode of dating are unknown. It seems to have been introduced between A.D. 313 and 315. The Indiction was a cycle of 15 years, and began with the month of September. S. Athanasius is the first ecclesiastical author who adopts it.

COUNC. dorus, and Mark into Gaul^o. And they, as being sent from
ARIM. the Council, deliver the following document to Constans
AND
SELEU. Augustus of blessed memory^p, and to all who were there :

ivth Con- We believe^q in One God, the Father Almighty, Creator and Maker
fession, of all things ; from whom the whole family in heaven and on earth is
or 4th of named.
Antioch,
A. D.

342. And in His Only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who before
all ages was begotten from the Father, God from God, Light from
Light, by whom all things were made in the heavens and on the earth,
visible and invisible, being Word, and Wisdom, and Power, and Life,
and True Light ; who in the last days was made man for us, and was
born of the Holy Virgin ; who was crucified, and dead, and buried,
and rose again from the dead the third day, and was taken up into
heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father ; and is coming
at the end of the world, to judge quick and dead, and to render to
every one according to his works ; whose Kingdom endures indissolubly
into infinite ages^r ; for He shall be seated on the right hand of the
Father, not only in this world but in that which is to come.

^o This deputation had it in purpose to gain the Emperor Constans to the Eusebian party. They composed a new Confession with this object. Theodore of Heraclea, (who made commentaries on Scripture and is said to have been an elegant writer,) Maris and Narcissus, were all Eusebians ; but Mark was a Semi-arian. As yet the Eusebian party were making use of the Semi-arians, but their professed Creed had already much degenerated from Lucian's at the Dedication.

^p Constans had lately become master of two thirds of the Empire by the death of his elder brother Constantine, who had made war upon him and fallen in an engagement. He was at this time only 22 years of age. His enemies represent his character in no favourable light, but, for whatever reason, he sided with the Catholics, and S. Athanasius, who had been honourably treated by him in Gaul, speaks of him in the language of gratitude. In his apology to Constantius, he says, "thy brother of blessed memory filled the Churches with offerings," and he speaks of "the grace given him through baptism." § 7. [Hist. tracts p. 161 O.T.] Constans was murdered by Magnentius in 350, and one of the calumnies against Athanasius was that he had sent letters to the murderer.

^q The fourth, fifth, and sixth Confessions are the same, and with them

agree the Creed of Philippopolis (A.D. 347, or 344 according to Mansi). These extend over a period of nine years, A.D. 342—351, (or 15 or 16 according to Baronius and Mansi, who place the 6th Confession, i.e. the 1st Sirmian, at 357, 358 respectively,) and make the stationary period of Arianism. The two parties of which the heretical body was composed were kept together, not only by the court, but by the rise of the Sabellianism of Marcellus (A.D. 335) and Photinus (about 342). This too would increase their strength in the Church, and is the excuse, which Hilary himself urges, for their frequent Councils. Still they do not seem to be able to escape from the argument of Athanasius, that, whereas new Councils are for new heresies, if but one new heresy had risen, but one new Council was necessary. If these four Confessions say the same thing, three of them must be superfluous. vid. infr. § 32. However, in spite of the identity of the Creed, the difference in their Anathemas is very great, as we shall see.

^r These words, which answer to those afterwards added at the second General Council (381—3) are directed against the doctrine of Marcellus, who taught that the Word was but a divine energy, manifested in Christ and retiring from Him at the consummation of all things, when the manhood or flesh of Christ would consequently no

And in the Holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete; which, having promised to the Apostles, He sent forth after His ascension into heaven, to teach them and to remind of all things; through whom also shall be sanctified the souls of those who sincerely believe in Him.

CHAP.
II.

But those who say, that the Son was from nothing, or from other subsistence and not from God, and, there was time when He was not, the Catholic Church regards as aliens⁸.

13. As if dissatisfied with this, they hold their meeting § 26. again after three years, and dispatch Eudoxius, Martyrius, and Macedonius of Cilicia[†], and some others with them, to the parts of Italy, to carry with them a faith written at great length, with numerous additions over and above those which have gone before. They went abroad with these, as if they had devised something new.

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Creator and Maker of all things, from whom the whole family in heaven and on earth is named.

5th Con-
fession
or Ma-
crostich,
A.D. 345.

longer reign. "How can we admit," says Marcellus in Eusebius, "that that flesh, which is from the earth and profiteth nothing, should co-exist with the Word in the ages to come as serviceable to Him?" de Eccl. Theol. iii. 8. Again, "if He has received a beginning of His Kingdom not more than four hundred years since, it is no paradox that He who gained that Kingdom so short a while since, should be said by the Apostle to deliver it up to God. What are we told of the human flesh, which the Word bore for us, not four hundred years since? will the Word have it in the ages to come, or only to the judgment season?" iii. 17. And, "Should any ask concerning that flesh which is in the Word having become immortal, we say to him, that we count it not safe to pronounce on points of which we learn not for certain from divine Scripture." cont. Marc. ii. 4.

time when He was not," and leaving out "before His generation He was not," "created," "alterable" and "mutable." It seems to have been considered sufficient for Gaul, as used now, for Italy as in the 5th Confession or Macrostich, and for Africa as in the creed of Philippopolis.

[†] Little is known of Macedonius who was Bishop of Mopsuestia, or of Martyrius; and too much of Eudoxius. This Long Confession, or Macrostich, which follows, is remarkable for the first signs of the presence of that higher party of Semi-arians who ultimately joined the Church. It is observable also that the more Catholic portions occur in the Anathemas, as if they were forced in indirectly, and that with an inconsistency with the other statements, for not only the word "substance" does not occur, but the Son is said to be made. At this date the old Semi-arians, as Eusebius, Asterius, and Acacius were either dying off, or degenerating into most explicit impiety; the new school of Semi-arians consisting for the most part of a younger generation. S. Cyril delivered his Catechetical Lectures two or three years later than this Creed, viz. 347 or 348. Silvanus, Eleusius, Meletius, Eusebius of Samosata are later still.

⁸ S. Hilary, as we have seen above, p. 67. by implication calls this the Nicene Anathema; and so it is in the respects in which he speaks of it; but it omits many of the Nicene clauses, and with them the condemnation of many of the Arian articles. The especial point which it evades is our Lord's eternal existence, substituting for "once He was not," "there was

COUNC.
ARIM.
AND
SELEU.

And in His Only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who before all ages was begotten from the Father, God from God, Light from Light, by whom all things were made, in heaven and on the earth, visible and invisible, being Word and Wisdom and Power and Life and True Light, who in the last days was made man for us, and was born of the Holy Virgin, crucified and dead and buried, and rose again from the dead the third day, and was taken up into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and is coming at the end of the world to judge quick and dead, and to render to every one according to his works, whose Kingdom endures unceasingly unto infinite ages; for He sitteth on the right hand of the Father not only in this world, but also in that which is to come.

And we believe in the Holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete, which, having promised to the Apostles, He sent forth after the ascension into heaven, to teach them and to remind of all things: through whom also shall be sanctified the souls of those who sincerely believe in Him.

But those who say, (1) that the Son was from nothing, or from other subsistence and not from God; (2) and that there was a time or age when He was not, the Catholic and Holy Church regards as aliens. Likewise those who say, (3) that there are three Gods: (4) or that Christ is not God; (5) or that before the ages He was neither Christ nor Son of God; (6) or that Father and Son, or Holy Ghost, are the same; (7) or that the Son is Ingenerate; or that the Father generated the Son, not by choice or will; the Holy and Catholic Church anathematizes.

(1.) For neither is safe to say that the Son is from nothing, (since this is nowhere spoken of Him in divinely inspired Scripture,) nor again of any other subsistence before existing beside the Father, but from God alone do we define Him genuinely to be generated. For the divine Word teaches that the Ingenerate and Unoriginate, the Father of Christ, is One^u.

(2.) Nor may we, adopting the hazardous position, "There was once when He was not," from unscriptural sources, imagine any interval of time before Him, but only the God who generated Him apart from time; for through Him both times and ages came to be. Yet we must not consider the Son to be co-unoriginate and co-ingenerate with the Father; for no one can be properly called Father or Son of one who is co-unoriginate and co-ingenerate with Him^x. But we acknowledge that the Father who alone is Unoriginate and

^u It is observable that here and in the next paragraph the only reasons they give against using the only two Arian formulas which they condemn is that they are not found in Scripture, which leaves the question of their truth untouched. Here, in their explanation of the *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*, or from nothing, they do but deny it with Eusebius's evasion; that nothing can be from nothing, and every thing must be from

God. vid. p. 62, note e.

^x They argue after the usual Arian manner, that the term "Son" essentially implies beginning, and excludes the title "co-unoriginate;" whereas the Catholics contended (as alluded to supr. p. 98, note n.) that the word Father implied a continuity of nature, that is, a co-eternal existence with the Father. vid. p. 10, note u.

Ingenerate, hath generated inconceivably and incomprehensively ; and that the Son hath been generated before ages, and in no wise to be ingenerate Himself like the Father, but to have the Father who generated Him as His origin ; for *the Head of Christ is God.*

CHAP.
II.

I Cor. 11,

(3.) Nor again, in confessing three realities¹ and three Persons, of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost according to the Scriptures, do we therefore make Gods three ; since we acknowledge the Self-complete and Ingenerate and Unoriginate and Invisible God to be one only², the God and Father of the Only-begotten, who alone hath being from Himself, and alone vouchsafes this to all others bountifully.

^{3.}
¹ πράγ-
ματα

² p. 123,
note u.

(4.) Nor again in saying that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is the one only God, the only Ingenerate ; do we therefore deny that Christ also is God before ages : as the disciples of Paul of Samosata, who say that after the incarnation He was by advance³ made God, from being made by nature a mere man. For we acknowledge, that though He be subordinate to His Father and God, yet, being before ages begotten of God, He is God perfect according to nature and true, and not first man and then God, but first God and then becoming man for us, and never having been deprived of being^γ.

³ ἐκ προ-
κοπῆς. p.
16, note
i.

(5.) We abhor besides, and anathematize those who make a pretence of saying that He is but the mere word of God and unexisting, having His being in another,—now as if pronounced, as some speak, now as mental^z,—holding that He was not Christ or Son of God or

^γ These strong words, *θεὸν κατὰ φύσιν τέλειον καὶ ἀληθῆ* are of a different character from any which have occurred in the Arian Confessions. They can only be explained away by considering them used *in contrast* to the Samosatene doctrine ; Paul saying that that dignity, which the Arians ascribed to our Lord before His birth in the flesh, was bestowed on Him after it. vid. p. 115, ref. 1. Thus “perfect according to nature” and “true,” will not be directly connected with “God” so much as opposed to, “by advance,” “by adoption,” &c. p. 108, note l.

^z The use of the words *ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικὸς*, *mental* and *pronounced*, to distinguish the two senses of *λόγος*, *reason* and *word*, came from the school of the Stoics, and is found in Philo, and was under certain limitations allowed in Catholic theology. Damasc. F. O. ii. 21. To use either absolutely and to the exclusion of the other would have involved some form of Sabellianism, or Arianism as the case might be ; but each might correct the defective sense of either. S. Theophilus speaks of our Lord as at once *ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικὸς*. ad Autol. ii. 10 and 22, S. Cyril as *ἐνδιάθετος*, in

Joann. p. 39. [p. 44 O.T.] ; on the other hand he says, “This pronounced word of ours, *προφορικὸς*, is generated from mind and unto mind, and seems to be other than that which stirs in the heart, &c. &c. . . so too the Son of God proceeding from the Father without division, is the expression and likeness of what is proper to Him, being a subsistent Word, and living from a Living Father.” Thesaur. p. 47. When the Fathers deny that our Lord is the *προφορικὸς λόγος*, they only mean that that title is not, even as far as its philosophical idea went, an adequate representative of Him, a word spoken being insubstantive, vid. Athan. Orat. ii. 35. Hil. de Syn. 46. Cyr. Catech. xi. 10. Damas. Ep. ii. p. 203. nec prolativum ut generationem ei demas, for this was the Arian doctrine. “The Son [says Eunomius] is other than the Mental Word, or Word in intellectual action, of which partaking and being filled He is called the Pronounced Word, and expressive of the Father’s substance, that is, the Son.” Cyril in Joann. p. 31. [p. 36 O.T.] The Gnostics seem to have held the *λόγος προφορικὸς*. Iren. Hær. ii. 12. n. 5. [p. 120 O.T.] Marcellus is said by Eusebius to have considered our

COUNC.
ARIM.
AND
SELEU.

¹ p. 107,
note e.

Gen. 1,
26.
² vid. p.
120,
notes p.
and q.

mediator¹ or image of God before ages; but that He first became Christ and Son of God, when He took our flesh from the Virgin, not four hundred years since. For they will have it that then Christ began His Kingdom, and that it will have an end after the consummation of all and the judgment^a. Such are the disciples of Marcellus and Scotinus^b of Galatian Ancyra, who, equally with Jews, negative Christ's existence before ages, and His Godhead, and unending Kingdom, upon pretence of supporting the divine Monarchy. We, on the contrary, regard Him not as simply God's pronounced word or mental, but as Living God and Word, existing in Himself, and Son of God and Christ; being and abiding with His Father before ages, and that not in foreknowledge only^c, and ministering to Him for the whole framing whether of things visible or invisible. For He it is, to whom the Father said, *Let Us make man in Our image, after Our likeness*², who also was seen in His own Person^d by the patriarchs, gave the law, spoke

Lord as first the one and then the other. Eccl. Theol. ii. 15. Sabellius thought our Lord the *προφορικὸς* according to Epiph. Hær. p. 398, Damasc. Hær. 62.: Paul of Samosata the *ἐνδιάθετος*. Epiph. Hær. 65. passim. Eusebius, Eccles. Theol. ii. 17. describes our Lord as the *προφορικὸς* while he disowns it.

^a This passage seems taken from Eusebius, and partly from Marcellus's own words. vid. supr. note r. S. Cyril speaks of his doctrine in like terms. Catech. xv. 27.

^b i. e. Photinus of Sirmium, the pupil of Marcellus is meant, who published his heresy about 343. A similar play upon words is found in the case of other names; though Lucifer seems to think that his name was really Scotinus and that his friends changed it. de non parc. pp. 203, 220, 226. Thus Noetus is called *ἀνόητος*, Epiph. Hær. 57. 2 fin. and 8: Eudoxius, *ἀδόξιος*, Lucifer, pro Athan. i. p. 65. Moriend. p. 258: Eunomians among the Latins, (by a confusion with Anomæan,) *ἀνομοί*, or *sine lege*, Cod. Can. lxi. l. ap. Leon. Op. t. 3. p. 443: Vigilantius dormitantius, Jerom. contr. Vigil. init.: Aërius *ἀέριον πνεῦμα ἔσχευ*, Epiph. Hær. 75. 6 fin. Of Arius, *Ἄρες, ἄρειε* vid. supr. p. 91, note q. Gregory, *ὁ νοστάζων*. Anast. Hod. 10. p. 186: Eutyches, *δυστυχῆς*, &c. &c. Photinus seems to have brought out more fully the heresy of Marcellus; both of whom, as all Sabellians excepting Patripassians, differed from the Arians mainly in this point alone, *when* it was that our Lord came into being; the Arians said before the worlds, the Samosatenes, Pho-

tinians, &c. said on His human birth; both parties considered Him a creature, and that the true Word and Wisdom were attributes or energies of Almighty God. This Lucifer well observes to Constantius in the course of one of the passages above quoted, "Quid interesse arbitraris inter te et Paulum Samosatenum, vel eum tum ejus discipulum tuum conscotinum, nisi quia tu *ante omnia* dicas, ille *vero post omnia*?" pp. 203, 4. A subordinate difference was this, that the Samosatene, Photinian, &c. considered our Lord to be really gifted with the true Word, whereas the Arian did scarcely more than consider Him framed after the pattern of it. Photinus was condemned, after this Council, at Sardica, (347 if not 344,) and if not by Catholics at least by Eusebians; at Milan (348) by the Catholics; and perhaps again in 351; at Sirmium his see, by the Eusebians in 351, when he was deposed. He was an eloquent man and popular in his diocese, and thus maintained his ground for some years after his condemnation.

^c "This passage of the Apostle," Rom. i. 1. "[Marcellus] I know not why perverts, instead of *declared*, *δρισθέντος*, making it *predestined*, *προορισθέντος*, that the Son may be such as they who are predestined at foreknowledge." Euseb. contr. Marc. i. 2. Paul of Samosata also considered our Lord Son by foreknowledge, *προγνώσει*. vid. Routh. Reliqu. t. 2. p. 466. and Eunomius, Apol. 24.

^d *αὐτοπροσωπῶς* and so Cyril Hier. Catech. xv. 14 and 17, (It means, "not in personation,") and Philo contrasting divine appearances with those

by the prophets, and at last, became man, and manifested His own Father to all men, and reigns to never-ending ages. For Christ has taken no recent dignity¹, but we have believed Him to be perfect from the first, and like in all things to the Father^e.

CHAP.
II.
¹ p. 113,
note y.

(6.) And those who say that the Father and Son and Holy Ghost are the same, and irreligiously take the Three Names of one and the same Reality² and Person, we justly proscribe from the Church, because they suppose the illimitable and impassible Father to be limitable withal and passible through His becoming man: for such are they whom the Latin calls the Patropassians, and we Sabellians^f. For we acknowledge that the Father who sent, remained in the peculiar state of His unchangeable Godhead, and that Christ who was sent fulfilled the economy of the incarnation.

² πράγ-
ματος,
p. 113,
ref. 1.

(7.) And at the same time those who irreverently say that the Son was generated, not by choice or will, thus encompassing God with a necessity which excludes choice and purpose, so that He begat the Son unwillingly, we account as most irreligious and alien to the Church; in that they have dared to define such things concerning God, beside the common notions concerning Him, nay, beside the purport of divinely inspired Scripture. For we, knowing that God is absolute and sovereign over Himself, have a religious judgment that He generated the Son voluntarily and freely; yet, as we have a reverent belief in the Son's words concerning Himself, *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His*

Prov. 8,
22.

of Angels. Leg. Alleg. iii. 62. On the other hand, Theophilus on the text, "The voice of the Lord God walking in the garden," speaks of the Word, "assuming the person, *πρόσωπον*, of the Father," and "in the person of God," ad Autol. ii. 22. the word not then having its theological sense.

^c ὁμοιον κατὰ πάντα. Here again we have a strong Semi-arian or almost Catholic formula introduced by the bye, marking the presence of what may be called the new Semi-arian school. Of course it admitted of evasion, but in its fulness it included "substance." At Sirmium Constantius inserted it in the Confession which occurs supra. vid. p. 84, note a. On this occasion Basil subscribed in this form: "I, Basil, Bishop of Ancyra, believe and assent to what is aforewritten, confessing that the Son is like the Father in all things; and by 'in all things,' not only that He is like in will, but in subsistence, and existence, and being; as divine Scripture teaches, spirit from spirit, life from life, light from light, God from God, true Son from true, Wisdom from the Wise God and Father; and once for all, like the Father in all things, as a son

is to a father. And if any one says that He is like in a certain respect, κατὰ τι, as is written afore, he is alien from the Catholic Church. as not confessing the likeness according to divine Scripture." Epiph. Hær. 73. 22. S. Cyril of Jerusalem uses the κατὰ πάντα or ἐν πᾶσιν ὁμοιον, Catech. iv. 7. xi. 4 and 18. and Athan. Orat. i. § 21. and ii. § 18 and 22. Damasc. F. O. i. 8. p. 135.

^f Eusebius also, Eccles. Theol. i. 20. says that Sabellius held the Patropassian doctrine, Epiph. however, Hær. p. 398. denies it, and imputes the doctrine to Noetus. Sabellius's doctrine will come before us infr. Orat. iv.; meanwhile it should be noticed, that in the reason which the Confession alleges against that heretical doctrine it is almost implied that the divine nature of the Son suffered on the Cross. They would naturally fall into this notion directly they gave up their belief in our Lord's absolute divinity. It would as naturally follow to hold that our Lord had no human soul, but that His pre-existent nature stood in the place of it;—also that His Mediatorship was no peculiarity of His Incarnation. vid. p. 107, note e; p. 119, note o.

COUNC. *ways for His works, we do not understand Him to be generated,*
 ARIM. *like the creatures or works which through Him came to be. For it*
 AND *is irreligious and alien to the ecclesiastical faith, to compare the*
 SELEU. *Creator with handiworks created by Him, and to think that He has*
the same manner of generation with the rest. For divine Scripture
teaches us really and truly that the Only-begotten Son was generated
sole and solely §.

Yet^b, in saying that the Son is in Himself, and both lives and exists like the Father, we do not on that account separate Him from the Father, imagining place and interval between their union in the way of bodies. For we believe that they are united with each other without mediator or distance¹, and that they exist inseparable; all the Father embosoming the Son, and all the Son hanging and adhering to the Father, and alone resting on the Father's breast continually². Believing then in the All-perfect Trinity, the most Holy, that is, in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and calling the Father God, and the Son God, yet we confess in them, not two Gods, but one dignity of Godhead, and one exact harmony of dominion, the only Father being Head over the whole universe wholly, and over the Son Himself, and the Son subordinated to the Father; but, excepting Him, ruling over all things after Him which through Himself have come to be, and granting the grace of the Holy Ghost unsparingly to the holy at the Father's will. For that such is the account of the Divine Monarchy³ towards Christ, the sacred oracles have delivered to us.

Thus much, in addition to the faith before published in epitome, we have been compelled to draw forth at length, not in any officious display, but to clear away all unjust suspicion concerning our opinions, among those who are ignorant of what we really hold: and that all in the West may know, both the audacity of the slanders of the heterodox, and as to the Orientals, their ecclesiastical judgment

§ The Confession does not here comment on the clause against our Lord's being Ingenerate, having already noticed it under paragraph (2). It will be remarked that it still insists upon the unscripturalness of the Catholic positions. The main subject of this paragraph the *θελήσει γεννηθῆν*, which forms great part of the Arian question and controversy, is reserved for Orat. iii. 59, &c. in which Athanasius formally treats of it. He treats of the text Prov. viii. 22. throughout Orat. ii. The doctrine of the *μονογενὲς* has already partially come before us in de Decr. § 7—9. p. 12, &c. *Μόνως*, not as the creatures. vid. p. 62, note f.

^b This last paragraph is the most curious of the instances of the presence of this new and nameless influence, which seems at this time to have been springing up among the Eusebians, and shewed itself by acts before it has a place in history. The paragraph is

in its very form an interpolation or appendix, while its doctrine bears distinctive characters of something higher than the old Semi-arianism. The characteristic of that, as of other shapes of the heresy, was the absolute separation which it put between the Father and the Son. They considered Them as two *οὐσίαι*, *ὅμοιαι* like, but not as *δμοούσιαι*; this very explanation of the word *τέλειος* was "independent" and "distinct." Language then, such as that in the text, was the nearest assignable approach to the reception of the *δμοούσιον*; all that was wanting was the doctrine of the *περιχώρησις*, of which infr. Orat. iii. It is observable that a hint is thrown out by Athanasius about "suggestions" from without, a sentence or two afterwards. It is observable too that in the next paragraph the preceding doctrine is pointedly said to be that of "the Orientals."

in the Lord, to which the divinely inspired Scriptures bear witness without violence, where men are not perverse.

14. However they did not stand even to this; for again at Sirmiumⁱ they met together^k against Photinus^l, and there composed a faith again, not drawn out into such length, not so full in words; but subtracting the greater part and adding in its place, as if they had listened to the suggestions of others, they wrote as follows:—

§ 27.

ⁱ Sirmium was a city of lower Pannonia, not far from the Danube, and it was the great bulwark of the Illyrian provinces of the Empire. There Vetrano assumed the purple; and there Constantius was born. The frontier war caused it to be from time to time the Imperial residence. We hear of Constantius at Sirmium in the summer of 357. Ammian. xvi. 10. He also passed there the ensuing winter. *ibid.* xvii. 12. In October, 358, after the Sarmatian war, he entered Sirmium in triumph, and passed the winter there. xvii. 13 *fin.* and with a short absence in the spring, remained there till the end of May, 359. *vid.* p. 84, note a.

^k In the dates here fixed for the Confessions of Sirmium, Petavius has been followed, who has thrown more light on the subject than any one else. In 351, the Semi-arian party was still stronger than in 345. The leading person in this Council was Basil of Ancyra, who is generally considered their head. Basil held a disputation with Photinus. Silvanus too of Tarsus now appears for the first time: while, according to Socrates, Mark of Arethusa, who was more connected with the Eusebians than any other of his party, drew up the Anathemas; the Confession used was the same as that sent to Constans, of the Council of Philippopolis, and the Macrostick.

^l There had been no important Oriental Council held since that of the Dedication ten years before, till this of Sirmium; unless indeed that of Philippopolis requires to be mentioned, which was a secession from the Council of Sardica. S. Hilary treats its creed as a Catholic composition. *de Syn.* 39—63. Philastrius and Vigilius call the Council a meeting of “holy bishops” and a “Catholic Council.” *de Hær.* 65. in Eutyeh. v. *init.* What gave a character and weight to this Council, which belonged to no other Eusebian

meeting, was, that it met to set right a real evil, and was not a mere pretence with Arian objects. Photinus had now been 8 or 9 years in the open avowal of his heresy, yet in possession of his see. Nothing is more instructive in the whole of this eventful history than the complication of hopefulness and deterioration in the Oriental party, and the apparent advance yet decline of the truth. Principles, good and bad, were developing on both sides with energy. The fall of Hosius and Liberius, and the dreadful event of Ariminum, are close before the ruin of the Eusebian power. As to the Bishops present at this Sirmian Council, we have them described in Sulpitius; “Part of the Bishops followed Arius, and welcomed the desired condemnation of Athanasius; part, brought together by fear and faction, yielded to a party spirit; a few, to whom faith was dear and truth precious, rejected the unjust judgment.” *Hist.* ii. 52; he instances Paulinus of Treves, whose resistance, however, took place at Milan some years later. Sozomen gives us a similar account, speaking of a date a few years before the Sirmian Council. “The East,” he says, “in spite of its being in faction after the Antiochene Council” of the Dedication, “and thenceforth openly dissenting from the Nicene faith, in reality, I think, concurred in the sentiment of the majority, and with them confessed the Son to be of the Father’s substance; but from contentiousness certain of them fought against the term ‘One in substance;’ some, as I conjecture, having originally objected to the word... others from habit... others, aware that the resistance was unsuitable, leaned to this side or that to gratify parties; and many thought it weak to waste themselves in such strife of words, and peaceably held to the Nicene decision.” *Hist.* iii. 13.

COUNC. We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, the Creator and
 ARIM. Maker of all things, *from whom the whole family in heaven and*
 —AND earth is named.
 SELEU.

And in His Only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus the Christ, who
 vi: Con- before all the ages was begotten from the Father, God from God,
 fession, Light from Light, by whom all things were made, in heaven and on
 or 1st the earth, visible and invisible, being Word and Wisdom and True
 Sirmian. Light and Life, who in the last days was made man for us, and was
 A.D. 351. born of the Holy Virgin, and crucified and dead and buried, and
 Eph. 3, rose again from the dead the third day, and was taken up into heaven,
 15. and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and is coming at the
 end of the world, to judge quick and dead, and to render to every
 one according to his works; whose Kingdom being unceasing en-
 dures unto the infinite ages; for He shall sit on the right hand of
 the Father, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come.

And in the Holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete; which, having
 promised to the Apostles, to send forth after His ascension into
 heaven, to teach and to remind them of all things, He did send;
 through whom also are sanctified the souls of those who sincerely
 believe in Him.

(1.) But those who say that the Son was from nothing or from
 other subsistence¹ and not from God, and that there was time or
 age when He was not, the Holy and Catholic Church regards as
 aliens.

(2.) Again we say, Whosoever says that the Father and the Son
 are two Gods, be he anathema^m.

(3.) And whosoever, saying that Christ is God, before ages Son
 of God, does not confess that He subserved the Father for the
 framing of the universe, be he anathemaⁿ.

^m This Anathema which has occurred in substance in the Macrostick, and again infra, Anath. 18 and 23. is a disclaimer on the part of the Eusebian party of the charge brought against them with reason by the Catholics, of their in fact holding a supreme and a secondary God. In the Macrostick it is disclaimed upon a simple Arian basis. The Semi-arians were more open to this imputation; Eusebius, as we have seen above, distinctly calling our Lord a second and another God. vid. p. 63, note g. It will be observed that this Anathema contradicts the one which immediately follows, and the 11th, in which Christ is called God; except, on the one hand, the Father and Son are One God, which was the Catholic doctrine, or, on the other, the Son is God in name only, which was the pure Arian or Anomean.

ⁿ The language of Catholics and

heretics is very much the same on this point of the Son's ministration, with this essential difference of sense, that Catholic writers mean a ministration internal to the divine substance and an instrument connatural with the Father, and Arius meant an external and created medium of operation, vid. p. 12. note z. Thus S. Clement calls our Lord "the All-harmonious Instrument (*ὄργανον*) of God." Protrept. p. 6; Eusebius "an animated and living instrument (*ὄργανον ἐμψυχον*.) nay, rather divine and vivific of every substance and nature." Demonstr. iv. 4. S. Basil, on the other hand, insists that the Arians reduced our Lord to "an inanimate instrument." *ὄργανον ἀψυχον*, though they called Him *ὑπουργὸν τελειότατον*, most perfect minister or under-worker. adv. Eunom. ii. 21. Elsewhere he says, "the nature of a cause is one, and the nature of an instrument, *ὄργανον*, an-

¹ vid. note on Nic. Anath. p. 66.

- (4.) Whosoever presumes to say that the Ingenerate, or a part of Him¹, was born of Mary, be he anathema. CHAP. II.
- (5.) Whosoever says that according to foreknowledge² the Son is before Mary and not that, generated from the Father before ages, He was with God, and that through Him all things were generated, be he anathema. ¹ p. 114, note c. ² p. 114, note c.
- (6.) Whosoever shall pretend that the substance of God was enlarged or contracted³, be he anathema. ³ Orat. iv. § 13.
- (7.) Whosoever shall say that the substance of God being enlarged made the Son, or shall name the enlargement of His substance the Son, be he anathema.
- (8.) Whosoever calls the Son of God the mental or pronounced Word⁴, be he anathema. ⁴ p. 113, note z.
- (9.) Whosoever says that the Son from Mary is man only, be he anathema.
- (10.) Whosoever, speaking of Him who is from Mary God and man, thereby means God the Ingenerate⁵, be he anathema. ⁵ p. 112, n. (2.)
- (11.) Whosoever shall explain *I am the First and I am the Last, and besides Me there is no God*, which is said for the denial of idols and of gods that are not, to the denial of the Only-begotten, before ages God, as Jews do, be he anathema. Is. 44, 6.
- (12.) Whosoever, because it is said *The Word was made flesh*, shall consider that the Word was changed into flesh, or shall say that He underwent an alteration and took flesh, be he anathema^o. John 1, 14.

other; . . . foreign then in nature is the Son from the Father, since such is an instrument from a workman." de Sp. S. n. 6 fin. vid. also n. 4 fin. and n. 20. Afterwards he speaks of our Lord as "not intrusted with the ministry of each work by particular injunctions in detail, for this were ministration," *λειτουργικὸν*, but as being "full of the Father's excellencies," and "fulfilling not an instrumental, *ὀργανικὴν*, and servile ministration, but accomplishing the Father's will like a Creator, *δημιουργικῶς*." *ibid.* n. 19. And so S. Gregory, "The Father signifies, the Word accomplishes, not servilely, nor ignorantly, but with knowledge and sovereignty, and, to speak more suitably, in a father's way, *πατρικῶς*." Orat. 30. 11. And S. Cyril, "There is nothing abject in the Son, as in a minister, *ὑπουργῶ*, as they say; for the God and Father enjoins not, *ἐπιτάττει*, on His Word, 'Make man,' but as one with Him, by nature, and inseparably existing in Him as a co-operator," &c. in Joann. p. 48. [p. 55 O.T.] Explanations such as these secure for the Catholic writers some freedom in their modes of speaking, e. g. we have seen, *supr.* p. 15, note d. that Athan. speaks of the Son, as "enjoined and ministering," *προσταττόμενος, καὶ ὑπουργῶν*, Orat. ii.

§ 22. Thus S. Irenæus speaks of the Father being well-pleased and commanding, *κελεύοντος*, and the Son doing and framing. Hær. iv. 75. [p. 438 O.T.] S. Basil too, in the same treatise in which are some of the foregoing protests, speaks of "the Lord ordering, *προστάσσοντα*, and the Word framing." de Sp. S. n. 38. S. Cyril of Jerusalem, of "Him who bids, *ἐντέλλεται*, bidding to one who is present with Him," Cat. xi. 16. [p. 118 O.T.] *vid.* also *ὑπηρετῶν τῆ βουλῆ*, Justin. Tryph. 126. [p. 227 O.T.] and *ὑπουργῶν*, Theoph. ad Autol. ii. 10. *ἔξυπηρετῶν θελήματι*, Clem. Strom. vii. p. 832.

^o The 12th and 13th Anathemas are intended to meet the charge which is alluded to pp. 115, 123, notes f and u, that Arianism involved the doctrine that our Lord's divine nature suffered. Athanasius brings this accusation against them distinctly in his work against Apollinaris, "Idle then is the fiction of the Arians, who suppose that the Saviour took flesh only, irreligiously imputing the notion of suffering to the impassible godhead." *contr.* Apollin. i. 15. *vid.* also Ambros. de Fide, iii. 31. Salig in his de Eutyichianismo ant. Eutyichen takes notice of none of the passages in the text.

COUNC.
ARIM.
AND
SELEU.

Gen. 1,
26.
1 p. 114,
ref. 2.

(13.) Whosoever, as hearing the Only-begotten Son of God was crucified, shall say that His Godhead underwent corruption, or passion, or alteration, or diminution, or destruction, be he anathema.

(14.) Whosoever shall say that *Let Us make man*¹ was not said by the Father to the Son, but by God to Himself, be he anathema^p.

(15.) Whosoever shall say that Abraham saw, not the Son, but the Ingenerate God or part of Him, be he anathema^q.

(16.) Whosoever shall say that with Jacob, not the Son as man, but the Ingenerate God or part of Him, did wrestle, be he anathema^r.

Gen. 19,
24.

(17.) Whosoever shall explain, *The Lord rained fire from the Lord* not of the Father and the Son, and says that He rained

^p This Anathema is directed against the Sabellians, especially Marcellus, who held the very opinion which it denounces, that the Almighty spake with Himself. Euseb. Eccles. Theol. ii. 15. The Jews said that Almighty God spoke to the Angels. Basil. Hexaem. fin. Others that the plural was used as authorities on earth use it in way of dignity. Theod. in Gen. 19. As to the Catholic Fathers, as is well known, they interpreted the text in the sense here given. It is scarcely necessary to refer to instances; Petavius, however, cites the following. First those in which the Eternal Father is considered to speak to the Son. Theophilus, ad Autol. ii. 18; Novatian, de Trin. 26; Tertullian, de Carn. Christ. 5; Synod. Antioch. contr. Paul. apud Routh. Reliqu. t. 2. p. 468; Basil. Hexaem. fin.; Cyr. Hieros. Cat. x. 6; Cyril. Alex. Dial. iv. p. 516; Athan. contr. Gentes. 46. Orat. iii. § 29 fin.; Chrysost. in Genes. Hom. viii. 3; Hilar. iv. 17. v. 8; Ambros. Hexaem. vi. 7; Augustin. ad Maxim. ii. 26. n. 2. Next those in which Son and Spirit are considered as addressed. Theoph. ad Autol. ii. 18; Pseudo-Basil. contr. Eunom. v. p. 315; Pseudo-Chrysost. de Trin. t. i. p. 832; Cyril. Thesaur. p. 12; Theodor. in Genes. 19. Hær. v. 3. and 9. But even here, where the Arians agree with Catholics, they differ in this remarkable respect, that in this and the following Canons they place certain interpretations of Scripture under the sanction of an anathema, shewing how far less free the system of heretics is than that of the Church.

^q This again, in spite of the wording, which is directed against the Catholic doctrine, and of an heretical implication, is a Catholic interpretation. vid. (besides Philo de Somniis. i. 12.)

Justin. Tryph. 56. and 126. Iren. Hær. iv. 10. n. 1. Tertull. de carn. Christ. 6. adv. Marc. iii. 9. adv. Prax. 16. Novat. de Trin. 18. Origen. in Gen. Hom. iv. 5. Cyprian. adv. Jud. ii. 5. Antioch. Syn. contr. Paul. apud Routh. Rell. t. 2. p. 469. Athan. Orat. ii. 13. Epiph. Ancor. 29 and 39. Hær. 71. 5. Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 41. 7. These references are principally from Petavius; also from Dörscheus, who has written an elaborate commentary on this Council. The implication alluded to above is, that the Son is of a visible substance, and thus is naturally the manifestation of the Invisible God. Petavius maintains, and Bull denies (Defens. F. D. iv. 3.), that the doctrine is found in Justin, Origen, &c. The Catholic doctrine is that the Son has condescended to become visible by means of material appearances. Augustine seems to have been the first who changed the mode of viewing the texts in question, and considered the divine appearance, not God the Son, but a created Angel. vid. de Trin. ii. passim. Jansenius considers that he did so from a suggestion of S. Ambrose, that the hitherto received view had been the origo hæresis Arianae, vid. his Augustinus, lib. proëm. c. 12. t. 2. p. 12. The two views are not inconsistent with each other. It is remarkable that in this and the next anathema for "partem ejus" in Hilary, Petavius should propose to read "patrem" against the original text in Athan. μέρος αὐτοῦ, and the obvious explanation of it by the phrase μέρος δμοουσίου, which was not unfrequently in the mouths of Arian objectors. vid. supr. p. 97. note i.

^r This and the following Canon are Catholic in their main doctrine, and might be illustrated, if necessary, as the foregoing.

from Himself, be he anathema. For the Son Lord rained from the Father Lord. CHAP. II.

(18.) Whosoever hearing that the Father is Lord and the Son Lord and the Father and Son Lord, for there is Lord from Lord, says there are two Gods, be he anathema. For we do not place the Son in the Father's order, but as subordinate to the Father; for He did not descend upon Sodom without the Father's will¹, nor did He rain from Himself, but from the Lord, that is, the Father authorizing it. Nor is He of Himself set down on the right hand, but He hears the Father saying, *Sit Thou on My right hand*. ¹ p. 118, note n.
Ps. 110, 1.

(19.) Whosoever says that the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are one Person, be he anathema.

(20.) Whosoever, speaking of the Holy Ghost as Paraclete, shall speak of the Ingenerate God, be he anathema².

(21.) Whosoever shall deny, what the Lord taught us, that the Paraclete is other than the Son, for He hath said, *And another Paraclete shall the Father send to you, whom I will ask*, be he anathema. John 14, 16.

(22.) Whosoever shall say that the Holy Ghost is part of the Father or of the Son², be he anathema. ² p. 120, n. (16.)

(23.) Whosoever shall say that the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost be three Gods, be he anathema.

(24.) Whosoever shall say that the Son of God at the will of God came to be, as one of the works, be he anathema.

(25.) Whosoever shall say that the Son was generated, the Father not wishing it³, be he anathema. For not by compulsion, forced by physical necessity, did the Father, as He wished not, generate the Son, but He at once willed, and, after generating Him from Himself apart from time and passion, manifested Him. ³ p. 115, n. (7.)

(26.) Whosoever shall say that the Son is ingenerate and unoriginate, as if speaking of two unoriginate and two ingenerate, and making two Gods, be he anathema. For the Son is the Head, which is the origin of all: and God is the Head, which is the origin of Christ⁴; for thus to one unoriginate origin of the universe do we religiously refer all things through the Son. ⁴ p. 98. cir. fin. p. 113, n. (2.)

(27.) And in accurate delineation of the idea of Christianity we say this again; Whosoever shall not say that Christ is God, Son of God, as being before ages, and having subserved the Father in

¹ It was an expedient of the Macedonians to deny that the Holy Spirit was God because it was not usual to call Him Ingenerate; and perhaps to their form of heresy which was always implied in Arianism, and which began to shew itself formally among the Semi-arians ten years later, this anathema may be traced. They asked the Catholics whether the Holy Spirit was *Ingenerate*, *generate*, or *created*, for into these three they divided all things. vid. Basil. in Sabell. et Ar. Hom. xxiv.

6. But, as the Arians had first made the alternative only between *Ingenerate* and *created*, and Athan. de Decr. § 28. supr. p. 53, note g. shews that *generate* is a third idea really distinct from one and the other, so S. Greg. Naz. adds, *processive*, ἐκπορευτὸν, as an intermediate idea, contrasted with *Ingenerate*, yet distinct from *generate*. Orat. xxxi. 8. In other words, *Ingenerate* means, not only *not generate*, but *not from any origin*. vid. August. de Trin. xv. 26.

COUNC.
ARIM.
AND
SELEU.

the framing of the Universe, but that from the time that He was born of Mary, from thence He was called Christ and Son, and took an origin of being God, be he anathema.

§ 28. 15. Casting aside the whole of this, as if they had discovered something better, they propound another faith, and write at Sirmium in Latin what is here translated into Greek^t.

vii. Con-
fession,
or 2nd
Sirmian,
A.D. 357.

Whereas it has seemed good that there should be some discussion concerning faith, all points have been carefully investigated and discussed at Sirmium in the presence of Valens, and Ursacius, and Germinius, and the rest.

It is held for certain that there is one God, the Father Almighty, as also is preached in all the world.

John 20,
17.
πορεύομαι
Rom. 3,
29. 30.

And His One Only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, generated from Him before the ages; and that we may not speak of two Gods, since the Lord Himself has said, *I go to My Father and your Father, and My God and your God*. On this account He is God of all, as also the Apostle has taught: *Is He God of the Jews only, is He not also of the Gentiles? yea of the Gentiles also: since there is one God who shall justify the circumcision from faith, and the uncircumcision through faith*; and every thing else agrees, and has no ambiguity,

Is. 53, 6.

But since many persons are disturbed by questions concerning what is called in Latin "Substantia," but in Greek "Usia," that is, to make it understood more exactly, as to "One in Substance," or what is called, "Like in substance," there ought to be no mention of any of these at all, nor exposition of them in the Church, for this reason and for this consideration, that in divine Scripture nothing is written about them, and that they are above men's knowledge and above men's understanding; and because no one can declare the Son's generation, as it is written, *Who shall declare His generation?* for it is plain that the Father only knows how He generated the Son, and again the Son how He has been generated by the Father. And to none can it be a question that the Father is greater: for no one can doubt that the Father is greater in honour and dignity and Godhead, and in the very name of Father, the Son Himself testifying, *The Father that sent Me is greater than I*. And no one is ignorant, that it is Catholic doctrine, that there are two Persons of Father and Son, and that the Father is greater, and the Son subordinated¹ to the Father together with all things which the Father has subordi-

vid.
John 10,
29.
Ib. 14, 28.
ἵπποε-
ταγμέ-
ρον.

^tThe Creed which follows was not put forth by a Council, but at a meeting of a few Arian Bishops, and the author was Potamius, Bishop of Lisbon. It is important as marking the open separation of the Eusebians or Acacians from the Semi-arians, and their adoption of Anomean tenets. Hilary, who defends the Eusebian Councils up to

this date, calls this a "blasphemia," and upon it followed the Semi-arian Council by way of protest at Ancyra. S. Hilary tells us that it was the Confession which Hosius was imprisoned and tortured into signing. Whether it is the one which Pope Liberius signed is doubtful; but he signed an Arian Confession at this time.

nated to Him, and that the Father has no origin, and is invisible, and immortal, and impassible; but that the Son has been generated from the Father, God from God, Light from Light, and that His generation, as aforesaid, no one knows, but the Father only. And that the Son Himself and our Lord and God, took flesh, that is, a body, that is, man, from Mary the Virgin, as the Angel heralded beforehand; and as all the Scriptures teach, and especially the Apostle himself, the doctor of the Gentiles, Christ took man of Mary the Virgin, through which He suffered. And the whole faith is summed up¹, and secured in this, that a Trinity should ever be preserved, as we read in the Gospel, *Go ye and baptize all the nations in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost*. And entire and perfect is the number of the Trinity; but the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, sent forth through the Son, came according to the promise, that He might teach and sanctify the Apostles and all believers^u.

CHAΡ.
II.
κεφά-
λαιον.
vid. de
Decr. §
31. p. 56.
Orat. i.
§ 34.
Epiph.
Hær. 73.
11.
Matt. 28,
19.

16. After drawing up this, and then becoming dissatisfied, they composed the faith which to their shame they paraded with "the Consulate." And, as is their wont, condemning this also, they caused Martinian the notary to seize it from the parties who had the copies of it^x. And having got the Emperor Constantius to put forth an edict against it, they form another dogma afresh, and with the addition of certain expressions, according to their wont, they write thus in Isauria.

§ 29.

We decline not to bring forward the authentic faith published at

ix. Confession,
at Seleucia A.D. 359.

^u It will be observed that this Confession; 1. by denying "two Gods," and declaring that the One God is the God of Christ, implies that our Lord is not God. 2. It says that the word "substance," and its compounds, ought not to be used as being unscriptural, mysterious, and leading to disturbance; 3. it holds that the Father is greater than the Son "in honour, dignity, and godhead;" 4. that the Son is subordinate to the Father *with* all other things; 5. that it is the Father's characteristic to be invisible and impassible. On the last head, vid. supr. pp. 115. 119. notes f. o. They also say that our Lord, *hominem suscepisse per quem compassus est*, a word which Phœbadius condemns in his remarks on this Confession; where, by the way, he uses the word "spiritus" in the sense of Hilary and the Antenicene Fathers, in a connection which at once explains the obscure words of

the supposititious Sardican Confession, (vid. above, pp. 84, 85, note c.) and turns them into another evidence of this additional heresy involved in Arianism. "Impassibilis Deus," says Phœbadius, "quia Deus *Spiritus* . . . non ergo passibilis Dei Spiritus, licet in homine suo passus." Now the Sardican Confession is thought ignorant, as well as unauthoritative, (e. g. by Natalis Alex. Sæc. 4. Diss. 29.) because it imputes to Valens and Ursacius the following belief, which he supposes to be Patripassianism, but which exactly answers to this aspect and representation of Arianism: ὅτι ὁ λόγος καὶ ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἐσφάγη καὶ ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη. Theod. Hist. ii. 6. p. 844.

^x Some critics suppose that the transaction really belongs to the second instead of the third Confession of Sirmium. Socrates connects it with the second. Hist. ii. 30.

COUNC. the Dedication at Antioch^γ; though certainly our fathers at the time
 ARIM. met together for a particular subject under investigation. But since
 AND “One in substance” and “Like in substance¹,” have troubled many
 SELEU. persons in times past and up to this day, and since moreover some
¹ ὁμοιού- are said recently to have devised the Son’s “Unlikeness²” to the Fa-
 σιον ther, on their account we reject “One in substance” and “Like in
² ἀνόμοιον substance,” as alien to the Scriptures, but “Unlike” we anathematize,
 and account all who profess it as aliens from the Church. And we
³ ὁμοιον distinctly confess the “Likeness³” of the Son to the Father, according
 Col. 1, 15. to the Apostle, who says of the Son, *Who is the Image of the Invisible God.*

And we confess and believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible.

And we believe also in our Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, generated from Him impassibly before all the ages, God the Word, God from God, Only-begotten, light, life, truth, wisdom, power, through whom all things were made, in the heavens and on the earth, whether visible or invisible. He, as we believe, at the end of the world, for the abolishment of sin, took flesh of the Holy Virgin, and was made man, and suffered for our sins, and rose again, and was taken up into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and is coming again in glory, to judge quick and dead.

We believe also in the Holy Ghost, which our Saviour and Lord named Paraclete, having promised to send Him to the disciples after His own departure, as He did send; through whom He sanctifieth all in the Church who believe, and are baptized in the Name of Father and Son and Holy Ghost.

But those who preach aught beside this faith the Catholic Church regards as aliens. And that to this faith that is equivalent which was published lately at Sirmium, under sanction of his religiousness the Emperor, is plain to all who read it.

§ 30. 17. Having written thus in Isauria, they went up to Constantinople^z, and there, as if dissatisfied, they changed it, as

^γ The Semi-arian majority in the Council had just before been confirming the Creed of the Dedication; hence this beginning, vid. supr. p. 89, note o. They had first of all offered to the Council the third Sirmian, or “Confession with a Date,” supr. § 3. which their coadjutors offered at Ariminum, Soz. iv. 22. and at the end of the present they profess that the two are substantially the same. They seem to mean that they are both Homœan or Scriptural Creeds; they differ in that the latter, as if to propitiate the Semi-arian majority, adds an anathema upon the Anomœan as well as on the Homoision and Homeusion.

^z These two sections seem to have been inserted by Athan. after his

Letter was finished, and contain later occurrences in the history of Ariminum, than were contemplated when he wrote supra, ch. i. n. 15. init. vid. note h, in loc. In this place Athan. distinctly says, that the following Confession, which the Acacians from Seleucia adopted at Constantinople, was transmitted to Ariminum, and there forced upon the assembled Fathers. This is not inconsistent with what seems to be the fact, that the Confession was drawn up at a Council held at Nice in Thrace near Adrianople in Oct. 359, whither the deputies from Ariminum had been summoned by Constantius. vid. Hilar. Fragm. viii. 5. There the deputies signed it, and thence they took it back to Ariminum,

is their wont, and with certain additions against using even "Subsistence" of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, they transmitted it to the Council at Ariminum, and compelled even the Bishops in those parts to subscribe it, and those who contradicted them they got banished by Constantius. And it runs thus :—

CHAP.
II.

We believe in One God the Father Almighty, from whom are all things ;

x. Confession at Nice and Constantinople. A.D. 359. 360.

And in the Only-begotten Son of God, begotten from God before all ages and before every origin, by whom all things were made, visible and invisible, and begotten as only-begotten, only from the Father only^a, God from God, like to the Father that begat Him according to the Scriptures ; whose generation no one knows, except the Father alone who begat Him. He as we acknowledge, the Only-begotten Son of God, the Father sending Him, came hither from the heavens, as it is written, for the undoing of sin and death, and was born of the Holy Ghost, of Mary the Virgin according to the flesh, as it is written, and conversed with the disciples, and having fulfilled the whole economy according to the Father's will, was crucified and dead

In the beginning of the following year 360 it was confirmed by a Council at Constantinople, after the termination of that of Ariminum, and to this confirmation Athanasius refers. Socrates says, Hist. ii. 37 fin. that they chose Nice in order to deceive the ignorant with the notion that it was Nicæa, and their creed the Nicene faith, and the place is actually called Nicæa, in the Acts of Ariminum preserved by Hilary, p. 1346. Such a measure, whether or not adopted in matter of fact, might easily have had success, considering the existing state of the West. We have seen, *supr.* p. 76, note i, that S. Hilary had not heard the Nicene Creed till he came into Asia Minor A. D. 356. and he says of his Gallic and British brethren, "O blessed ye in the Lord and glorious, who hold the perfect and apostolic faith in the profession of your conscience, and up to this time know not creeds in writing. For ye needed not the letter, who abounded in the Spirit ; nor looked for the hand's office for subscription, who believed in the heart, and professed with the mouth unto salvation. Nor was it necessary for you as bishops to read, what was put into your hands as neophytes on your regeneration. But necessity hath brought in the usage, that creeds should be expounded and subscriptions attached. For when what our conscience holds is in danger, then

the letter is required ; nor surely is there reason against writing what there is health in confessing." de Syn. 63. It should be added that at this Council Ulphilas the Apostle of the Goths, who had hitherto followed the Council of Nicæa, conformed, and thus became the means of spreading through his countrymen the Creed of Ariminum.

^a *μόνος ἐκ μόνου*. Though this is an Homœan or Acacian, not an Anomœan Creed, this phrase may be considered a symptom of Anomœan influence ; *μόνος πᾶρά, ἢ ὑπὸ, μόνου* being one special formula adopted by Eunomius, explanatory of *μονογενῆς*, in accordance with the original Arian theory, mentioned de Decr. § 7. *supra*, p. 12. that the Son was the one instrument of creation. Eunomius said that He alone was created by the Father alone ; all other things being created by the Father, not alone, but *through* Him whom alone He had first created. *vid.* Cyril. Thesaur. 25. p. 239. S. Basil observes that, if this be a true sense of *μονογενῆς*, then no man is such, e.g. Isaac, as being born of two, *contr.* Eunom. ii. 21. Acacius has recourse to Gnosticism, and illustrates the Arian sense by the contrast of the *προβολή* of the Æons, which as described *supra*, p. 97, note h, was *ἐκ πολλῶν*. ap. Eriph. Hær. 72. 7. p. 839.

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and buried and descended to the parts below the earth; at whom hell itself shuddered: who also rose from the dead on the third day, and abode with the disciples, and, forty days being fulfilled, was taken up into the heavens, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, to come in the last day of the resurrection in the Father's glory, that He may render to every man according to his works.

And in the Holy Ghost, whom the Only-begotten Son of God Himself, Christ, our Lord and God, promised to send to the race of man, as Paraclete, as it is written, "the Spirit of truth," which He sent unto them when He had ascended into the heavens.

But the name of "Substance," which was set down by the Fathers in simplicity, and, being unknown by the people, caused offence, because the Scriptures contain it not, it has seemed good to take away, and for the future to make no mention of it at all; since the divine Scriptures have made no mention of the Substance of Father and Son. For neither ought Subsistence to be named concerning Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. But we say that the Son is Like the Father, as the divine Scriptures say and teach; and all the heresies, both those which have been afore condemned already, and whatever are of modern date, being contrary to this published statement, be they anathema^b.

§ 31.
xi. Con-
fession at
Antioch.
A.D.361.

18. However, they did not stand even to this; for coming down from Constantinople to Antioch, they were dissatisfied that they had written at all that the Son was "Like the Father, as the Scriptures say;" and putting their ideas upon paper, they began reverting to their first doctrines, and said that "the Son is altogether unlike the Father," and that the "Son is in no manner like the Father," and so much did they change, as to admit those who spoke the Arian doctrine nakedly and to deliver to them the Churches with licence to bring forward the words of blasphemy with impunity^c. Because then of the extreme shamelessness of

^b Here as before, instead of speaking of Arianism, the Confession anathematizes *all* heresies. vid. *supr.* p. 108, note g. It will be observed, that for "Like in all things," which was contained in the Confession (third Sirmian) first submitted to the Ariminian Fathers, is substituted simply "Like." Moreover, they include hypostasis or subsistence though a Scripture term, in the list of proscribed symbols. vid. also ad Afros. 4. The object of suppressing ὑπόστασις, seems to have been that, since the Creed, which was written in Latin, was to go to Ariminum, the West might be forced to deny the Latin version or equivalent of ὁμοούσιον, unius substantiæ, or hypostasis, as well as

the Greek original. This circumstance might be added, to those enumerated *supra*, p. 69, &c. to shew that in the Nicene formulary *substance* and *subsistence* are synonymous.

^c Acacius, Eudoxius, and the rest, after ratifying at Constantinople the Creed framed at Nice and subscribed at Ariminum, appear next at Antioch a year and a half later, when they throw off the mask, and, avowing the Anomœan Creed, "revert," as S. Athanasius says, "to their first doctrines," i. e. those with which Arius started. The Anomœan doctrine, it may be observed, is directly opposed rather to the Homœusian than to the Homœousion, as indeed the very symbols

their blasphemy they were called by all Anomæans, having also the name of Exucontian^d, and the heretical Constantius for the patron of their ungodliness, who persisting up to the end in irreligion, and on the point of death, thought good to be baptized^e; not however by religious men, but by Euzoius^f, who for his Arianism had been deposed, not once, but often, both when he was a deacon, and when he was in the see of Antioch.

19. The forementioned parties then had proceeded thus far, when they were stopped and deposed. But well I know, not even under these circumstances will they stop, as many as have now dissembled^g, but they will always be making

§ 32.

shew; "unlike in substance," being the contrary to "like in substance." It doubtless frightened the Semi-arians, and hastened their return to the Catholic doctrine.

^d From ἐξ ὅκ ὄντων, "out of nothing," one of the original Arian positions concerning the Son. Theodoret says that they were also called Exacionitæ, from the nature of their place of meeting, Hær. iv. 3. and Du Cange confirms it so far as to shew that there was a place or quarter of Constantinople called Exocionium or Exacionium.

^e At this critical moment Constantius died, when the cause of truth was only not in the lowest state of degradation, because a party was in authority and vigour who could reduce it to a lower still; the Latins committed to an Anti-Catholic Creed, the Pope a renegade, Hosius fallen and dead, Athanasius wandering in the deserts, Arians in the sees of Christendom, and their doctrine growing in blasphemy, and their profession of it in boldness, every day. The Emperor had come to the throne when almost a boy, and at this time was but 44 years old. In the ordinary course of things, he might have reigned till, humanly speaking, orthodoxy was extinct. This passage shews that Athanasius did not insert these sections till two years after the composition of the work itself; for Constantine died A.D. 361.

^f Euzoius, at this time Arian Bishop of Antioch, was excommunicated with Arius in Egypt and at Nicea, and was restored with him to the Church at the Council of Jerusalem. He succeeded at Antioch S. Meletius, who on being placed in that see by the Arians pro-

fessed orthodoxy, and was forthwith banished by them.

^g ὑπεκρίναντο. *hypocrites*, is almost a title of the Arians (with an apparent allusion to 1 Tim. iv. 2. vid. Socr. i. p. 13. Athan. Orat. i. § 8.), and that in various senses. The first meaning is that, being heretics, they nevertheless used orthodox phrases and statements to deceive and seduce Catholics. Thus the term is used by Alexander in the beginning of the controversy. vid. Theol. Hist. i. 3. pp. 729. 746. Again, it implies that they agreed with Arius, but would not confess it; professed to be Catholics, but would not anathematize him. vid. Athan. ad Ep. Æg. 20. or alleged untruly the Nicene Council as their ground of complaint, infr. § 39. Again, it is used of the hollowness and pretence of their ecclesiastical proceedings, with the Emperor at their head; which were a sort of make-belief of spiritual power, or piece of acting, δραματούργημα. Ep. Encycl. 2 and 6. It also means general insincerity, as if they were talking about what they did not understand, and did not realize what they said, and were blindly implicating themselves in evils of a fearful character. Thus Athan. call them τοὺς τῆς Ἀρελοῦ μάχης ὑποκριτὰς. Orat. ii. § 1. init. [infra p. 181], and he speaks of the evil spirit making them his sport, τοὺς ὑποκρινομένοις τὴν μάχην αὐτοῦ. ad Serap. i. 1. And hence further it is applied, as in this place, though with severity, yet to those who were near the truth, and who, though in sin, would at length come to it or not, according as the state of their hearts was. He is here anticipating the return into the Church of those whom he thus

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parties against the truth, until they return to themselves and say, "Let us rise and go to our fathers, and say unto them, We anathematize the Arian heresy, and we acknowledge the Nicene Council^h;" for against this is their quarrel. Who then, with ever so little understanding, will bear them any longer? who, on hearing in every Council some things taken away and others added, but comprehends their treachery and secret depravity against Christ? who on seeing them embodying to so great a length both their professions of faith, and their own exculpation, but sees that they are giving sentence against themselves¹, and studiously writing much which may be likely by an officious display and an abundance of words to seduce the simple and hide what they are in point of heresy? But as the heathen, as the Lord said, using vain words in their prayers, are nothing profited; so they too, after all their words were spent, were not able to extinguish the judgment pronounced against the Arian heresy, but were convicted and deposed instead; and rightly; for which of their formularies is to be accepted by the hearer? or with what confidence shall they be catechists to those who come to them? for if they all have one and the same meaning, what is the need of many²? But if need has arisen of so many, it follows that each by itself is deficient, not complete; and they establish this point better than we can, by their innovating on them all and re-making them³. And the number of their Councils, and the difference of their statements is a proof that those who were present at them, while at variance with the Nicene, are yet too feeble to harm the Truth.

¹ p. 6,
note o.

² p. 110,
note q.

³ p. 81,
note t.

censures. In this sense, though with far more severity in what he says, the writer of a Tract, imputed to Athan. against the Catholicising Semi-arians of 363, entitles it "on the *hypocrisy* of Meletius and Eusebius of Samosata." It is remarkable that what Athan. here predicts was fulfilled to the letter, even of the worst of these "hypocrites." For Acacius himself, who in 361 signed the Anomæan Confession above recorded, was one of those very men who accepted the Homouision with an explanation in 363.

^h Considering that Athanasius had now been for several years among the

monasteries of the deserts, in close concealment, (unless we suppose he really had issued thence and was present at Seleucia,) this is a remarkable instance of accurate knowledge of the state of feeling in the heretical party, and of foresight. From his apparent want of knowledge of the Anomæans, and his unhesitatingly classing them with the Arians, it would seem in a great measure to arise from the intimate comprehension of the doctrine itself in dispute and of its bearings. There had been at that time no parallel of a great aberration and its issue.

CHAP. III.

ON THE SYMBOLS "OF THE SUBSTANCE" AND "ONE IN SUBSTANCE."

We must look at the sense not the wording. The offence excited is at the sense; meaning of the Symbols; the question of their not being in Scripture. Those who hesitate only at the latter of the two, not to be considered Arians. Reasons why "one in substance" better than "like in substance," yet the latter may be interpreted in a good sense. Explanation of the rejection of "one in substance" by the Council which condemned Samosatene; use of the word by Dionysius of Alexandria; parallel variation in the use of *Ingenerate*; quotation from Ignatius and another; reasons for using "one in substance;" objections to it; examination of the word itself; further documents of the Council of Ariminum.

1. BUT since they are thus minded both towards each other and towards those who preceded them, proceed we to ascertain from them what extravagance they have seen, or what they complain of in the received phrases, that they should thus disobey their fathers, and contend against an Ecumenical Council ^a? "The phrases 'of the substance' and 'one in substance,'" say they, "do not please us, for they are an offence to some and a trouble to many ^b." This

CHAP.
III.
§ 33.

^a The subject before us, naturally rises out of what has gone before. Athan. has traced out the course of Arianism to what seemed to be its result, the resolution of it into a better element or a worse,—the precipitation of what was really unbelieving in it in the Anomœan form, and the gradual purification of that Semi-arianism which prevailed in the Eastern Sees. vid. p. 103, notet. The Anomœan creed was hopeless; but with the Semi-arians all that remained was the adjustment of phrases. They had to reconcile their minds to terms which the Church had taken from philosophy and adopted as her own. Accordingly, Athan. goes on to propose such *explanations* as might clear the way

for a re-union of Christendom. The remainder of his work then is devoted to the consideration of the "one in substance," (as contrasted with "like in substance,") which had confessedly great difficulties in it. vid. p. 147, note u.

^b This is only stating what the above Confessions have said again and again. The objections made to it were, 1. that it was not in Scripture; 2. that it had been disowned by the Antiochene Council against Paul of Samosata; 3. that it was of a material nature, and belonged to the Manichees; 4. that it was of a Sabellian tendency; 5. that it implied that the divine substance was distinct from God.

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then is what they allege in their writings; but one may reasonably answer them thus: If the very words were by themselves a cause of offence to them, it must have followed, not that some only should have been offended, and many troubled, but that we also and all the rest should have been affected by them in the same way; but if on the contrary all men are well content with the words, and they who wrote them were no ordinary persons but men who came together from the whole world, and to these testify in addition the 400 Bishops and more who have now met at Ariminum, does not this plainly prove against those who accuse the Council, that the terms are not in fault, but the perverseness of those who misinterpret them? How many men read divine Scripture wrongly, and as thus conceiving it, find fault with the Saints? such were the Jews formerly, who rejected the Lord, and the Manichees at present who blaspheme the Law¹; yet are not the Scriptures the cause to them, but their own evil humours. If then ye can shew the terms to be actually unsound, do so and let the proof proceed, and drop the pretence of offence created, lest you come into the condition of the Pharisees formerly, when, on pretending offence at the Lord's teaching, He said, *Every plant, which My heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.* By which He shewed that not the words of the Father planted by Him were really an offence to them, but that they misinterpreted good words and offended themselves. And in like manner they who at that time blamed the Epistles of the Apostle, impeached, not Paul, but their own deficient learning and distorted minds.

¹ vid.
Orat. i.
8. iv. 23.

Matt. 15,
13.

§ 34.

2. For answer what is much to the purpose, Who are they whom you pretend are offended and troubled at these terms? of those who are religious towards Christ not one; on the contrary they defend and maintain them. But if they are Arians who thus feel, what wonder they should be distressed at words which destroy their heresy? for it is not the terms which offend them, but the proscription of their irreligion which afflicts them². Therefore let us have no more murmuring against the Fathers, nor pretence of this kind; or next^c you will be making complaints of the Lord's Cross,

² p. 32,
ref. 1.
p. 36,
ref. 2,
p. 138,
ref. 4.

^c ὡρα. vid. Orat. i. § 15. iv. § 10. Serap. ii. 1. καλος. de Decr. § 15. init.

"Of God," if more than words, means "of His Substance." 131

that it is to Jews an offence and to Gentiles foolishness, as said the Apostle ^d. But as the Cross is not faulty, for to us who believe it is *Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God*, though Jews rave, so neither are the terms of the Fathers faulty, but profitable to those who rightly read, and subversive of all irreligion, though the Arians so often burst ¹ with rage as being condemned by them.

CHAP.
III.
I Cor. 1,
23. 24.

¹ p. 29,
note 1.

3. Since then the pretence that persons are offended does not hold, tell us yourselves, why is it you are not pleased with the phrase "of the substance," (this must first be enquired about,) when you yourselves have written that the Son is generated from the Father? If when you name the Father, or use the word "God," you do not signify substance, or understand Him according to substance, who is that He is, but signify something else about Him ², not to say inferior, then you should not have written that the Son was from the Father, but from what is about Him or in Him ^e; and so, shrinking from saying that God is truly Father, and making Him compound who is simple, in a material way, you will be authors of a new blasphemy. And, with such ideas, do you of necessity consider the Word and the title "Son," not as a substance but as a name ³ only; and in consequence the views ye have ye hold as far as names only, and your statements are not positive points of faith, but negative opinions.

² p. 38,
note z.

³ p. 41,
note e;
p. 114,
note b.

4. But this is more like the crime of the Sadducees, and of those among the Greeks who had the name of Atheists. It follows that you deny that creation too is the handywork of God Himself that is; at least, if "Father" and "God" do not signify the very substance of Him that is, but

§ 35.

^d "The Apostle" is a common title of S. Paul in antiquity. E. g. "By partaking of the Son Himself, we are said to partake of God, and this is that which *Peter* has said, 'that ye might be partakers of the divine nature,' as says also *the Apostle*, 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, &c.'" Orat. i. § 16 [infra p. 204]. "When 'the Apostle is mentioned,' says S. Augustine, if it is not specified which, Paul only is understood, because he is more celebrated from the number of his Epistles, and laboured more abundantly than all the rest." ad Bonifac. iii. 3. S. Peter is called the Apostle.

Orat. i. 47 [infra p. 248].

^e Vid. Orat. i. § 15 [infra p. 202]; supra, de Decr. p. 38, note z. Thus Eusebius calls our Lord "the light throughout the universe, moving round (*ἄμφι*) the Father." de Laud. Const. p. 501. It was a Platonic idea, which he gained from Plotinus; whom he quotes speaking of his second Principle as "radiance around, from Him indeed, but from one who remains what He was; as the sun's bright light circling around it, (*περιθέον*), ever generated from it, which nevertheless remains." Evang. Præp. xi. 17. vid. above, p. 51, note b.

COUNC. something else, which you imagine: which is irreligious,
 ARIM. and most shocking even to think of. But if, when we hear
 AND it said, *I am that I am*, and, *In the beginning God created the*
 SELEU. *heaven and the earth*, and, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God*
 EX. 3,14. *is one Lord*, and, *Thus saith the Lord Almighty*, we under-
 Gen. 1,1. stand nothing else than the very simple, and blessed, and
 Deut. 6, 4. incomprehensible substance itself of Him that is, (for
 though we be unable to master that He is, yet hearing
 "Father," and "God," and "Almighty," we understand
 nothing else to be meant than the very substance of Him
 that is¹;) and if ye too have said, that the Son is from God,
 it follows that you have said that He is from the "sub-
 stance" of the Father. And since the Scriptures precede
 you which say, that the Lord is Son of the Father, and the
 Father Himself precedes them, who says, *This is My beloved*
 Matt. 3, 17. *Son*, and a son is no other than the offspring from his father,
 is it not evident that the Fathers have suitably said that the
 Son is from the Father's substance? considering that it is
 all one to say in an orthodox sense "from God," and to say
 "from the substance." For all the creatures, though they
 be said to be generated from God, yet are not from God as
 the Son is; for they are not offsprings in their nature, but
 works. Thus, it is said, *in the 'beginning' God*, not "gene-
 Gen. 1,1. rated," but *made the heaven and the earth, and all that is in*
 Ps. 104, 4. *them*. And not, "who generates," but *who maketh His angels*
spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire. And though the
 1 Cor. 8, 6. Apostle has said, *One God, from whom all things*, yet he
 says not this, as reckoning the Son with other things; but,
 whereas some of the Greeks consider² that the creation
 was held together by chance, and from the combination of
 atoms³, and spontaneously from elements of similar struc-
 2 de ture⁴, and has no cause; and others consider that it came
 Decr. from a cause, but not through the Word; and each heretic
 p. 33, ref. 1. has imagined things at his will, and tells his fables about
 3 Epicu- the creation; on this account the Apostle was obliged to
 rus. introduce *from God*, that he might thereby certify the
 4 Anaxa- Maker, and shew that the universe was framed at His will.
 goras. And accordingly he straightway proceeds: *And one Lord*
 1 Cor. 8, 6. *Jesus Christ, through whom all things*, by way of except-
 5 p.33.fin. ing the Son from that "all⁵," (for what is called God's
 p.54. fin.

work, is all done through the Son; and it is not possible that the things framed should have one generation with their Framer,) and by way of teaching that the phrase *of God*, which occurs in the passage, has a different sense in the case of the works, from what it bears when used of the Son; for He is offspring, and they are works: and therefore He, the Son, is the proper offspring of His substance, but they are the handywork of His will.

5. The Council, then, comprehending this¹, and aware of the different senses of the same word, that none should suppose, that the Son was said to be *from God* like the creation, wrote with greater explicitness, that the Son was "from the substance." For this betokens the true genuineness of the Son towards the Father; whereas, in its being said simply "from God," only the Creator's will concerning the framing of all is signified. If then they too had this meaning, when they wrote that the Word was "from the Father," they had nothing to complain of in the Council²; but if they meant "of God," in the instance of the Son, as it is used of the creation, then as understanding it of the creation, they should not name the Son, or they will be manifestly mingling blasphemy with religiousness; but either they have to cease reckoning the Lord with the creatures, or at least to make statements not unworthy, and not unbecoming of the Son. For if He is a Son, He is not a creature; but if a creature, then not a Son. Since these are their views, perhaps they will be denying the Holy Laver also, because it is administered into Father and into Son; and not into Creator and Creature, as they account it.

6. "But," they say, "all this is not written: and we reject these words as unscriptural." But this, again, is an unblushing excuse in their mouths. For if they think every thing must be rejected which is not written, wherefore, when the Arian party invent such a heap of phrases, not from Scripture³, "Out of nothing," and "the Son was not before His generation," and "Once He was not," and "He is alterable," and "the Father is ineffable and invisible to the Son," and "the Son knows not even His own substance;" and all that Arius has vomited in his light and irreligious Thalia, why do not they speak against these, but rather take their

§ 36.
¹ de
Decr.
§. 19.
p. 32.

² p. 130,
ref. 2.

³ p. 31,
note p.

COUNC. part; and on that account contend with their own Fathers?
ARIM. And, in what Scripture did they on their part find "Ingene-
AND rate," and the name of "substance," and "there are three
SELEU. subsistences," and "Christ is not very God," and "He is one
of the hundred sheep," and "God's Wisdom is ingenerate
and inoriginate, but the created powers are many, of which
Christ is one¹?" Or how, when in the so-called Dedication,
the party of Acacius and Eusebius used expressions not in
Scripture², and said that "the First-born of the creation"
was "the unvarying Image of the divine substance, and
power, and will of God," do they complain of the Fathers, for
making mention of unscriptural expressions, and especially
of substance? For they ought either to complain of them-
selves, or to find no fault with the Fathers.

¹ *supr.*
§ 17.

² *p. 106,*
note b.

§ 37. 7. Now, if certain others made excuses of the expressions
of the Council, it might perhaps have been set down, either
to ignorance or to reverence. There is no question, for in-
stance, about George of Cappadocia^f, who was expelled from
Alexandria; a man, without character in years past, nor a
Christian in any respect; but only pretending to the name
to suit the times, and thinking *religion to be a means of gain*.
And therefore reason is there, none should complain of his
making mistakes about the faith, considering he knows
neither what he says, nor whereof he affirms; but, according
to the text, *goeth after all, as a bird*. But when Acacius, and
Eudoxius, and Patrophilus say this, do not they deserve
the strongest reprobation? for while they write what is

1 Tim. 6,
6.

vid.
Prov. 7,
22. 23.

^f George, whom Athanasius, Gregory Naz., and Socrates, call a Cappadocian, was born, according to Ammianus, in Epiphania of Cilicia, at a fuller's mill. He was appointed pork-contractor to the army, as mentioned above, § 12. and being detected in defrauding the government, he fled to Egypt. Naz. Orat. 21. 16. How he became acquainted with the Eusebian party does not appear. Sozomen tells us that he recommended himself to the see of Alexandria, by his zeal for Arianism and his τὸ δραστήριον; and Gregory calls him the hand of the heresy as Acacius (?) was the tongue. Orat. 21. 21. He made himself so obnoxious to the Alexandrians, that in the reign of Julian he was torn to pieces in a rising

of the heathen populace. He had laid capital informations against many persons of the place, and he tried to persuade Constantius, that as the successor of Alexander its founder he was proprietor of the soil and had a claim upon the houses built on it. Ammian. xxii. 11. Epiphanius tells us, Hær. 76. 1. that he made a monopoly of the nitre of Egypt, farmed the beds of papyrus, and the salt lakes, and even contrived a profit from the undertakers. His atrocious cruelties to the Catholics are well known. Yet he seems to have collected a choice library of philosophers and poets and Christian writers, which Julian seized on; Pitheus in loc. Ammian. also Gibbon, ch. 23.

unscriptural themselves, and have accepted many times, the term "substance" as suitable, especially on the ground of the letter of Eusebius¹, they now blame their predecessors for using terms of the same kind. Nay, though they say themselves, that the Son is "God from God," and "Living Word," "Unvarying Image of the Father's substance;" they accuse the Nicene Bishops of saying, that He who was begotten is "of the substance" of Him who begat Him, and "One in substance" with Him. But what marvel the conflict with their predecessors and their own Fathers, when they are inconsistent to themselves, and fall foul of each other? For after publishing, in the so-called Dedication at Antioch, that the Son is unvarying Image of the Father's substance, and swearing that so they held and anathematizing those who held otherwise, nay, in Isauria, writing down, "We do not decline the authentic faith published in the Dedication at Antioch²," where the term "substance" was introduced, as if forgetting all this, shortly after, in the same Isauria, they put into writing the very contrary, saying, We reject the words "one in substance," and "like in substance," as alien to the Scriptures, and demolish the term "substance," as not contained therein³.

CHAP.
III.

¹ pp. 62—
64.

² *supr.*
§ 29.

³ *supr.*
§ 8.
§ 38.

8. Can we then any more account such men Christians? or what sort of faith have they who stand neither to word nor writing, but alter and change every thing according to the times? For if, O Acacius and Eudoxius, you "do not decline the faith published at the Dedication," and in it is written that the Son is "Unvarying Image of God's substance," why is it ye write in Isauria, "we reject the Like in substance?" for if the Son is not like the Father according to substance, how is He "unvarying image of the substance?" But if you are dissatisfied at having written "Unvarying Image of the substance," how is it that ye "anathematize those who say that the Son is Unlike?" for if He be not according to substance like, He is altogether unlike: and the Unlike cannot be an Image. And if so, then it does not hold that *he that hath seen* the Son, *hath seen the Father*, there being then the greatest difference possible between Them, or rather the One being wholly Unlike the Other. And Unlike cannot possibly be called Like. By what artifice then do ye call Unlike like, and

John 14,
9.

COUNC. consider Like to be unlike, and so pretend to say that the
 ARIM. Son is the Father's Image? for if the Son be not like the
 AND Father in substance, something is wanting to the Image,
 SELEU. and it is not a complete Image, nor a perfect radiance ^g.
 Coloss. 2, How then read ye, *In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the*
 9. *Godhead bodily?* and, *from His fulness have all we received?*
 John 1, how is it that ye expel the Arian Aetius as an heretic,
 16. though ye say the same with him? for thy companion is
 he, O Acacius, and he became Eudoxius's master in this so
 great irreligion ^h; which was the reason why Leontius
 the Bishop made him deacon, that using the name of the
 diaconate as a sheep's clothing, he might be able with
 impunity to pour forth the words of blasphemy. What then
 § 39. has persuaded you to contradict each other ¹, and to procure
 1 p. 81, to yourselves so great a disgrace? You cannot give any
 note t. good account of it; this supposition only remains, that all
 you do is but outward profession and pretence, to secure
 the countenance of Constantius and the gain from thence
 accruing. And ye make nothing of accusing the Fathers,
 and ye complain outright of the expressions as being un-
 scriptural; and, as it is written, have *opened thy feet to every*
 Ez. 16, *one that passed by*; so as to change as often as they wish,
 25. in whose pay and keep you are.

9. Yet, though a man use terms not in Scripture, it makes
 no difference, so that his meaning be religious ⁱ. But the

^g Athan. here says, that when they spoke of "like," they could not consistently mean any thing short of "likeness of substance," for this is the only true likeness; and that, while they used the words ἀπαράλλακτος εἶκων, unvarying image, to exclude all essential likeness was to suppose instead an image varying utterly from its original. It must not be supposed from this that he approves the phrase ὁμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν or ὁμοιούσιος, in this Treatise, for infr. § 53. he rejects it on the ground that when we speak of "like," we imply qualities, not substance. According to him then the phrase "unvarying image" was, strictly speaking, self-contradictory, for every image varies from the original because it is an image. Yet he himself frequently uses it, as other Fathers, and Orat. i. § 26. uses ὁμοιος τῆς οὐσίας. And all human terms are imperfect; and "image" itself is used in Scripture.

^h Aetius was the first to carry out Arianism in its pure Anomœan form, as Eunomius was its principal apologist. He was born in humble life, and was at first a practitioner in medicine. After a time he became a pupil of the Arian Paulinus; then the guest of Athanasius of Nazarbi; then the pupil of Leontius of Antioch, who ordained him deacon, and afterwards deposed him. This was in 350. In 351 he seems to have held a dispute with Basil of Ancyra, at Sirmium; in the beginning of 360 he was formally condemned in the Council of Constantinople, which confirmed the Creed of Ariminum, and just before Eudoxius had been obliged to anathematize his confession of faith. This was at the very time Athan. wrote the present work.

ⁱ vid. p. 31, note p. And so S. Gregory in a well-known passage; "Why art thou such a slave to the letter, and takest up with Jewish wisdom, and

heretic, though he use scriptural terms, yet, as being equally dangerous and depraved, shall be asked in the words of the Spirit, *Why dost thou preach My laws, and takest My covenant in thy mouth?* Thus whereas the devil, though speaking from the Scriptures, is silenced by the Saviour, the blessed Paul, though he speaks from profane writers, *The Cretans are always liars*, and, *For we are His offspring*, and, *Evil communications corrupt good manners*, yet has a religious meaning, as being holy,—is *doctor of the nations*, *in faith and verity*, as having *the mind of Christ*, and what he speaks, he utters religiously. What then is there even plausible, in the Arian terms, in which the *caterpillar* and the *locust*¹ are preferred to the Saviour, and He is reviled with “Once Thou wast not,” and “Thou wast created,” and “Thou art foreign to God in substance,” and, in a word, no insult is spared against Him? On the other hand, what good word have our Fathers omitted? yea rather, have they not a lofty view and a Christ-loving religiousness? And yet these men have written, “We reject the words;” while those others they endure in their insults towards the Lord, and betray to all men, that for no other cause do they resist that great Council but that it condemned the Arian heresy. For it is on this account again that they speak against the term One in substance, about which they also entertain wrong sentiments. For if their faith was orthodox, and they confessed the Father as truly Father, believed the Son to be genuine Son, and by nature true Word and Wisdom of the Father, and as to saying that the Son is *from God*, if they did not use the words of Him as of themselves, but understood Him to be the proper offspring of the Father’s substance, as the radiance is from light, they would not every one of them have found fault with the Fathers; but would have been confident that the Council wrote suitably; and that this is the orthodox faith concerning our Lord Jesus Christ.

10. “But,” say they, “the sense of such expressions is § 40.

pursuest syllables to the loss of things? For if thou wert to say, ‘twice five,’ or ‘twice seven,’ and I concluded ‘ten’ or ‘fourteen’ from your words, or from ‘a reasonable mortal animal’ I concluded ‘man,’ should I seem to you absurd?—how so, if I did but give

your meaning? for words belong as much to him who demands them as to him who utters.” Orat. 31. 24. vid. also Hil. contr. Constant. 16. August. Ep. 238. n. 4—6. Cyril. Dial. i. p. 391. Petavius refers to other passages. de Trin. iv. 5. § 6.

CHAP. III.
Ps. 50, 16.
Tit. 1, 2.
Acts 17, 28.
1 Cor. 15, 33.
1 Tim. 2, 7
1 Cor. 2, 16.
Joel 2, 25.
1 § 18. p. 101.

- COUNC.
ARIM.
AND.
SELEU.
¹ § 8.
- obscure to us ;” for this is another of their pretences,—“We reject them¹,” say they, “because we cannot master their meaning.” But if they were true in this profession, instead of saying, “We reject them,” they should ask instruction from the well informed ; else ought they to reject whatever they cannot understand in divine Scripture, and to find fault with the writers. But this were the crime of heretics rather than of us Christians ; for what we do not understand in the sacred oracles, instead of rejecting, we seek from persons to whom the Lord has revealed it, and from them we ask for instruction. But since they thus make a pretence of the obscurity of such expressions, let them at least confess what is annexed to the Creed, and anathematize those who hold² that “the Son is from nothing,” and “He was not before His generation,” and “the Word of God is a creature and work,” and “He is alterable by nature,” and “from another subsistence ;” and in a word let them anathematize the Arian heresy, which has originated such irreligion³. Nor let them say any more, “We reject the terms,” but that “we do not yet understand them ;” by way of having some reason to shew for declining them. But well know I, and am sure, and they know it too, that if they could confess all this and anathematize the Arian heresy, they would no longer deny those terms of the Council⁴. For on this account it was that the Fathers, after declaring that the Son was begotten from the Father’s substance, and One in substance with Him, thereupon added, “But those who say,” (what has just been quoted, the symbols of the Arian heresy,) “we anathematize ;” I mean, in order to shew that the statements are parallel, and that the terms in the Creed imply the disclaimers subjoined, and that all who confess the terms, will certainly understand the disclaimers. But those who both dissent from the latter and impugn the former, such men are proved on every side to be foes of Christ.
- ² p. 31,
note p.
- ³ p. 108,
note g.
- ⁴ p. 5.
note l.
- § 41. 11. Those who deny the Council altogether, are sufficiently exposed by these brief remarks ; those, however, who accept every thing else that was defined at Nicæa, and quarrel only about the One in substance, must not be received as enemies ; nor do we here attack them as Ario-maniacs, nor as opponents of the Fathers, but we discuss the matter with them as

brothers with brothers^l, who mean what we mean, and dispute only about the word. For, confessing that the Son is from the substance of the Father, and not from other substance², and that He is not a creature nor work, but His genuine and natural offspring, and that He is eternally with the Father as being His Word and Wisdom, they are not far from accepting even the phrase "One in Substance;" of whom is Basil of Ancyra, in what he has written concerning the faith^k. For only to say "like according to substance," is very far from signifying "of the substance³," by which, rather, as they say themselves, the genuineness of the Son to the Father is signified. Thus tin is only like to silver, a wolf to a dog, and gilt brass to the true metal; but tin is not from silver, nor could a wolf be accounted the offspring of a dog^l. But since they say that He is "of the substance" and "Like in substance," what do they signify by these but "One in substance^m?" For, while to say only "Like in substance," does not necessarily convey "of the substance," on the contrary, to say "One in substance," is to signify the meaning of both terms, "Like in substance," and "of the substance." And accordingly they themselves in controversy with those who say that the Word is a creature, instead of allowing Him to be genuine Son, have taken their proofs against them from human illustrations of son and fatherⁿ, with this exception that God is not as man, nor the generation of the Son as offspring of man, but as one which

CHAP.
III.

^l vid.
p. 141,
ref. 5.
² Note,
p. 66.

³ p. 64,
note i.

^k Basil, who wrote against Marcellus, and was placed by the Arians in his see, has little mention in history till the date of the Council of Sardica, which deposed him. Constantius, however, stood his friend, till the beginning of the year 360, when Acacius supplanted him in the Imperial favour, and he was banished into Illyricum. This was a month or two later than the date at which Athan. wrote his first draught or edition of this work. He was condemned upon charges of tyranny, and the like, but Theodoret speaks highly of his correctness of life and Sozomen of his learning and eloquence. vid. Theod. Hist. ii. 20. Soz. ii. 33. A very little conscientiousness, or even decency of manners, would put a man in strong relief with the great Arian party which surrounded the Court, and a very great deal would not have been enough to secure him against

their unscrupulous slanders.

^l So also de Decr. § 23. p. 40. Hyp. Mel. et Euseb. Hil. de Syn. 89. vid. p. 35, note u; p. 64, note i. The illustration runs into this position, "Things that are like, cannot be the same." vid. p. 136, note g. On the other hand, Athan. himself contends for the ταύτην τῆ ὁμοιώσει, "the same in likeness." de Decr. § 20. p. 35. vid. infr. note r.

^m vid. Socr. iii. 25. p. 204. a. b. *Una substantia religiose prædicabitur quæ ex nativitatibus proprietate et ex naturæ similitudine ita indifferens sit, ut una dicatur.* Hil. de Syn. 67.

ⁿ Here at last Athan. alludes to the Ancyrene Synodal Letter, vid. Epiph. Hær. 73. 5 and 7. about which he has kept a pointed silence above, when tracing the course of the Arian confessions. That is, he treats the Semi-Arians as tenderly as S. Hilary, *as soon as they break company with the*

COUNC. ARIM. AND SELEU. may be ascribed to God, and it becomes us to think. Thus they have called the Father the Fount of Wisdom and Life, and the Son the Radiance of the Eternal Light, and the Offspring from the Fountain, as He says, *I am the Life*, and, *I Wisdom dwell with Prudence*. But the Radiance from the Light, and Offspring from Fountain, and Son from Father, how can these be so suitably expressed as by "One in substance?"

John 14,
6.
Prov. 8,
12.

12. And is there any cause of fear, lest, because the offspring from men are one in substance, the Son, by being called One in substance, be Himself considered as a human offspring too? perish the thought! not so; but the explanation is easy. For the Son is the Father's Word and Wisdom; whence we learn the impassibility and indivisibility¹ of such a generation from the Fatherⁿ. For not even man's word is part of him, nor proceeds from him according to passion²; much less God's Word; whom the Father has declared to be His own Son, lest, on the other hand, if we

¹ ἀπαθές
ἀμέρισ-
τον
² de
Decr.
§ 10.
p. 17.

Arians. The Ancyrene Council of 358 was a protest against the "blasphemia" or second Sirmian Confession, which Hosius signed.

ⁿ It is usual with the Fathers to use the two terms "Son" and "Word," to guard and complete the ordinary sense of each other. Their doctrine is that our Lord is both, in a certain transcendent, prototypical, and singular sense; that in that high sense that are coincident with one another; that they are applied to human things by an accommodation, as far as these are shadows of Him to whom properly they really belong; that being but partially realized on earth, the ideas gained from the earthly types are but imperfect; that in consequence if any one of them is used exclusively of Him, it tends to introduce wrong ideas respecting Him; but that their respective imperfections lying on different sides, when used together they correct each other. vid. p. 18, note o; and p. 43, note d. The term Son, used by itself, was abused into Arianism; and the term Word into Sabellianism; again the term Son might be accused of introducing material notions, and the term Word of imperfection and transitoriness. Each of them corrected the other. "Scripture," says Athan. "joining the two, has said 'Son,' that the natural and true offspring of the substance may be

preached; but that no one may understand a human offspring, signifying His substance a second time, it calls Him Word, and Wisdom, and Radiance." Orat. i. § 28 [infra p. 221]. vid. p. 20, note t. vid. also iv. § 8. Euseb. contr. Marc. ii. 4. p. 54. Isid. Pel. Ep. iv. 141. So S. Cyril says that we learn "from His being called Son that He is from Him, τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ; from His being called Wisdom and Word, that He is in Him," τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ. Thesaur. iv. p. 31. However, S. Athanasius observes, that properly speaking the one term implies the other, i. e. in its fulness. "Since the Son's being is from the Father, therefore He is in the Father." Orat. iii. § 3 [infra p. 402]. "If not Son, not Word either; and if not Word, not Son. For what is from the Father is Son; and what is from the Father, but the Word, &c." Orat. iv. § 24 fin. [infra p. 542]. On the other hand the heretics accused Catholics of inconsistency, or of a union of opposite errors, because they accepted all the Scripture images together. But Vigilius of Thapsus says, that "error bears testimony to truth, and the discordant opinions of misbelievers blend in concordance in the rule of orthodoxy." contr. Eutych. ii. init. Grande miraculum, ut expugnatione sui veritas confirmetur. ibid. circ. init. vid. also i. init. and Eulogius, ap. Phot. 225. p. 759.

merely heard of "Word," we should suppose Him, such as is the word of man, unsubstant¹; but that, hearing that He is Son, we may acknowledge Him to be a living Word and a substantive² Wisdom. Accordingly, as in saying "offspring," we have no human thoughts, and, though we know God to be a Father, we entertain no material ideas concerning Him, but while we listen to these illustrations and terms³, we think suitably of God, for He is not as man, so in like manner, when we hear of "one in substance," we ought to transcend all sense, and, according to the Proverb, *understand by the understanding that is set before us*; so as to know, that not by will, but in truth, is He genuine from the Father, as Life from Fountain, and Radiance from Light. Else⁴ why should we understand "offspring" and "son," in no corporeal way, while we conceive of "one in substance" as after the manner of bodies? especially since these terms are not here used about different subjects, but of whom "offspring" is predicated, of Him is "one in substance" also. And it is but consistent to attach the same sense to both expressions as applied to the Saviour, and not to interpret "offspring," as is fitting, and "one in substance" otherwise; since to be consistent, ye who are thus minded and who say that the Son is Word and Wisdom of the Father, should entertain a different view of these terms also, and understand in separate senses Word, and in distinct senses Wisdom. But, as this would be extravagant, (for the Son is the Father's Word and Wisdom, and the Offspring from the Father is one and proper to His substance,) so the sense of "offspring" and "one in substance" is one, and whoso considers the Son an offspring, rightly considers Him also as "one in substance."

13. This is sufficient to shew that the phrase of "one in substance" is not foreign nor far from the meaning of these much loved persons⁵. But since, as they allege⁶, (for I have not the Epistle in question,) the Bishops who condemned Samosatene^o have laid down in writing that the Son is not one in substance with the Father, and so it comes to pass that

^o There were three Councils held against Paul of Samosata, of the dates of 264, 269, and an intermediate year. The third is spoken of in the text,

which contrary to the opinion of Pagi, S. Basnage, and Tillemont, Pearson fixes at 265 or 266.

CHAP.
III.
¹ ἀνυπό-
στατον
² ἐνούσιον
§ 42.

³ p. 153,
note d.
Prov. 23,
1.

⁴ vid.
Epiph.
Hær.
73. 3.
&c.

§ 43.

⁵ p. 157,
note i.
⁶ vid.
Hilar.
de Syn.
81 init.
Epiph.
Hær. 73.
12.

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they, for reverence and honour towards the aforesaid, thus feel about that expression, it will be to the purpose reverently to argue with them this point also. Certainly it is unbecoming to make the one company conflict with the other; for all are fathers; nor is it religious to settle, that these have spoken well, and those ill; for all of them have gone to sleep in Christ. Nor is it right to be disputatious, and to compare the respective numbers of those who met in the Councils, or the three hundred may seem to throw the lesser into the shade; nor to compare the dates, lest those who preceded seem to eclipse those that came after. For all, I say, are Fathers; and, any how the three hundred laid down nothing new, nor was it in any self-confidence that they became champions of words not in Scripture, but they started from their Fathers, as the others, and they used their words. For there were two Bishops of the name of Dionysius, much older than the seventy who deposed Samosatene, of whom one was of Rome, and the other of Alexandria; and a charge had been laid by some persons against the Bishop of Alexandria before the Bishop of Rome, as if he had said that the Son was made, and not one in substance with the Father. This had given great pain to the Roman Council; and the Bishop of Rome expressed their united sentiments in a letter to his namesake. This led to his writing an explanation which he calls the Book of Refutation and Apology; and it runs thus:

§ 44.
1 vid.
de Decr.
§ 25.
p. 44.
2 ἐπιχειρήματα

14. And¹ I have written in another Letter, a refutation of the false charge which they bring against me, that I deny that Christ is one in substance with God. For though I say that I have not found or read this term any where in holy Scripture, yet my remarks² which follow, and which they have not noticed, are not inconsistent with that belief. For I instanced a human production, which is evidently homogeneous, and I observed that undeniably fathers differed from their children, only in not being the same individuals; otherwise there could be neither parents nor children. And my Letter, as I said before, owing to present circumstances, I am unable to produce, or I would have sent you the very words I used, or rather a copy of it all; which, if I have an opportunity, I will do still. But I am sure from recollection, that I adduced many parallels of things kindred with each other, for instance, that a plant grown from seed or from root, was other than that from which it sprang, and yet altogether one in nature with it; and that a stream flowing from a fountain, changed its appearance and its

name, for that neither the fountain was called stream, nor the stream fountain, but both existed, and that the fountain was as it were father, but the stream was what was generated from the fountain.

15. Thus the Bishop. If then any one finds fault with § 45.
the Fathers at Nicæa, as if they contradicted the decisions of their predecessors, he may reasonably find fault also with the Seventy, because they did not keep to the statements of their own predecessors; for such were the two Dionysii and the Bishops assembled on that occasion at Rome. But neither these nor those is it religious to blame; for all were legates of the things of Christ, and all gave diligence against the heretics, and while the one party condemned Samosatene, the other condemned the Arian heresy. And rightly did both these and those define, and suitably to the matter in hand. And as the blessed Apostle, writing to the Romans, said, *The Law is spiritual, the Law is holy, and the commandment holy and just and good*; (and soon after, *What the Law could not do, in that it was weak*;) but wrote to the Hebrews, *The Law made no one perfect*; and to the Galatians, *By the Law no one is justified*, but to Timothy, *The Law is good, if a man use it lawfully*; and no one would accuse the Saint of inconsistency and variation in writing, but rather would admire how suitably he wrote to each, to teach the Romans and the others to turn from the letter to the spirit, but to instruct the Hebrews and Galatians to place their hopes, not in the Law, but in the Lord who gave the Law;—so, if the Fathers of the two Councils made different mention of the One in substance, we ought not in any respect to differ from them, but to investigate their meaning, and this will fully shew us the meaning of both the Councils. For they who deposed Samosatene, took One in substance in a bodily sense, because Paul had attempted sophistry and said, “Unless Christ has of man become God, it follows that He is One in substance with the Father; and if so, of necessity there are three substances, one the previous substance, and the other two from it;” and therefore guarding against this they said with good reason, that Christ was not One in substance^p. For

Rom. 7,
14. 12.
Ib. 8, 3.
Heb. 7,
19.
Gal. 3,
11.
1 Tim. 1,
8.

^p This is in fact the objection which Arius urges against the One in substance, *supr.* § 16. when he calls it the doctrine of Manichæus and Hieracas,

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the Son is not related to the Father as he imagined. But the Bishops who anathematized the Arian heresy, understanding Paul's craft, and reflecting that the word "One in substance," has not this meaning when used of things immaterial⁹, and especially of God, and acknowledging that the Word was not a creature, but an offspring from the substance, and that the Father's substance was the origin and root and fountain of the Son, and that He was of very truth¹ His Father's likeness, and not of different nature, as we are, and separate from the Father, but that, as being from Him, He exists as Son indivisible, as radiance is with respect of Light, and knowing too the illustrations used in Dionysius's case, the "fountain," and the defence of "One in substance," and before this the Saviour's saying, symbolical of unity², *I and the Father are one*, and *he that hath seen Me hath seen the Father*, on these grounds reasonably asserted on their part, that the Son was One in substance. And as, according to a former remark, no one would blame the Apostle, if he wrote to the Romans about the Law in one way, and to the Hebrews in another; in like manner, neither would the present Bishops find fault with the ancient, in regard to their interpretation, nor again on the view of theirs and of the need of their so writing about the Lord, would the ancient censure the present.

¹ αὐτο-
αληθής

² ἐνοειδῆ
p. 148.
ref. 7.
John 10,
20.
Ib. 14, 9.

vid. p. 97, note 1. The same objection is protested against by S. Basil, contr. Eunom. i. 19. Hilar. de Trin. iv. 4. Yet, while S. Basil agrees with Athan. in his account of the reason of the Council's rejection of the word, S. Hilary on the contrary reports that Paul himself accepted it, i. e. in a Sabellian sense, and therefore the Council rejected it. "Male homöusion Samosatenus confessus est, sed numquid melius Arii negaverunt." de Syn. 86.

⁹ The Eusebians tried to establish a distinction between *δμοούσιον* and *δμοιούσιον*, "one in substance" and "like in substance," of this sort; that the former belonged to things material, and the latter to immaterial, Soz. iii. 18. a remark which in itself was quite sufficient to justify the Catholics in insisting on the former term. For the heretical party, starting with the notion in which their heresy

in all its shades consisted, that the Son was a distinct being from the Father, and appealing to (what might be plausibly maintained) that spirits are immeasurable with one another, or that each is *sui simile*, concluded that "like in substance" was the only term which would express the relation of the Son to the Father. Here then the word "one in substance" did just enable the Catholics to join issue with them, as exactly expressing what the Catholics wished to express, viz. that there was no such distinction between Them as made the term "like" necessary, but that Their relation to Each Other was *analogous* to that of a material offspring to a material parent, or that as material parent and offspring are individuals under one common *species*, so the Eternal Father and Son are Persons under one common *individual substance*.

16. Yes surely, each Council had a sufficient reason for its own language; for since Samosatene held that the Son was not before Mary, but received from her the origin of His being, therefore the assembled Fathers deposed him and pronounced him heretic; but concerning the Son's Godhead writing in simplicity, they arrived not at accuracy concerning the One in substance, but, as they understood the word, so spoke they about it. For they directed all their thoughts to destroy the device of Samosatene, and to shew that the Son was before all things, and that, instead of becoming God from man, God had put on a servant's form, and the Word had become flesh, as John says. This is how they dealt with the blasphemies of Paul; but when the party of Eusebius and Arius said that though the Son was before time, yet was He made and one of the creatures, and as to the phrase "from God," they did not believe it in the sense of His being genuine Son from Father, but maintained it as it is said of the creatures, and as to the oneness¹ of likeness¹ between the Son and the Father, did not confess that the Son is like the Father according to substance, or according to nature, but because of Their agreement of doctrines and of teaching²; nay, when they drew a line and an utter distinction between the Son's substance and the Father, ascribing to Him an origin of being, other than the Father, and degrading Him to the creatures, on this account the Bishops assembled at Nicæa, with a view to the craft of the parties so thinking, and as bringing together the sense from the Scriptures, cleared up the point, by affirming the "One in substance;" that both the true genuineness of the Son might thereby be known, and that to things generated

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¹ vid.
Epiph.
Hær. 73.
⁹ fin.

² p. 107,
note f.

¹ τὴν τῆς ὁμοιώσεως ἐνότητα: and so ταῦτον τῇ ὁμοιώσει de Decr. § 20. p. 35; τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὴν ταυτότητα τοῦ φωτός. *ibid.* § 24. p. 41 *init.*; also § 23. And Basil. ταυτότητα τῆς φύσεως, Ep. 8. 3: ταυτότητα τῆς οὐσίας. Cyril in Joan. lib. iii. c. v. p. 302. [p. 350 O.T.] Hence it is uniformly asserted by the Catholics that the Father's godhead, θεότης, is the Son's; e.g. "the Father's godhead being in the Son," *infr.* § 52 [p. 155]; ἡ πατρικὴ φύσις αὐτοῦ. *Orat.* i. § 40 [*infra* p. 237]; "worshipped κατὰ τὴν πατρικὴν ἰδιότητα. § 42 [*infra* p. 240]; πατρικὴν αὐτοῦ θεότητα. § 45 *fin.* § 49 *fin.* ii. § 18. § 73 *fin.* iii. § 26; "the Father's godhead and propriety is the being, τὸ

εἶναι, of the Son," iii. § 5 *fin.* [*infra* p. 406]. The Father's godhead is the Son's. τὸ πατρικὸν φῶς ὁ υἱός. iii. § 53 [p. 475]; μίαν τὴν θεότητα καὶ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός. § 56 [p. 478]; "As the water is the same which is poured from fountain into stream, so the godhead of the Father into the Son is intransitive and indivisible, ἀρβευστῶς καὶ ἀδιαίρετως. *Expos.* § 2. *vid.* p. 155, note f. This is the doctrine of the *Una Res*, which, being not defined in General Council till the fourth Lateran, many most injuriously accuse the Greek Fathers, as the two Gregories, of denying. That Council is not here referred to as of authority.

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might be ascribed nothing in common with Him. For the precision of this phrase detects their pretence, whenever they use the phrase "from God," and gets rid of all the subtleties with which they seduce the simple. For whereas they contrive to put a sophistical construction on all other words at their will, this phrase only, as detecting their heresy, do they dread; which the Fathers did set down as a bulwark^s against their irreligious speculations, one and all.

§ 46. 17. Cease we then all contention, nor any longer conflict we with each other, though the Councils have differently taken the phrase "One in substance," for we have already assigned a sufficient defence of them; and to it the following may be added:—We have not derived the word "Ingenerate" from Scripture, (for no where does Scripture call God Ingenerate,) yet since it has many authorities in its favour, I was curious about the term, and found that it too has different senses¹. Some, for instance, call what is, but is neither generated, nor has any cause at all, ingenerate; and others, the increate². As then a person, having in his mind the former of these senses, viz. "that which has no cause," might say that the Son was not ingenerate, yet would not be blaming any one he perceived looking to the other meaning, "not a work or creature but an eternal offspring," and affirming accordingly that the Son was ingenerate, (for both speak suitably with a view to their own object,) so, even granting that the Fathers have spoken variously concerning the One in substance, let us not dispute about it, but take what they deliver to us in a religious way, when especially their anxiety was directed in behalf of religion.

§ 47. 18. Ignatius, for instance, who was appointed Bishop in Antioch after the Apostles, and became a martyr of Christ, writes concerning the Lord thus: "There is one physician, fleshly and spiritual, generate and ingenerate, God in man, true life in death, both from Mary and from God³," whereas some teachers who followed Ignatius, write in their turn,

³ vid.
Ign. ad
Eph. 7.

^s ἐπιτείχισμα; in like manner σύνδεσμον πίστεως. Epiph. Ancor. 6. "Without the confession of the 'One in substance,'" says Epiphanius, "no heresy can be refuted; for as a serpent hates the smell of bitumen, and the scent of sesame-cake, and the burning of agate, and the smoke of storax, so do Arius and Sabellius hate the notion

of the sincere profession of the 'One in substance.'" Hær. 69. 70. "That term did the Fathers set down in their formula of faith, which they perceived to be a source of dread to their adversaries; that they themselves might unsheath the sword which cut off the head of their own monstrous heresy." Ambros. de Fid. iii. 15.

“One is the Ingenerate, the Father, and one the genuine Son from Him, true offspring, Word and Wisdom of the Father^t.” If therefore we have hostile feelings towards these writers, then have we right to quarrel with the Councils; but if, knowing their faith in Christ, we are persuaded that the blessed Ignatius was orthodox in writing that Christ was generate on account of the flesh, (for He was made flesh,) yet ingenerate, because He is not in the number of things made and generated, but Son from Father, and are aware too that the parties who have said that the Ingenerate is One, meaning the Father, did not mean to lay down that the Word was generated and made, but that the Father has no cause, but rather is Himself Father of Wisdom, and in Wisdom hath made all things that are generated, why do we not combine all our Fathers in religious belief, those who deposed Samosatene as well as those who proscribed the Arian heresy, instead of making distinctions between them and refusing to entertain a right opinion of them? I repeat, that these, looking towards the sophistical explanation of Samosatene, wrote, “He is not one in substance^u;” and those with an apposite meaning, said that He was. For myself, I have written these brief remarks, from my feeling towards persons who were religious to Christ-ward; but were it possible to come by the Epistle which we are told that they wrote, I consider we should find further grounds for the aforesaid proceeding of these blessed men. For it is right and meet thus to feel, and to maintain a good understanding with the Fathers, if we be not spurious children, but have received the traditions from them, and the lessons of religion at their hands.

19. Such then, as we confess and believe, being the sense of the Fathers, proceed we even in their company to examine § 48.

^t The writer is not known. The President of Magdalen has pointed out to the Editor the following similar passage in S. Clement. *ἐν μὲν τῷ ἀγέννητον, ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεός, ἐν δὲ καὶ τὸ προγεννηθὲν δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν.* Strom. vi. 7. p. 769.

^u There is much to say on the subject of the rejection of the *δομοσύσιον* at this Council of Antioch; but it branches into topics too far from the

text of Athanasius to allow of its satisfactory discussion in this volume. The lamented Dr. Burton, in Mr. Faber’s *Apostolicity of Trinitarianism*, vol. 2. p. 302. is the last writer who has denied the rejection of the symbol; but (as appears to the present writer,) not on sufficient grounds. Reference is made to a Creed or Ethesis, found among the acts of Ephesus, and said to have been published against Paul; and on this some remarks are made in Note p. 165.

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once more the matter, calmly and with a good understanding, with reference to what has been said before, viz. whether the Bishops collected at Nicæa did not really exercise an excellent judgment. For if the Word be a work and foreign to the Father's substance, so that He is separated from the Father by the difference of nature, He cannot be one in substance with Him, but rather He is homogeneous by nature with the works, though He surpass them in grace¹. On the other hand, if we confess that He is not a work but the genuine offspring of the Father's substance, it would follow that He is inseparable from the Father, being con-natural², because He is begotten from Him. And being such, good reason He should be called One in Substance. Next, if the Son be not such from participation³, but is in His substance the Father's Word and Wisdom, and this substance is the offspring of the Father's substance⁴, and its likeness as the radiance is of the light, and the Son says, *I and the Father are One*, and, *he that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*, how must we understand these words? or how shall we so explain them as to preserve the oneness of the Father and the Son? Now as to its consisting in agree-ment⁵ of doctrines, and in the Son's not disagreeing with the Father, as the Arians say, such an interpretation will not stand; for both the Saints and still more Angels and Archangels have such an agreement with God, and there is no disagreement among them. For he who was in disagree-ment, the devil, was beheld to fall from the heavens, as the Lord said. Therefore if by reason of agreement the Father and the Son are one, there would be things generate which had this agreement with God, and each of these might say, *I and the Father are One*. But if this be shocking, and so it truly is, it follows of necessity that we must conceive of Son's and Father's oneness in the way of substance. For things generated, though they have an agreement with their Maker, yet possess it only by influence⁶, and by participation, and through the mind; the transgression of which forfeits heaven. But the Son, being an offspring from the substance, is one in substance, Himself and the Father that begat Him.

20. This is why He has equality with the Father by titles expressive of unity⁷, and what is said of the Father, is

¹ sup.
p. 11.

² *δμοφυῆ*

³ *μετου-
σίας*

⁴ p. 155,
note f.
John 10,
30.
Ib. 14, 9.

⁵ *ὁμο-
φασία*, p.
107, note
f. yet
vid.
Hipp.
contr.
Noet. 7.

⁶ *κινήσει*
vid.
Cyril.
contr.
Jul. viii.
p. 274.
Greg.
Nyss.
de Hom.
Op. p. 87.
§ 49.
⁷ *ἐνοει-
δέσι*,
p. 144,
ref. 2.

said in Scripture of the Son also, all but His being called Father^x. For the Son Himself says, *All things that the Father hath are Mine*; and He says to the Father, *All Mine are Thine, and Thine are Mine*;—as for instance¹, the name God; for *the Word was God*;—Almighty, *Thus saith He that is, and that was, and that is to come, the Almighty*;—the being Light, *I am*, He says, *the Light*;—the Operative Cause, *All things were made by Him*, and, *whatsoever I see the Father do, I do also*;—the being Everlasting, *His eternal power and godhead*, and, *In the beginning was the Word*, and, *He was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world*;—the being Lord, for, *The Lord rained fire and brimstone from the Lord*, and the Father says, *I am the Lord*, and, *Thus saith the Lord, the Almighty God*; and of the Son Paul speaks thus, *One Lord Jesus Christ, through whom all things*. And on the Father Angels serve, and again the Son too is worshipped by them, *And let all the Angels of God worship Him*; and He is said to be Lord of Angels, for *the Angels ministered unto Him*, and *the Son of Man shall send His Angels*. The being honoured as the Father, for *that they may honour the Son*, He says, *as they honour the Father*;—being equal to God, *He thought it not robbery to be equal with God*;—the being Truth from the True, and Life from the Living, as being truly from the Fountain of the Father;—the quickening and raising the dead as the Father, for so we read in the Gospel. And of the Father it is written, *The Lord thy God is One Lord*, and, *The God of gods, the Lord, hath spoken, and hath called the earth*; and of the Son, *The Lord God hath shined upon us*, and, *The God of gods shall be seen in Sion*. And again of God, Esaias says, *Who is a God like unto Thee, taking away*

СНАР.
III.
John 16,
15.
Ib. 17, 10.
1 vid.
Orat. iii.
§ 4.
John 1, 1.
Apoc. 1, 8.
John 8,
12.
Ib. 1, 3.
Ib. 5, 19.
Rom. 1,
20.
John 1, 1.
Ib. 9.
Gen. 19,
24.
Isa. 45, 5.
1 Cor. 8,
6.
Heb. 1, 6.
Matt. 4,
11.
Ib. 24, 31.
John 5,
23.
Phil. 2,
6.
Deut. 6,
4.
Ps. 50, 1.
Ib. 118,
27.
Ib. 83, 7.
Sept.
Mic. 7,
18.

^x By "the Son being equal to the Father," is but meant that He is His "unvarying image;" it does not imply any distinction of substance. "Perfectæ æqualitatis significantiam habet similitudo." Hil. de Syn. 73. But though He is in all things His Image, this implies some exception, for else He would not be like or equal, but the same. "Non est æqualitas in dissimilibus, nec similitudo est intra unum." *ibid.* 72. Hence He is the Father's image in all things except in being the Father, *εἰκὼν φυσικὴ καὶ*

ἀπαράλλακτος κατὰ πάντα ὁμοία τῷ πατρὶ, πλὴν τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ τῆς πατρότητος. Damasc. de Imag. iii. 18. p. 354. *vid.* also Basil. contr. Eun. ii. 28. Theod. Inconfus. p. 91. Basil. Ep. 38. 7 fin. - For the Son is the Image of the Father, not as Father, but as God. The Arians on the other hand, objecting the phrase "unvarying image," asked why the Son was not in consequence a Father, and the beginning of a *θεογονία*. Athan. Orat. i. 21 [*infra* p. 210]. *vid.* *infra*, note z.

COUNC. *iniquities and passing over unrighteousness?* but the Son
 ARIM. said to whom He would, *Thy sins be forgiven thee;* for in-
 AND stance, when, on the Jews murmuring, He manifested the
 SELEU. remission by His act, saying to the paralytic, *Rise, take up*
 Matt. 9, 5, *thy bed, and go unto thy house.* And of God Paul says, *To*
 Mark 2, 11, *the King eternal;* and again of the Son, David in the Psalm,
 1 Tim. 1, 17, *Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up ye everlast-*
 Ps. 24, 7, *ing doors, and the King of glory shall come in.* And Daniel
 Dan. 4, 3, heard it said, *His Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and*
 Ib. 7, 14, *His Kingdom shall not be destroyed.* And in a word, all
 that you find said of the Father, so much will you find said
 of the Son, all but His being Father, as has been said.

§ 50. 21. If then any think of other origin, and other Father,
 considering the equality of these attributes, it is a mad
 thought. But if, since the Son is from the Father, all that
 is the Father's is the Son's as in an Image and Expression,
 let it be considered dispassionately, whether a substance
 foreign from the Father's substance admit of such attri-
 butes; and whether such a one be other in nature and alien
 in substance¹, and not one in substance with the Father.
 For we must take reverent heed, lest transferring what is
 proper² to the Father to what is unlike Him in substance,
 and expressing the Father's godhead by what is unlike in
 kind³ and alien in substance, we introduce another sub-
 stance foreign to Him, yet capable of the properties of the
 first substance^γ, and lest we be silenced by God Himself,
 saying, *My glory I will not give to another,* and be discovered
 worshipping this alien God, and be accounted such as were
 the Jews of that day, who said, *Wherefore dost Thou, being*
a man, make Thyself God? referring, the while, to an-
 other source the things of the Spirit, and blasphemously
 saying, *He casteth out devils through Beelzebub.* But if
 this is shocking, plainly the Son is not unlike in sub-
 stance, but one in substance with the Father; for if what
 the Father hath is by nature the Son's, and the Son

¹ ἄλλο-
 τριού-
 σιος
² ἴδια

³ ἄνο-
 μοιογε-
 νεῖ

Isa. 42,
 8.

John 10,
 33.

Luke 11,
 15.

^γ Arianism was placed in the peril-
 ous dilemma of denying Christ's divi-
 nity, or introducing a second God.
 The Arians proper went off in the
 former side of the alternative, the
 Semi-arians on the latter; and Athan.,
 as here addressing the Semi-arians,
 insists on the greatness of the latter

error. This of course was the objec-
 tion which attached to the words
 ὁμοιούσιον ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκων, &c.
 when disjoined from the ὁμοούσιον;
 and Eusebius's language, *supr. p. 63*,
 note g, shews us that it is not an
 imaginary one.

Himself is from the Father, and because of this oneness of godhead and of nature He and the Father are one, and He that hath seen the Son hath seen the Father, reasonably is He called by the Fathers "One in substance;" for to what is other in substance, it belongs not to possess such prerogatives.

22. And again, if, as we have said before, the Son is not such by participation¹, but, while all things generated have, by participation, the grace of God, He is the Father's Wisdom and Word, of which all things partake², it follows that He being the deifying and enlightening power of the Father, in which all things are deified and quickened, is not alien in substance from the Father, but one in substance. For by partaking³ of Him, we partake⁴ of the Father; because that the Word is proper to the Father. Whence, if He was Himself too from participation, and not from the Father His substantial Godhead and Image, He would not deify⁵, being deified Himself. For it is not possible that He, who but possesses from participation, should impart of that partaking to others, since what He has is not His own, but the Giver's; and what He has received, is barely the grace sufficient for Himself.

§ 51.
¹ μετου-
σίας
² de Decr.
§ 10. p.
15, note
e.
³ μετα-
λαμβά-
νοντες
⁴ μετέ-
χομεν
⁵ ἐθεω-
ποίησε
Orat. ii.
§ 70. de
Decr. §
14. supr.
p. 23.

23. However, let us fairly enquire why it is that some, as is said, decline the "One in substance," whether it does not rather shew that the Son is one in substance with the Father. They say then, as you have written, that it is not right to say that the Son is one in substance with the Father, because he who speaks of one in substance speaks of three, one substance pre-existing, and that those who are generated from it are one in substance: and they add, "If then the Son be one in substance with the Father, then a substance must be previously supposed, from which they have been generated; and that the One is not Father and the Other Son, but they are brothers together²." As to all this, though it be a Greek

² And so Eunomius in S. Cyril, "Unless once the Son was not, saith he, 'or if eternal, and co-existent with the Father, you make Him not a Son but a brother.' The Father and the Son are not from any pre-existing origin, that they should be thought brothers, but the Father is origin of

the Son, and brought forth the Son, and remaineth Father, and is not called Son of any; and the Son is Son, and remaineth what He is, and is not called brother of any by nature. What place then shall brotherhood have in such?" Thesaur. pp. 22, 23. vid. Athan. Orat. i. § 14.

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interpretation, and what Greeks say have no claim upon us^a, still let us see whether those things which are called one in substance and are collateral, as derived from one substance pre-supposed, are one in substance with each other, or with the substance from which they are generated. For if only with each other, then are they other in substance and unlike, when referred to that substance which generated them; for other in substance is opposed to one in substance; but if each be one in substance with the substance which generated them, it is thereby confessed that what is generated from any thing, is one in substance with that which generated it; and there is no need of seeking for three substances, but merely to seek whether it be true that this is from that^b. For should

^a vid. p. 52, note d. The word *οὐσία* in its Greek or Aristotelic sense seems to have stood for an individual substance, numerically one, which is predicable of nothing but itself. Improperly it stood for a species or genus. vid. Petav. de Trin. iv. 1. § 2. but as Anastasius observes in many places of his *Vie dux*, Christian theology innovated on the sense of Aristotelic terms. vid. c. 1. p. 20. c. 6. p. 96. c. 9. p. 150. c. 17. p. 308. There is some difficulty in determining *how* it innovated. Anastasius and Theorian, Hodeg. 6. Legat. ad Arm. pp. 441, 2. says that it takes *οὐσία* to mean an universal or species, but this is nothing else than the second or improper Greek use. Rather it takes the word in a sense of its own, such as we have no example of in things created, viz. that of a Being numerically one, subsisting in three persons; so that the word is a predicable or in one sense *universal*, without ceasing to be individual; in which consists the mystery of the Holy Trinity. However, heretics, who refused the mystery, objected it to Catholics in its primary philosophical sense; and then, as standing for an individual substance, when applied to Father and Son, it either implied the parts of a *material* subject, or it involved no *real* distinction of persons, i. e. Sabellianism. The former of these two alternatives is implied in the text by the "Greek use;" the latter by the same phrase as used by the conforming Semi-arians, A.D. 363. "Nor, as if any passion were supposed of the ineffable generation, is the term 'substance' taken by the Fathers, &c. nor

according to any Greek use. Socr. iii. 25. Hence such charges against Catholicism on the part of Arians as Alexander protests against, of either Sabellianism or Valentinianism, οὐκ... ὡς περ Σαβελλίω καὶ Βαλεντινῶ δοκεῖ. Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 743. In like manner, Damascene, speaking of the Jacobite use of *φύσις* and *ὑπόστασις* says, "Who of holy men ever thus spoke? unless ye introduce to us your St. Aristotle, as a thirteenth Apostle, and prefer the idolater to the divinely inspired." cont. Jacob. 10. p. 399. and so again Leontius, speaking of Philoponus, who from the Monophysite confusion of nature and hypostasis was led into Tritheism. "He thus argued, taking his start from Aristotelic principles; for Aristotle says that there are of individuals particular substances as well as one common." de Sect. v. fin.

^b The argument, when drawn out, is virtually this: if, because two subjects are consubstantial, a third is pre-supposed of which they partake, then, since either of these two is consubstantial with that of which both partake, a new third must be supposed in which it and the pre-existing substance partake, and thus an infinite series of things consubstantial must be supposed. The only mode (which he puts first) of meeting this, is to deny that the two things are consubstantial with the supposed third; but if so, they must be different in substance from it; that is, they must differ from that, as partaking of which, they are like each other,—which is absurd. vid. Basil. Ep. 52. n. 2.

it happen that there were not two brothers, but that only one had come of that substance, he that was generated would not be called alien in substance, merely because there was no other from the substance than he; but though alone, he must be one in substance with him that begat him. For what shall we say about Jephthae’s daughter; because she was only-begotten, and *he had not*, says Scripture, *other child*; and again, concerning the widow’s son, whom the Lord raised from the dead, because he too had no brother, but was only-begotten, was on that account neither of these one in substance with the parent? Surely they were, for they were children, and this is a property of children with reference to their parents. And in like manner also, when the Fathers said that the Son of God was from His substance, reasonably have they spoken of Him as one in substance. For the like property has the radiance compared with the light. Else it follows that not even the creation came out of nothing. For whereas men beget with passion¹, so again they work upon an existing subject matter, and otherwise cannot make. But if we do not understand creation in a human way^c, when we attribute it to God, much less seemly is it to understand generation in a human way, or to give a corporeal sense to One in substance; instead of receding from things generate, casting away human images, nay, all things sensible, and ascending² to the Father^d, lest we rob the Father of the Son in ignorance, and rank Him among His own creatures.

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III.

Jud. 11,
34.

¹ Orat. i.
§ 28.

² Naz.
Orat. 28.
2.

24. Further, if, in confessing Father and Son, we spoke of two origins or two Gods, as Marcion³ and Valentinus⁴, or said that the Son had any other mode of godhead, and was not the Image and Expression of the Father, as being by

§ 52.

³ p. 45,

note h.

⁴ Orat. i.
3.

^c vid. de Decr. § 11. supr. p. 18, note o; also Cyril, Thesaur. iv. p. 29: Basil. contr. Eun. ii. 23: Hil. de Syn. 17.

^d S. Basil says in like manner that, though God is Father *κυρίως* properly, (vid. Ath. Orat. i. 21 fin. and p. 16, note k. p. 18, note o. p. 56, note k.) yet it comes to the same thing if we were to say that He is *τροπικῶς* and *ἐκ μεταφορᾶς*, figuratively, such, contr. Eun. ii. 24; for in that case we must, as in other metaphors used of Him, (anger, sleep, flying,) take that part

of the human sense which can apply to Him. Now *γέννησις* implies two things,—passion, and relationship, *οικείωσις φύσεως*; accordingly we must take the latter as an indication of the divine sense of the term. On the terms Son, Word, &c. being figurative, or illustrations, and how to use them, vid. also de Decr. § 12. supr. p. 20; Orat. i. § 26, 27; ii. § 32; iii. § 18. 67; Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 17; Hil. de Trin. iv. 2. Vid. also Athan. ad Serap. i. 20. and Basil. Ep. 38. n. 5. and what is said of the office of faith in each of these.

COUNC. nature born from Him, then He might be considered un-
ARIM. like; for such substances are altogether unlike each other.
AND
SELEU. But if we acknowledge that the Father's godhead is one and

Gen. 3,
31.
Sept.

sole, and that of Him the Son is the Word and Wisdom; and, as thus believing, are far from speaking of two Gods, but understand the oneness of the Son with the Father to be, not in likeness of their teaching, but according to substance and in truth, and hence speak not of two Gods but of one God; there being but one Face^e of Godhead, as the Light is one and the Radiance; (for this was seen by the Patriarch Jacob, as Scripture says, *The sun rose upon him when the Face of God passed by*; and beholding this, and understanding of whom He was Son and Image, the holy Prophets say, *The Word of the Lord came to me*; and recognising the Father, who was beheld and revealed in Him, they were

Exod. 3,
16.

bold to say, *The God of our fathers hath appeared unto me, the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob*;) this being so, wherefore scruple we to call Him one in substance who is one with the Father, and appears as doth the Father, according to likeness and oneness of godhead? For if, as has been many times said, He has it not to be proper to the Father's substance, nor to resemble, as a Son, we may well scruple: for if this be the illuminating and creative Power, specially proper to the Father, without whom He neither frames nor is known, (for all things consist through Him and in Him;) wherefore, having cognizance of this truth, do we decline to use the phrase conveying it? For what is it to be thus connatural with the Father, but to be one in substance with Him? for God attached not to Him the

de Decr.
§ 31. and
p. 14,
note b.

Son from without¹, as needing a servant; nor are the works on a level with the Creator, and are honoured as He is, or to be thought one with the Father. Or let a man venture to make the distinction, that the sun and the radiance are two lights, or different substances; or to say that the radiance accrued to it over and above, and is not a single

^e ἕνος ὄντος εἶδους θεότητος; the word εἶδος, face or countenance, will come before us in Orat. iii. 16. It is generally applied to the Son, as in what follows, and is synonymous with hypostasis; but it is remarkable that here it is almost synonymous with οὐσία or φύσις. Indeed in one sense nature; substance,

and hypostasis, are all synonymous, i. e. as one and all denoting the Una Res, which is Almighty God. They differed, in that the word hypostasis regards the One God as He is the Son. The apparent confusion is useful then as reminding us of this great truth; vid. the next note.

and uncompounded offspring from the sun ; such, that sun and radiance are two, but the light one, because the radiance is an offspring from the Sun. But, whereas not more divisible, nay less divisible is the nature^f of the Son towards the Father, and the godhead not accruing to the Son, but the Father's godhead being in the Son, so that he that hath seen the Son hath seen the Father in Him ; wherefore should not such a one be called One in substance ?

25. Even this is sufficient to dissuade you from blaming § 53. those who have said that the Son was one in substance with the Father, and yet let us examine the very term " One in substance," in itself, by way of seeing whether we ought to use it at all, and whether it be a proper term, and is suitable to apply to the Son. For you know yourselves, and no one can dispute it, that Like is not predicated of substances, but of habits, and qualities ; for in the case of substances we speak, not of likeness, but of identity^g. Man,

^f *φύσις*, nature, is here used for *person*. This seems an Alexandrian use of the word. It is found in Alexander. ap. Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 740. And it gives rise to a celebrated question in the Monophysite controversy, as used in S. Cyril's phrase *μία φύσις σεσαρκωμένη*. S. Cyril uses the word both for person and for substance successively in the following passage. " Perhaps some one will say, ' How is the Holy and Adorable Trinity distinguished into three Hypostases, yet issues in *one nature of Godhead* ?' Because the Same in substance necessarily following the *difference of natures*, recalls the minds of believers to *one nature of Godhead*." contr. Nest. iii. p. 91. In this passage " One nature" stands for a reality ; but " three Natures" is the One Eternal Divine Nature viewed in that respect in which He is Three. And so S. Hilary, *naturæ ex naturâ gignente nativitas* ; de Syn. 17. and *essentia de essentiâ*, August. de Trin. vii. n. 3. and *de seipso genuit Deus id quod est*, de Fid. et Symb. 4. i. e. He is the Adorable *θεότης* or Godhead viewed as begotten. And Athan. Orat. iv. § 1. calls the Son *ἐξ οὐσίας οὐσιώδης*. vid. supr. p. 148. ref. 4. These phrases mean that the Son *who is* the Divine Substance, is from the Father *who is* the [same] divine substance. As (to speak of what is *analogous* not parallel,) we might say that

" man is father of man," not meaning by man the same individual in both cases, but the same nature, so here we speak not of the same Person in the two cases, but the same Individuum. All these expressions resolve themselves into the original mystery of the Holy Trinity, that Person and Individuum are not equivalent terms, and we understand them neither more nor less than we understand it. In like manner as regards the incarnation, when S. Paul says " God was in Christ ;" he does not mean absolutely the Divine Nature, which is the proper sense of the word, but the Divine Nature as existing in the Person of the Son. Hence too, (vid. Petav. de Trin. vi. 10. § 6.) such phrases as " the Father begat the Son from *His* substance." And in like manner Athan. just afterwards, speaks of " the Father's Godhead *being in* the Son." vid. supr. p. 145, note r.

^g S. Athanasius, in saying that like is not used of substance, implies that the proper Arian senses of the *ὁμοιον* are more natural, and therefore the more probable, if the word came into use. These were, 1. likeness in *will* and *action*, as *συμφωνία*, of which infr. Orat. iii. 11 : 2. likeness to the *idea* in God's mind in which the Son was created. Cyril Thesaur. p. 134 : 3. likeness to the divine *act* or *energy* by which He was created. Pseudo-Basil.

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for instance, is said to be like man, not in substance, but according to habit and character; for in substance men are one in nature. And again, man is not said to be unlike dog, but to be other in nature. Therefore, in speaking of Like

¹μετου-
σία

according to substance, we mean like by participation¹; (for Likeness is a quality, which may attach to substance,)

²μετοχή

and this is proper to creatures, for they, by partaking²,

1 John
3, 2.

are made like to God. For *when He shall appear*, says Scripture, *we shall be like Him*; like, that is, not in substance but in sonship, which we shall partake from Him.

³μετουσία

If then ye speak of the Son as being by participation³, then indeed call Him Like in substance; but thus spoken of, He is not Truth, nor Light at all, nor in nature God. For things which are from participation, are called like, not in reality, but from resemblance to reality; so that they may fail, or be taken from those who share them. And this, again, is proper to creatures and works. Therefore, if this be extravagant, He must be, not by participation, but in nature and truth Son, Light, Wisdom, God; and being by nature, and not by sharing, He would properly be called, not Like in substance, but One in substance. But what would not be asserted, even in the case of others, (for the Like has been shewn to be inapplicable to substance,) is it not folly, not to say violence, to put forward in the case of the Son, instead of the "One in substance?"

§ 54.

26. This justifies the Nicene Council, which has laid down, what it was becoming to express, that the Son, begotten from the Father's substance, is one in substance with Him. And if we too have been taught the same thing, let us not fight with shadows, especially as knowing, that they who have so defined, have made this confession of faith, not to misrepresent the truth, but as vindicating the truth and religiousness towards Christ, and also as destroying the blasphemies against Him of the Ario-maniacs⁴. For this must be considered and noted carefully, that, in using unlike in substance, and other in substance, we signify not the true Son, but some one of the creatures, and an introduced and adopted Son, which pleases the heretics; but when we speak

⁴ p. 91,
note q.

contr. Eun. iv. p. 282; Cyril in Joan. lib. iii. c. 5. p. 304 [p. 352 O.T.]: 4. like according to the Scriptures; which of

course was but an evasion: 5. like *in all things*, κατὰ πάντα, which was, as they understood it, an evasion also.

uncontroversially of the One in substance, we signify a genuine Son born of the Father; though at this Christ's enemies often burst with rage¹.

CHAP.
III.
¹ p. 29,
note 1.

27. What then I have learned myself, and have heard men of judgment say, I have written in few words; but ye remaining on the foundation of the Apostles, and holding fast the traditions of the Fathers, pray that now at length all strife and rivalry may cease, and the futile questions of the heretics may be condemned, and all logomachy^h; and the guilty and murderous heresy of the Arians may disappear, and the truth may shine again in the hearts of all, so that all every where may say the same thing, and think the same thingⁱ; and that, no Arian contumelies remaining, it may be said and confessed in every Church, *One Lord, one faith, one baptism*, in Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom to the Father be the glory and the strength, unto ages of ages. Amen.

Eph. 4,
5.

^h And so ταῖς λογομαχίαις. Basil de Sp. S. n. 16. It is used with an allusion to the fight against the Word, as χριστομαχεῖν and θεομαχεῖν. Thus λογομαχεῖν μελετήσαντες, καὶ λοιπὸν πνευματομαχοῦντες, ἔσονται μετ' ὀλίγον νεκροὶ τῇ ἀλογίᾳ. Serap. iv. 1.

ⁱ This sentiment will give opportunity for a note on the Semi-arians, which has been omitted in its proper place, § 41 and 43. vid. p. 141. ref. 5. There S. Athanasius calls certain of them "brethren" and "beloved," ἀγαπῆτοί. S. Hilary too calls them "sanctissimi viri." de Syn. 80. On the other hand, Athan. speaks severely of Eustathius and Basil. Ep. Æg. 7. and Hilary explains himself in his notes upon his de Syn. from which it appears that he had been expostulated with on his conciliatory tone. Indeed all throughout he had betrayed a consciousness that he should offend some parties, e. g. § 6. In § 77, he had spoken of "having expounded the faithful and religious sense of 'like in substance,' which is called Homœusion." On this he observes, note 3, "I think no one need be asked to consider why I have said in this place 'religious sense of like in substance,' except that I meant that there was also an *irreligious*; and that therefore I said that 'like' was not only *equal* but the 'same.' vid. p. 139, note 1. In the next note he speaks of them as not more than hope-

ful. Still it should be observed how careful the Fathers of the day were not to mix up the question of doctrine, which rested on Catholic tradition with that of the adoption of a certain term which rested on a Catholic injunction. Not that the term was not in duty to be received, but it was to be received on account of its Catholic sense, and where the Catholic sense was held, the word might even by a sort of dispensation be waived. It is remarkable that Athanasius scarcely mentions the word "One in substance" in his Orations or Discourses which are to follow; nor does it occur in S. Cyril's Catecheses, of whom, as being suspected of Semi-arianism, it might have been required, before his writings were received as of authority. The word was not imposed upon Ursacius and Valens, A.D. 349, by Pope Julius; nor in the Council of Aquileia in 381, was it offered by S. Ambrose to Palladius and Secundianus. S. Jerome's account of the apology made by the Fathers of Ariminum is of the same kind. "We thought," they said, "the sense corresponded to the words, nor in the Church of God, where there is simplicity, and a pure confession, did we fear that one thing would be concealed in the heart, another uttered by the lips. We were deceived by our good opinion of the bad." ad Lucif. 19.

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§ 55.
1 p. 88,
note h.
2 p. 90,
note p.

Postscript.

28. After I had written my account of the Council¹, I had information that the most irreligious² Constantius had sent Letters to the Bishops remaining in Ariminum; and I have taken pains to get copies of them from true brethren and to send them to you, and also what the Bishops answered; that you may know the irreligious craft of the Emperor, and the firm and unswerving purpose of the Bishops towards the truth.

Interpretation of the Letter^k.

Constantius, Victorious and Triumphant, Augustus, to all Bishops who are assembled at Ariminum.

That the divine and adorable Law is our chief care, your excellencies are not ignorant; but as yet we have been unable to receive the twenty Bishops sent by your wisdom, and charged with the legation from you, for we are pressed by a necessary expedition against the Barbarians; and as ye know, it besseems to have the soul clear from every care, when one handles the matters of the Divine Law. Therefore we have ordered the Bishops to await our return at Adrianople; that, when all public affairs are well-arranged, then at length we may hear and weigh their suggestions. Let it not then be grievous to your constancy to await their return, that, when they come back with our answer to you, ye may be able to bring matters to a close which so deeply affect the well-being of the Catholic Church.

29. This was what the Bishops received at the hands of three messengers.

Reply of the Bishops.

The letter of your humanity we have received, most religious Lord Emperor, which reports that, on account of stress of public affairs, as yet you have been unable to attend to our legates; and in which you command us to await their return, until your godliness shall be advised by them of what we have defined conformably to our ancestors. However, we now profess and aver at once by these presents, that we shall not recede from our purpose, as we also instructed our legates. We ask then that you will with serene countenance command these letters of our mediocrity to be read before you; as well as will graciously receive those, with which we charged our legates. This however your gentleness comprehends as well as we, that great

^k These two Letters are both in Soer. ii. 37. And the latter is in Theod. Hist. ii. 15. p. 878. in a different version from the Latin original.

grief and sadness at present prevail, because that, in these your most happy days, so many Churches are without Bishops. And on this account we again request your humanity, most religious Lord Emperor, that, if it please your religiousness, you would command us, before the severe winter weather sets in, to return to our Churches, that so we may be able, unto God Almighty and our Lord and Saviour Christ, His Only-begotten Son, to fulfil together with our flocks our wonted prayers in behalf of your imperial sway, as indeed we have ever performed them, and at this time make them.

NOTE on Chapter II.

Concerning the Confessions at Sirmium.

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It has been thought advisable to draw up, as carefully as may be, a statement of the various Arian Confessions which issued at Sirmium, with the hope of presenting to the reader in a compendious form an intricate passage of history.

I. A.D. 351. *Confession against Photinus,*

(*First Sirmian. supr. p. 118.*)

This Confession was published at a Council of Eastern Bishops (Constant. in Hil. p. 1174, note 1), and was drawn up by the whole body, Hil. de Syn. 37. (according to Sirmond. Diatr. 1. Sirm. p. 366. Petavius de Trin. l. 9. § 8. Animadv. in Epiph. p. 318 init. and Constant. in Hil. l. c.) or by Basil of Ancyra (as Valesius conjectures in Soz. iv. 22. and Larroquanus, de Liberio, p. 147.) or by Mark of Arethusa, Soer. ii. 30. but he confuses together the dates of the different Confessions, and this is part of his mistake (vid. Vales. in loc. Constant. in Hil. de Syn. l. c. Petav. Animad. in Epiph. l. c.). It was written in Greek.

Till Petavius^a, Socrates was generally followed in ascribing all three Sirmian Confessions to this one Council, though at the same time he was generally considered mistaken as to the year. E. g. Baronius places them all in 357. Sirmond defended Baronius against Petavius (though in Facund. x. 6. note c, he agrees with Petavius); and assigning the third Confession to 359, adopted the improbable conjecture of two Councils, the one Catholic and the other Arian, held at Sirmium at the same time, putting forth respectively the first and second Creeds somewhat after the manner of the contemporary rival Councils of Sardica. Pagi, Natalis Alexander, Valesius, de Marca, Tillemont, S. Basnage, Montfaucon, Constant, Larroquanus (de la Roque,) agree with Petavius in placing the Council at which Photinus was deposed, and the Confession published by it, in A.D. 351. Mansi dates it at 358.

^a Dicam non jactantiæ causâ, sed ut eruditi lectoris studium excitem, fortassis audacius, ab hinc mille ac ducentis propemodum annis liquidam ac sinceram illorum rationem ignoratam fuisse. Quod nisi certissimis argumentis indicisque monstravero, nihil ego deprecabor, quin id vanissimè à

me dictum omnes arbitrentur. Petav. Animadv. in Epiph. p. 306. Nos ex antiquis patribus primum illud odorati sumus, tres omnino conventus Episcoporum eodem in Sirmiensi oppido, non iisdem temporibus celebratos fuisse. *ibid.* p. 113.

This was the Confession which Pope Liberius signed according to Baronius, N. Alexander, and Coustant in Hil. note n. p. 1335—7, and as Tillemont thinks probable.

In p. 114, note b. supr. the successive condemnations of Photinus are enumerated; but as this is an intricate point on which there is considerable difference of opinion among critics, it may be advisable to state them here, as they are determined by various writers.

Petavius (de Photino Hæretico, 1.), enumerates in all five Councils:—1. at Constantinople, A.D. 336, when Marcellus was deposed, vid. supr. p. 109, note m. 2. At Sardica, A.D. 347. 3. At Milan, A.D. 347. 4. At Sirmium, 349. 5. At Sirmium, when he was deposed, A.D. 351. Of these the 4th and 5th were first brought to light by Petavius, who omits mention of the Macrostich in 345.

Petavius is followed by Natalis Alexander, Montfaucon (vit. Athan.), and Tillemont; and by De Marca (Diss. de temp. Syn. Sirm.), and S. Basnage (Annales), and Valesius, (in Theod. Hist. ii. 16. p. 23. Soer. ii. 20.) as regards the Council of Milan, except that Valesius places it with Sirmion in 346; but for the Council of Sirmium in 349, they substitute a Council of Rome of the same date, while de Marca considers Photinus condemned again in the Eusebian Council of Milan in 355. De la Roque, on the other hand (Larroquan. Dissert. de Photino Hær.), considers that Photinus was condemned, 1. in the Macrostich, 346 [345]. 2. at Sardica, 347. 3. at Milan, 348. 4. at Sirmium, 350. 5. at Sirmium, 351.

Petavius seems to stand alone in assigning to the Council of Constantinople, 336, his first condemnation.

2. A.D. 357. *The Blasphemy of Potamius and Hesius,*
(*Second Sirmian.* supr. p. 122.)

Hilary calls it by the above title, de Syn. 11. vid. also Soz. iv. 12. p. 554. He seems also to mean it by the blasphemia Ursacii et Valentis, contr. Const. 26.

This Confession was the first overt act of disunion between Arians and Semi-Arians.

Sirmion, de Marca and Valesius (in Soer. ii. 30.), after Phæbadius, think it put forth by a Council; rather, at a Conference of a few leading Arians about Constantius, who seems to have been present; e. g. Ursacius, Valens, and Germinius. Soz. iv. 12. Vid. also Hil. Fragm. vi. 7.

It was written in Latin, Soer. ii. 30. Potamius wrote very barbarous Latin, judging from the Tract ascribed to him in Dacher. Spicileg. t. 3. p. 299, unless it be a translation from the Greek. vid. also Galland. Bibl. t. v. p. 96. Petavius thinks the Creed not written, but merely subscribed by Potamius (de Trin. i. 9. § 8) and Coustant. (in Hil. p. 1155, note f) that it was written by Ursacius, Valens, and Potamius. It is remarkable that the Greek in Athanasius is clearer than the original.

This at first sight is the Creed which Liberius signed, because

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S. Hilary speaks of the latter as "perfidia Ariana," *Fragm. 6. Blondel* (*Prim. dans l'Eglise*, p. 484.), Larroquanus, &c. are of this opinion. And the Roman Breviary, Ed. Ven. 1482, and Ed. Par. 1543, in the Service for S. Eusebius of Rome, August 14, says that "Pope Liberius consented to the Arian misbelief," *Launnoi Ep. v. 9. c. 13.* Auxilius says the same, *ibid. vi. 14. Animadv. 5. n. 18.* Petavius grants that it must be this, *if* any of the three Sirmian (*Animadv. in Epiph. p. 316*), but we shall see his own opinion presently.

3. A.D. 357. *The foregoing interpolated.*

A creed was sent into the East in Hosius's name, *Epiph. Hær. 73. 14. Soz. iv. 15. p. 558*, of an Anomœan character, which the "blasphemia" was not. And S. Hilary may allude to this when he speaks of the "deliramenta Osii, et incrementa Ursacii et Valentis," *contr. Const. 23.* An Anomœan Council of Antioch under Eudoxius of this date, makes acknowledgments to Ursacius, Valens, and Germinius, *Soz. iv. 12, fin.* as being agents in the Arianising of the West.

Petavius and Tillemont consider this Confession to be the "blasphemia" interpolated. Petavius throws out a further conjecture, which seems gratuitous, that the whole of the latter part of the Creed is a later edition, and that Liberius only signed the former part. *Animadv. in Epiph. p. 316.*

4. A.D. 358. *The Ancyrene Anathemas.*

The Semi-Arian party had met in Council at Ancyra in the early spring of 358 to protest against the "blasphemia," and that with some kind of correspondence with the Gallic Bishops who had just condemned it, Phœbadius of Agen writing a Tract against it, which is still extant. They had drawn up and signed, besides, a Synodal Letter, eighteen anathemas, the last against the "One in substance." These, except the last, or the last six, they submitted at the end of May to the Emperor who was again at Sirmium. Basil, Eustathius, Eleusius, and another, formed the deputation; and their influence persuaded Constantius to accept the Anathemas, and even to oblige the party of Valens, at whose "blasphemia" they were levelled, to recant and subscribe them.

5. A.D. 358. *Semi-Arian Digest of Three Confessions.*

The Semi-Arian Bishops pursuing their advantage, composed a Creed out of three, that of the Dedication, the first Sirmian, and the Creed of Antioch against Paul 264—270, in which the "One in substance" is said to have been omitted or forbidden. *Soz. iv. 15.* This Confession was imposed by Imperial authority on the Arian party, who signed it. So did Liberius, *Soz. ibid. Hil. Fragn. vi. 6. 7;* and Petavius considers that this is the subscription by which he lapsed. *de Trin. i. 9. § 5. Animadv. in Epiph. p. 316. and S. Basnage, in Ann. 358. 13.*

It is a point of controversy whether or not the Arians at this time suppressed the "blasphemia." Socrates and Sozomen say

that they made an attempt to recall the copies they had issued, and even obtained an edict from the Emperor for this purpose, but without avail. Socr. ii. 30 fin. Soz. iv. 6. p. 543.

Athanasius, on the other hand, as we have seen, *supr.* p. 123, relates this in substance of the third Confession of Sirmium, not of the "blasphemia" or second.

Tillemont follows Socrates and Sozomen; considering that Basil's influence with the Emperor enabled him now to insist on a retraction of the "blasphemia." And he argues that Germinius in 366, being suspected of orthodoxy, and obliged to make profession of heresy, was referred by his party to the formulary of Ariminum, no notice being taken of the "blasphemia," which looks as if it were suppressed; whereas Germinius himself appeals to the third Sirmian, which is a proof that it was not suppressed. Hil. Fragm. 15. Coustant in Hil. *contr.* Const. 26, though he does not adopt the opinion himself, observes, that the charge brought against Basil, Soz. iv. 132. Hil. l. c. by the Acacians of persuading the Africans against the second Sirmian is an evidence of a great effort on his part at a time when he had the Court with him to suppress it. We have just seen Basil uniting with the Gallic Bishops against it.

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6. A.D. 359. *The Confession with a date,*
(*third Sirmian, supr. p. 83.*)

The Semi-Arians, with the hope of striking a further blow at their opponents by a judgment against the Anomœans, Soz. iv. 16 *init.* seem to have suggested a general Council, which ultimately became the Councils of Seleucia and Ariminum. If this was their measure, they were singularly out-manœuvred by the party of Acacius and Valens, as we have seen in Athanasius's work. A preparatory Conference was held at Sirmium at the end of May in this year; in which the Creed was determined which should be laid before the great Councils which were assembling. Basil and Mark were the chief Semi-Arians present, and in the event became committed to an almost Arian Confession. Soz. iv. 16. p. 562. It was finally settled on the Eve of Pentecost, and the dispute lasted till morning. Epiph. *Hær.* 73. 22. Mark at length was chosen to draw it up, Soz. iv. 22. p. 573. yet Valens so managed that Basil could not sign it without an explanation. It was written in Latin, Socr. ii. 30. Soz. iv. 17. p. 563. Coustant, however, in Hil. p. 1152, note i, seems to consider this dispute and Mark's confession to belong to the same date (May 22) in the foregoing year; but p. 1363, note b, to change his opinion.

Petavius, who, *Animadv.* in Epiph. p. 318, follows Socrates in considering that the second Sirmian is the Confession which the Arians tried to suppress, nevertheless, *de Trin.* i. 9. § 8, yields to the testimony of Athanasius in behalf of the third, attributing the measure to their dissatisfaction with the phrase "Like in all things," which Constantius had inserted, and with Basil's explanation on subscribing it, and to the hopes of publishing a bolder creed which their increasing influence with Constantius inspired. He does not think it

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impossible, however, that an attempt was made to suppress both. Coustant, again, in Hil. p. 1363, note b, asks *when* it could be that the Eusebians attempted to suppress the second Confession; and conjectures that the ridicule which followed their dating of the third and their wish to get rid of the "Like in all things," were the causes of their anxiety about it. He observes too with considerable speciousness that Acacius's second formulary at Seleucia (Confession ixth, supr. p. 123) and the Confession of Nice (xth, supr. p. 125) resemble second editions of the third Sirmian. Valesius in Soer. ii. 30, and Montfaucon in Athan. Syn. § 29, take the same side.

Pagi in Ann. 357. n. 13. supposes that the third Sirmian was the Creed signed by Liberius. Yet Coustant, in Hil. p. 1335, note n, speaking of Liberius's, "perfidia Ariana," as S. Hilary calls it, says, "Solus Valesius existimat tertiam [confessionem] hic memorari:" whereas Valesius, making four, not to say five, Sirmian Creeds, understands Liberius to have signed, not the third, but an intermediate one, between the second and third, as Petavius does, in Soz. iv. 15 and 16. Moreover, Pagi fixes the date as A.D. 358. *ibid.*

This Creed, thus drawn up by a Semi-Arian, with an Acacian or Arian appendix, then a Semi-Arian insertion, and after all a Semi-Arian protest on subscription, was proposed at Seleucia by Acacius, Soz. iv. 22. and at Ariminum by Valens, Soer. ii. 37. p. 132.

7. A. D. 359. *Nicene Edition of the third Sirmian,*
(*Tenth Confession*, supr. p. 125.)

The third Sirmian was rejected both at Seleucia and Ariminum; but the Eusebians, dissolving the Council of Seleucia, kept the Fathers at Ariminum together through the summer and autumn. Meanwhile at Nice in Thrace they confirmed the third Sirmian, Soer. ii. 37. p. 141. Theod. Hist. ii. 16, with the additional proscription of the word hypostasis; apparently lest the Latins should by means of it evade the condemnation of the "One in substance." This Creed, thus altered, was ultimately accepted at Ariminum; and was confirmed in January 360 at Constantinople; Soer. ii. 41. p. 153, Soz. iv. 24 *init.*

Liberius retrieved his fault on this occasion; for, whatever was the confession he had signed, he now refused his assent to the Ariminian, and, if Socrates is to be trusted, was banished in consequence, Soer. ii. 37. p. 140.

NOTE on page 147.

On the alleged Confession of Antioch against Paul of Samosata.

A number of learned writers have questioned the fact, testified by three Fathers, S. Athanasius, S. Basil, and S. Hilary, of the rejection of the word *ὁμοούσιον* in the Antiochene Council against Paul between A.D. 264—270. It must be confessed that both S. Athanasius and S. Hilary speak from the statements of the Semi-Arians, without having seen the document which the latter had alleged, while S. Basil who speaks for certain lived later. It must also be confessed, that S. Hilary differs from the two other Fathers in the reason he gives for the rejection of the word. There is, however, a further argument urged against the testimony of the three Fathers of a different kind. A Creed, containing the word, is found in the acts of the Council of Ephesus 431, purporting to be a Definition of faith “of the Nicene Council, touching the Incarnation, and an Exposition against Paul of Samosata.” This Creed, which (it is supposed) is by mistake referred to the *Nicene* Council, is admitted as genuine by Baronius, J. Forbes (Instr. Hist. Theol. i. 4. § 1), Le Moyne (Var. Sacr. t. 2. p. 255), Wormius (Hist. Sabell. p. 116—119: vid. Routh, Rell. t. 2. p. 523), Simon de Magistris (Præf. ad Dionys. Alex. p. xl), Feverlin (Diss. de P. Samos. § 9), Molkenbuhr (Dissert. Crit. 4), Kern (Disqu. Hist. Crit. on the subject), Dr. Burton in Faber’s Apostolicity of Trinitarianism, vol. ii. p. 302. and Mr. Faber himself. As, however, I cannot but agree with the President of Magdalen l. c. that the Creed is of a later date, (in his opinion, post lites exortas Nestorianas,) or at least long after the time of Paul of Samosata, I will here set down one or two peculiarities in it which make me think so.

The Creed is found in Harduin Concil. t. 1. p. 1640. Routh, Rell. t. 2. p. 524. Dionys. Alex. Oper. Rom. 1696 [1796]. p. 289. Burton, Testimonies, pp. 397—399. Faber, Trinitarianism, vol. 2. p. 287.

1. Now first, the Creed in question has these words: ὁλον ὁμοούσιον θεῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ὁμοούσιον τῷ θεῶ. Now to enter upon the use of the word *ὁμοούσιον*, as applied to the Holy Trinity, would be foreign to my subject; and to refer to the testimony of the three Fathers, would be assuming the point at issue; but still there are other external considerations besides, which may well be taken into account.

(1) And first the Fathers speak of it as a new term, i. e. in Creeds. “To meet the irreligion of the Arian heretics, the Fathers framed the new name *Homoüsion*.” August. in Joann. 97. n. 4 [p. 904 O.T.]. He says that it was misunderstood at Ariminum “propter novitatem verbi” (contr. Maxim. ii. 3), though it was the legitimate “offspring of the ancient faith.” Vigilius also says, “an ancient

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subject received the new name Homoüsion." Disp. Ath. et Ar. t. v. p. 695. (the paging wrong.) Bibl. P. Col. 1618. [Bibl. Max. Vet. Patr. 8. 757 fin.] vid. Le Moynes. Var. Sacr. l. c.

(2) Next Sozomen informs us, Hist. iv. 15. (as we have seen above, p. 162.) that the Creed against Paul was used by the Semi-Arians at Sirmium, A.D. 358, in order to the composition of the Confession, which Liberius signed. Certainly then, if this be so, we cannot suspect it of containing the *ὁμοούσιον*.

(3) Again, we have the evidence of the Semi-Arians themselves to the same point in the documents which Epiphanius has preserved, Hær. 73. They there appeal to the Council against Paul as an authority for the use of the word *οὐσία*, and thereby to justify their own *ὁμοιούσιον*; which they would hardly have done, if that Council had sanctioned the *ὁμοούσιον* as well as *οὐσία*. But moreover, as we have seen, supr. p. 162, the last Canon of their Council of Ancyra actually pronounced anathema upon the *ὁμοούσιον*; but if so, with what face could they appeal to a Council which made profession of it?

(4) And there is nothing improbable in the Antiochene Council having suppressed or disowned it; on the contrary, under their circumstances it was almost to be expected. The Fathers concerned in the first proceedings against Paul, Dionysius, Gregory of Neocæsarea, Athenodorus, and perhaps Firmilian, were immediate disciples of Origen, who is known to have been very jealous of the corporeal ideas concerning the Divine Nature which Paul (according to Athanasius and Basil) imputed to the word *ὁμοούσιον*. There were others of the Fathers who are known to have used language of a material cast, and from them he pointedly differs. Tertullian speaks of the Divine Substance as a corpus, in Prax. 7. and he adopts the Valentinian word *προβολή*, as Justin had used *προβληθέν γέννημα* (vid. supr. p. 97, note h), whereas Origen in his controversy with Candidus, who was of that heresy, condemns it; and he speaks in strong language against the work of Melito of Sardis, *περὶ ἐνσωμάτου θεοῦ*, in Genes. Fragm. t. 2. p. 25, whom he accuses of teaching it. vid. also de Orat. 23. His love of Platonism would tend the same way, for the Platonists, in order to mark their idea of the perfection and simplicity of the Divine Nature, were accustomed to consider It "above substance."

Thus Plotinus calls the Divine Being the "origin of being and more excellent than substance." 5 Ennead. v. 11. and says that He "transcends all, and is the cause of them, but is not they." *ibid.* c. ult. The views of physical necessity too, which the material system involved, led him to speak of His energy and will being His substance. 6 Enn. viii. 13. And hence Origen; "Nor doth God partake of substance, rather He is partaken, than partakes." *contr.* Cels. vi. 64. And thus the word *ὑπερούσιον* is used by Pseudo-Dion. de div. nom. i. n. 2. whose Platonic tone of thought is well known; as by S. Maximus, "Properly substance is not predicated of God, for He is *ὑπερούσιος*." in Pseudo-Dion. de div. nom. v. init. Vid. also Dam. F. O. i. 4. and 8. pp. 137. 147. while S. Greg. Naz. also speaks of Him as *ὑπὲρ τὴν οὐσίαν*. Orat. 6. 12.

Nay further, in Joann. t. 20. 16. Origen goes so far as to object to the phrase ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς γενεῖν ἠσθαι τὸν υἱὸν, but still assigning the reason that such a phrase introduced the notion of a *μεῖωσις*, or the like corporeal notions, into our idea of God.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that there was no more frequent charge against the *ἁμοούσιον* in the mouths of the Arians, than that it involved the Gnostic and Manichæan doctrine of materiality in the Divine Nature. vid. supr. p. 17, note l; p. 63, note h.

Again we know also that S. Dionysius did at first decline or at least shrink from the word *ἁμοούσιον*, accepting it only when the Bishop of Rome urged it upon him. But an additional reason for such reluctance is found in the rise of Manichæism just in the time of these Councils against Paul, a heresy which adopted the word *ἁμοούσιον* in its view of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and that in a material sense; so that the very circumstances of the case exactly fall in with and bear out the account of their rejection of the word given by the two Fathers.

(5) Nor is there any thing in S. Hilary's reason for it inconsistent with the testimony of S. Athanasius and S. Basil. Both accounts may be true at once. The philosophical sense of *οὐσία*, as we have seen, supr. p. 152, note a, was that of an individual or unit. When then the word *ἁμοούσιος* was applied to the Second Person in the Blessed Trinity, or He was said to be *of one substance* with the Father, such a doctrine, to those who admitted of no mystery in the subject, involved one of two errors, according as the *οὐσία* was considered a spiritual substance or a material. Either it implied that the Son of God was a part of God, or *μέρος ἁμοούσιον*, which was the Manichæan doctrine; or if the *οὐσία* were immaterial, then, since it denoted an individual being, the phrase "one in substance" involved Sabellianism. Paul then might very naturally have urged this dilemma upon the Council, and said, "Your doctrine implies the *ἁμοούσιον*, which is Manichæan, unless it be taken, as I am willing to take it, in a Sabellian sense." And thus it might be at once true as Athanasius says, that Paul objected, "Unless Christ has of man become God, it follows that He is One in substance with the Father; and if so, of necessity there are three substances, &c." supr. § 45. and also, according to Hilary's testimony "Homousion Samosatenus confessus est; sed nunquid melius Ariani negaverunt?" de Syn. 86.

2. The Creed also says, μετὰ τῆς θεότητος ὧν κατὰ σάρκα ἁμοούσιος ἡμῖν.

There are strong reasons for saying that the phrase *ἁμοούσιος ἡμῖν* is of a date far later than the Council of Antioch.

(1) Waterland considers the omission of the phrase in the Athanasian Creed as an argument that it was written not lower than "Eutychian times," A.D. 451. "A tenet," he observes of it, "expressly held by *some* of the ecclesiastical writers before Eutyches's time, but seldom or never omitted in the Creeds or Confessions about that time, or after. To be convinced," he proceeds, "of the truth of this . . . article, one need but look into the Creeds and Formularies of those

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times, viz. into that of Turribius of Spain in 447, of Flavian of Constantinople, as also of Pope Leo in 449, of the Chalcedon Council in 451, of Pope Felix III, in 485, and Anastasius II, in 496, and of the Church of Alexandria in the same year; as also into those of Pope Hormisdas, and the Churches of Syria, and Fulgentius, and the Emperor Justinian, and Pope John II, and Pope Pelagius I, within the 6th century. In all which we shall find either express denial of one nature, or express affirmation of two natures, or *the doctrine of Christ's consubstantiality with us*, or all three together, though *they are all omitted in the Athanasian Creed.*" vol. iv. p. 247.

(2) The very fact of Eutyches denying it seems to shew that the phrase was not familiar, or at least generally received, in the Church before. "Up to this day," he says in the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 448, "I have never said that the Body of our Lord and God was consubstantial with us, but I confess that the Holy Virgin was consubstantial with us, and that our God was incarnate of her." Conc. t. 2. p. 164, 5. [Harduin; t. 4. 1013 fin. ed. Col.] The point at issue, as in other controversies, seems to have been the reception or rejection of a phrase, which on the one hand was as yet but in local or private use, and on the other was well adapted to exclude the nascent heresy. The Eutychians denied in like manner the word *φύσις*, which, it must be confessed, was seldom used till their date, when the doctrine it expressed came into dispute. And so of the phrase *ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ*, and of *ὑπόστασις*; vid. Note, supr. p. 71.

Now the phrase "consubstantial with us" seems to have been introduced at the time of the Apollinarian controversy, and was naturally the Catholic counter-statement to the doctrine of Apollinaris that Christ's body was "consubstantial to the Godhead;" a doctrine which, as Athanasius tells us, ad Epict. 2. was new to the world when the Apollinarians brought it forward, and, according to Epiphanius, was soon abandoned by them, Hær. 77, 25. It is natural then to suppose that the antagonist phrase, which is here in question, came into use at that date, and continued or was dropped according to the prevalence of the heretical tenet. Moreover both sections into which the Apollinarians soon split, seemed to have agreed to receive the phrase "consubstantial with us," and only disputed whether it *continued* to be predicable of our Lord's body on and after its union with the divine Nature. vid. Leont. de fraud. Apollin. and this of course would be an additional reason against the general Catholic adoption of the phrase. It occurs however in the Creed of John of Antioch, A.D. about 431, on which S. Cyril was reconciled to him. Rustic. contr. Aceph. p. 709. but this is only twenty-one years before the Council of Chalcedon, in which the phrase was formally received, as the *ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ* was received at Nicæa. *ibid.* p. 805.

The counter-statement more commonly used by the orthodox to that of the flesh being *ὁμοούσιον θεότητι*, was not "consubstantial with us," but "consubstantial with Mary." S. Amphilochius speaks thus generally, "It is plain that the holy Fathers said that the Son was consubstantial with His Father according to the Godhead and *consubstantial with His Mother* according to the manhood." apud Phot.

Bibl. p. 789. Proclus, A.D. 434, uses the word *δμόφυλον*, and still with "the Virgin." τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα ὁμοούσιος, οὕτως ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τῇ παρθένῳ κατὰ τὴν σάρκα ὁμόφυλος. ad Arm. p. 618, circ. init. vid. also p. 613 fin. p. 618. He uses the word *ὁμοούσιον* frequently of the Divine Nature as above, yet this does not suggest the other use of it. Another term is used by Athanasius, τὸν ἠνωμένον πατρὶ κατὰ πνεῦμα, ἡμῖν δὲ κατὰ σάρκα. apud Theod. Eranist. ii. p. 139. Or again that He took flesh of Mary, e.g. οὐκ ἐκ Μαρίας ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίας σῶμα. ad Epict. 2. Or τέλειος ἄνθρωπος, e.g. Procl. ad Arm. p. 613. which, though Apollinaris denied, Eutyches allowed, Concil. t. 2. p. 157. Leon. Ep. 21.

However, S. Eustathius (A.D. 325.) says that our Lord's soul was ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁμοούσιος, ὡς περ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ ὁμοούσιος τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σαρκί. ap. Theod. Eranist. i. p. 56. vid. also Leont. contr. Nestor. et Eutych. p. 977. and S. Ambrose, *ibid.* Dial. ii. p. 139. ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, but the genuineness of the whole extract is extremely doubtful, as indeed the Benedictines almost grant. t. 2. p. 729. Waterland, Athan. Creed, ch. 7. p. 254. seems to think the internal evidence strong against its genuineness, but yields to the external; and Coustant (App. Epist. Pont. Rom. p. 79) considers Leontius a different author from the Leontius de Sectis, on account of his *mistakes*. Another instance is found in Theophilus ap. Theod. Eranist. ii. p. 154.

This contrast becomes stronger still when we turn to documents of the alleged date of the Confession. A letter of one of the Councils 263—270, or of some of its Bishops, is still extant, and exhibits a very different phraseology. Instead of *ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν* we find the vaguer expressions, not unlike Athanasius, &c. of the Son "being made flesh and made man," and "the Body from the Virgin," and "man of the seed of David," and "partaking of flesh and blood." Routh Rell. t. 2. p. 473. And the use of the word *οὐσία* is different; and its derivatives are taken to convey the idea, neither of the divine nature of our Lord, nor the human, but of the divine nature substantiated or become a substance, in the material world: almost as if under the feeling that God in Himself is *above* substance, as I had just now occasion to mention. E. g. Pseudo-Dionysius asks πῶς ὁ ἑπερούσιος Ἰησοῦς ἀνθρωποφωμίαις ἀληθείαις οὐσιώσεται. Myst. Theol. iii. vid. also de Div. Nom. i. 2. and Epist. 4. Hence Africanus says, οὐσίαν ὄλην οὐσιωθείς, ἄνθρωπος λέγεται. African. Chron. ap. Routh, t. 2. p. 125. In like manner the Antiochene Fathers insist, καθὸ Χριστὸς, ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὂν τῇ οὐσίᾳ. Routh Rel. t. 2. p. 474. and Malchion at the same Council accuses Paul of not admitting οὐσιώσθαι ἐν τῷ ὄλῳ σωτῆρι τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ. *ibid.* p. 476. or that the Son was "substantially present in the whole Saviour." vid. also p. 485. In all these passages *οὐσία* is used for nothing else than substance, whereas in the phrase *ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν* it rather stands for *φύσις* or *γένος*. And so much was the former its meaning in the earlier times, that Hippolytus plainly denies that men are one substance one with another; for he asks, μὴ πάντες ἐν σῶμά ἐσμεν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν; contr. Noet. 7. And this moreover altogether agrees with what was said

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above, that in Paul's argument against the ὁμοούσιον πατρὶ the word ὁσία was taken (and rightly) in what Aristotle as Anastasius (Hodeg. 6. p. 96), and Theorian (Leg. p. 441), after him, assigns as the proper sense of the word, viz. an individual, and not a common nature.

3. The Creed also speaks of our Lord as ἐν πρόσωπον σύνθετον ἐκ θεότητος οὐρανόθεν καὶ ἀνθρωπείας σαρκός.

Now the word σύνθετον, in the Latin *compositum*, is found in the fragment of Malchion's disputation in the Council. Routh Rell. t. 2. p. 476. But πρόσωπον and σύνθετον πρόσωπον seem to me of a later date.

The word *persona*, applied to our Lord in His two natures and in contrast with them, is to be found in Tertull. contr. Prax. 27. Though, however, it was not absolutely unknown to ecclesiastical authors, this is a very rare instance of its early occurrence.

We also find Novatian de Trin. 21. speaking of the "regula circa Personam Christi;" and considering his great resemblance to Tertullian, it may be supposed that *persona* here denotes, not merely our Lord's subsistence in the Holy Trinity, but in His two natures. But on the other hand, he uses *Christus* absolutely for the Second Person all through his Treatise, e. g. 9. init. "Regula veritatis docet nos credere *post patrem* etiam in Filium Dei Christum Jesum, *Domini Deum nostrum*, sed Dei filium, &c." Again, "*Christus habet gloriam ante mundi institutionem.*" 16. vid. also 13. where he speaks of Christ being *made* flesh, as if the name were synonymous with "Word" in the text, John i. 14. And, moreover, subsequently to "*persona Christi*," he goes on to speak of "*secundam personam post Patrem.*" 26 and 31. vid. also 27.

However, in spite of these instances, one might seem to say confidently, if a negative can be proved, that it was not in common use at soonest before the middle of the fourth century, and perhaps not till much later.

(1) I have not discovered it in S. Athanasius's treatises against Apollinarianism, which were written about 370, except in two places, which shall be spoken of presently. Nor in S. Gregory Naz.'s Ep. 202. ad Nectar. and Ep. 101. 102. ad Cledon. Nor in S. Gregory Nyssen. Fragm. in Apollinarem. Nor in Theodoret's Eranistes, except in one place, in a Testimony, given to S. Ambrose, and which has already been mentioned as probably spurious. Nor is it found in the Creed of Damasus, by whom Apollinaris was condemned, vid. Epp. 2 and 3; nor among the testimonies of the Fathers cited at the Council of Ephesus; nor in Epiphanius's Creed; Ancor. 121. vid. also 75.

(2) It is not used in passages where it might have been expected, but other modes of speech are usual instead; and that by a sort of rule, so as to make them almost technical, or with such variety of expression as pointedly to mark the omission; e. g. for "two natures and one Person" we always find οὐκ ἄλλο, ἄλλο,—εἷς,—ἐν,—ὁ αὐτός. &c. &c.

S. Irenæus:—*Non ergo alterum filium hominis novit Evangelium, nisi hunc qui ex Mariâ, &c. et eundem hunc passum resurrex-*

isse . . . Etsi linguâ quidem confitentur unum Jesum Christum, . . . alterum quidem passum, et natum, &c. et esse alterum eorum, &c. Hær. iii. 16. n. 5. 6 [p. 267 O.T]. *unus* quidem et *idem* existens, n. 7. per multa dividens Filium Dei. n. 8. *unum et eundem*, ibid. Si *alter* . . . *alter*, . . . quoniam *unum* eum novit Apostolus, &c. n. 9. The passage upon the subject is extended to c. xxiv.

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S. Ambrose :—*Unus* in utrâque [divinitate et carne] loquitur Dei Filius; quia in *codem* utraque natura est; et si *idem* loquitur, non uno semper loquitur modo. de fid. ii. 9. vid. 58. Non divisus sed *unus*; quia utrumque *unus*, et *unus* in utroque . . . *non enim alter* ex Patre, *alter* ex Virgine, sed *idem* aliter ex Patre, aliter ex Virgine, de Incarn. 35. vid. 47. 75. and Non enim quod ejusdem substantiæ est, *unus*, sed *unum* est, 77. where persona follows of the Holy Trinity.

S. Hilary :—*Non alius* filius hominis quam qui filius Dei est neque alius in forma Dei quam qui in forma servi perfectus homo natus est; . . . habens in se et totum verumque quod homo est, et totum verumque quod Deus est. de Trin. x. 19. Cum *ipse ille* filius hominis *ipse sit qui et* filius Dei, quia totus hominis filius totus Dei filius sit, &c. . . . Natus autem est, *non* ut esset *alius atque alius*, sed ut ante hominem Deus, suscipiens hominem, homo et Deus possit intelligi. ibid. 22. Non potest . . . ita *ab se dividuus* esse, ne Christus sit; cum *non alius* Christus, *quam* qui in forma Dei, &c. *neque alius* quam qui natus est, &c. . . . *neque alius* quam qui est mortuus, &c. in cælis autem *non alius* sit quam qui &c. ibid. ut non *idem* fuerit *qui et*, &c. ibid. 50. Totum ei Deus Verbum est, totum ei homo Christus est, . . . *nec* Christum *aliud* credere quam Jesum, nec Jesum aliud prædicare quam Christum. 52.

And in like manner S. Athanasius :—ἄλλος, ἄλλος· ἕτερος, ἕτερος· εἰς καὶ αὐτός· ταυτόν, ἀδιαίρετος, Orat. iv. § 15. and 29. ἄλλος, ἄλλος· § 30. ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτόν. § 31. οὐχ ὡς τοῦ λόγου κεχωρισμένου. ibid. τὸν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ληφθέντα, ᾧ καὶ ἠνώσθαι πιστεύεται, ἀνθρωπῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χωρίζουσι. ibid. τὴν ἀνεκφραστὸν ἔνωσιν. § 32. τὸ θεῖον ἐν καὶ ἀπλοῦν μυστήριον. ibid. τὴν ἐνότητα. ibid. ὅλον αὐτὸν ἀνθρωπῶν τε καὶ θεὸν ὁμοῦ. § 35. vid. especially the long discussion in Orat. iii. § 30—58. where there is hardly a technical term.

Other instances of ecclesiastical language are as follows :—*Mediam* inter Deum et hominum *substantiam* gerens. Lactant. Instit. iv. 13. θεὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπος τέλειος ὁ αὐτός. Meliton. apud Routh, Rell. i. p. 115. ex eo quod Deus est, et ex illo quod homo . . . permixtus et sociatus . . . alterum vident, alterum non vident. Novat. de Trin. 25. vid. also 11, 14, 21, and 24. duos Christos . . . unum, alium. Pamphil. Apol. ap. Routh, Rell. t. 4. p. 320. ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν ἀεὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὡσαύτως ἔχων Greg. Nyss. t. 2. p. 696. ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτόν. Greg. Naz. Ep. 101. p. 85. ἄλλο μὲν καὶ ἄλλο τὰ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Σωτήρ. οὐκ ἄλλος δὲ καὶ ἄλλος. p. 86.

Vid. also Athan. contr. Apollin. i. 10 fin. 11 fin. 13 c. 16 b. ii. 1 init. 5 c. 12 c. 18. circ. fin. Theoph. Alex. apud Theod. Eranist. ii. p. 154. Hilar. ibid. p. 162. Attic. ibid. p. 167. Jerom. in Joan. Ieros. 35.

A corresponding phraseology and omission of the term "person" is found in the undoubted Epistle of the Antiochene Fathers; τὸ ἐκ

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τῆς παρθένου σώμα χωρήσαν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς, τῇ θεότητι ἀτρέπτως ἡνωται καὶ τεθεοποιῖται οὐ χάριν ὁ αὐτὸς θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος κ. τ. λ. Routh, Rell. t. 2. p. 473. οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς πρὸ τῆς σαρκώσεως ὡς εἰς ὠνόμασται. καθὼ Χριστὸς ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὦν τῇ οὐσίᾳ. *ibid.* p. 474. εἰ ἄλλο μὲν . . ἄλλο δὲ . . . δύο υἱούς. *ibid.* p. 485. And so Malchion, Unus factus est . . unitate subsistens, &c. *ibid.* p. 476.

(3) It is indisputable too that the word *πρόσωπον* is from time to time used of our Lord by the early writers in its ordinary vague sense, which is inconceivable if it were already received in creeds as an ecclesiastical symbol.

E. g. S. Clement calls the Son the "person" or countenance, *πρόσωπον*, "of the Father." Strom. v. 6. p. 665. and Pædag. i. 7. p. 132. *vid.* also Strom. vii. 10. p. 886. And so ἐν προσώπῳ πατὴρ, Theoph. ad Autol. ii. 22 (*vid.* *supr.* p. 114, note d). and even Cyril Alex. Dial. v. p. 554. *Vid.* also Cyril. Catech. xii. 14 fin. ὁμοιοπρόσωπον. Chrysostom speaks of δύο πρόσωπα, i. e. human and divine, διηρημένα κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν, in Hebr. Hom. iii. 1 fin. [p. 33 O.T.] where too he has just been speaking against Paul of Samosata, against whom the Creed which we are examining is alleged to have been written. *vid.* also Amphiloch. ap. Theod. Eranist. i. p. 67. who speaks of Christ as saying, "My Father is greater than I," "from the flesh and not ἐκ προσώπου τῆς θεότητος." In these passages *πρόσωπον* seems to stand for *character*, as is not unusual in Athanasius, *vid.* *supr.* p. 22. note z, where instances are given. And thus I would explain those passages referred to just above, in which he seems to use *πρόσωπον* for *person*, in Apoll. ii. 2. and 10. *viz.* ἐν διαίρεσει προσώπων, which Le Quien (in Damasc. dialect. 43.) most unnecessarily calls an instance, and as he thinks solitary, of *πρόσωπον* being used for nature, though Athan. in one of the two passages explains the word himself, speaking of προσώπων ἢ ὀνομάτων. And this seems a truer explanation, though perhaps less natural, than to render it (*supr.* p. 22.) "not as if there were divisions of persons." These passages of Athan. might make us less decisive than Montfaucon as to the internal evidence against the fragment given in t. i. p. 1294. He says, after Sirmond in Facund. xi. 2. that it contains a doctrine "ab Athanasianâ penitus abhorrentem;" and this, because the Latin version, (another reason, but of a different kind, why it is difficult to judge of it,) speaks broadly of "duas personas, unam circa hominem, alteram circa Verbum." But besides the above instances, we find the same use in an extract from a work of Hippolytus preserved by Leontius, Hippol. t. 2. p. 45. where he speaks of Christ as δύο προσώπων μεσίτης, God and man.

Again S. Hilary speaks of utriusque naturæ personam. de Trin. ix. 14. ejus hominis quam assumpsit persona. in Psalm 63. n. 3. *vid.* also in Psalm 138. n. 5. and S. Ambrose, in personâ hominis. de Fid. ii. n. 61. v. n. 108. 124. Ep. 48. n. 4. From a passage quoted from Paschasius Diaconus, de Spir. § ii. 4. p. 194. by Petavius (de Trin. iv. 4. § 3.) it seems that the use of the word *persona* in the sense of quality or state had not ceased even in the 6th century.

Further, it would seem as if the vague use of the word "person," as used in speaking of the Holy Trinity, which S. Theophilus and

S. Clement above exemplify, on the whole ceased with the rise of the Sabellian controversy and the adoption of the word (as in Hippol. contr. Noet. 14.), as a symbol against the heresy. It is natural in like manner that till the great controversy concerning the Incarnation which Apollinaris began, a similar indistinctness should prevail in its use relatively to that doctrine.

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And hence S. Cyril in his 4th anathema is obliged to explain the word by the more accurately defined term *hypostasis*: *εἴ τις προσώποις δυσὶ, ἡγοῦν ὑποστάσει, κ. τ. λ.* Vid. also the caution or protest of Vincentius Lirinens. Comm. 14.

(4) Moreover, a contrast is observable between the later accounts or interpretations of early writings, and those writings themselves as far as we have them; words and phrases being imputed, which in the originals exist only in the ideas themselves intended by them.

E. g. Ephrem of Antioch reports that S. Peter of Alexandria, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, S. Gregory Nazianzen, &c. acknowledge the doctrine of "the union of two natures and one Subsistence and one Person." ap. Phot. cod. 229. pp. 805—7. but Chrysostom, &c. uses the words and phrases, *ἔνωσις, συνάφεια, ἐν ὃ θεὸς λόγος καὶ ἡ σὰρξ*; Nazianzen is silent about *persona* in his Ep. ad Cledon. to which Ephrem there refers, and Peter in all that remains of him uses such words as *σὰρξ γεινόμενος οὐκ ἀπελείφθη τῆς θεότητος· γέγονεν ἐν μητρᾷ τῆς παρθένου σὰρξ· θεὸς ἦν φύσει καὶ γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος φύσει.* Routh Rel. t. 3. pp. 344—346.

Again, let it be observed how S. Maximus comments upon S. Gregory Nazianzen's words in the following passage: "The great Gregory Theologus seems to me thus to teach in his great Apologetic, 'One, ἐν, out of both, and both through One,' as if he would say, for as there is one out of both, *that is*, of two natures, One as a whole from parts according to the definition of *hypostasis*, so," &c. t. 2. p. 282.

Instances of this kind, which are not unfrequent, make one suspicious of such passages of the Fathers as come to us in translation, as Theodoret's and Leontius's extract from S. Ambrose, of which notice has been taken above; especially as the common Latin versions in the current editions of the Greek Fathers offer parallel instances of the insertion of the words *persona*, &c. not in the original, merely for the sake of perspicuity.

(5) It might be shewn too that according as alleged works of the Fathers are spurious or suspected, so does *persona* appear as one of their theological terms. The passage of S. Ambrose above cited is in point; but it would carry us too far from the subject to illustrate this as fully as might be done; nor is it necessary. Another specimen, however, may be taken from S. Athanasius. The absence of *πρόσωπον* from his acknowledged works has already been noticed; but let us turn to the fragments at the end of vol. 1. of the Benedictine edition. E. g. p. 1279 is a fragment which Montfaucon says *olet quidpiam peregrinum, et videtur maxime sub finem Eutyelianorum hæresin impugnare*; it contains the word *πρόσωπον*. And a third is the letter to Dionysius falsely ascribed to Pope Julius, in which as before

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πρόσωπον occurs, n. 2. Coust. Ep. Pont. Rom. Append. p. 62. And for a fourth we may refer to the *ἐκθεσις τῆς κατὰ μέρος πίστεως* ascribed to S. Gregory Thaumaturgus, one of the Antiochene Fathers, but which according to Eulogius ap. Phot. cod. 230. p. 846. is an Apollinarian forgery; it too uses the word "persona" of the union of natures in our Lord. And for a fifth to the Serm. in S. Thomam, which is quoted by the 6th General Council as S. Chrysostom's, but which Montfaucon and his other Editors consider spurious, and Tillemont considers preached at Edessa, A.D. 402. It contains the word *πρόσωπον*. Ed. Ben. tom. 8. part 2. p. 14.

(6) Too many words would have been spent on this point, were it not for the eminent writers who have maintained the genuineness of the Creed in question; and in particular, were it not for the circumstance, which is at first sight of great cogency, that Tertullian, whose acquaintance with Greek theology is well known, not only contains in his contr. Prax. a fully developed statement of the ecclesiastical doctrine of the Incarnation, but uses the very word *persona* or *πρόσωπον* which has here been urged in disproof of the genuineness of the Creed under consideration.

Such passages shall here be subjoined as contain the word in its ecclesiastical sense, as far as I have met with them.

In the extracts of the letters of Apollinaris and his disciples who wrote against each other (A.D. 380) the word occurs ap. Leont. p. 1033 b. p. 1037 b. p. 1039 b. as well as the *ἰσοούσιον ἡμῶν* as noticed above.

Also in an extract of Apollinaris, ap. Theod. Eranist. ii. p. 173.

By an auctor against the Arians whom Sirmond called anti-quissimus. Opp. t. i. p. 223.

By S. Athanasius, that is, as quoted by Euthymius, ap. Petav. Incarn. iii. 15, note 19.

By S. Gregory Nyss. ap. Damasc. contr. Jacob. t. i. p. 424.

By S. Amphilochius, ap. Damasc. *ibid.* et ap. Anast. Hod. 10. p. 162. and ap. Ephrem ap. Phot. p. 828.

In a Greek Version of S. Ambrose, ap. Phot. p. 805.

By S. Chrysostom, Ep. ad Cæsar. fin.

By Isidore Pelus, p. 94. Epist. i. 360.

In Pelagius's Creed, A.D. 418. in S. August. Opp. t. 12. p. 210.

By S. Augustine, contr. Serm. Arian. 8. Ep. ad Volusian. 137. n. 11. de Corr. et Grat. 30. and *passim*.

By Proclus ad Armen. p. 613.

After the third General Council, A.D. 431, of course the word becomes common.

(7) It may be objected, that Paul of Samosata himself maintained a Nestorian doctrine, and that this would naturally lead to the adoption of the word *πρόσωπον* to represent our Lord's unity in His two natures, as it had already been adopted 60 years before by Hippolytus to denote His Divine subsistence against Noetus. But there is no good evidence of Paul's doctrine being of this nature, though it seems to have tended to Nestorianism in his followers. I allude to a passage in Athan. Orat. iv. § 30 [*infra* pp. 549, 550], where he says,

that some of the Samosatenes so interpreted Acts x. 36, as if the Word was sent to "preach peace through Jesus Christ." As far as the fragments of the Antiochene Acts state or imply, he taught more or less, as follows:—that the Son's pre-existence was only in the divine fore-knowledge, Routh *Rel. t. 2. p. 466.* that to hold His substantial pre-existence was to hold two Gods, *ibid. p. 467.* that He was, if not an instrument, an impersonal attribute, *p. 469.* that His manhood was not "unalterably made one with the Godhead," *p. 473.* "that the Word and Christ were not one and the same," *p. 474.* that Wisdom was in Christ as in the prophets, only more abundantly, as in a temple; that He who appeared was not Wisdom, *p. 475.* in a word as it is summed up, *p. 484.* that "Wisdom was born with the manhood, not substantially, but according to quality." *vid. also pp. 476. 485.* All this plainly shews that he held that our Lord's personality was in His Manhood, but does not shew that he held a second personality in His godhead; rather he considered the Word impersonal, though the Fathers in Council urge upon him that he ought to hold two Sons, one from eternity, and one in time, *p. 485.*

Accordingly the Synodal Letter after his deposition speaks of him as holding that Christ came not from Heaven, but from beneath. Euseb. *Hist. vii. 30.* S. Athanasius's account of his doctrine is altogether in accordance (*vid. supr. p. 16, note i.*), that Paul taught that our Lord was a mere man, and that He was advanced to His divine power, *ἐκ προκοπῆς.*

However, since there was a great correspondence between Paul and Nestorius, (except in the doctrine of the personality and eternity of the Word, which the Arian controversy determined and the latter held,) it was not unnatural that reference should be made to the previous heresy of Paul and its condemnation when that of Nestorius was on trial. Yet the *Contestatio* against Nestorius which commences the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, Harduin. *Conc. t. i. p. 1272.* [t. 3 pp. 888, 889 ed. Col.] and which draws out distinctly the parallel between them, says nothing to shew that Paul held a double personality. And though Anastasius tells us, Hodeg. *c. 7. p. 108.* that the "holy Ephesian Council shewed that the tenets of Nestorius agreed with the doctrine of Paul of Samosata," yet in *c. 20. pp. 323, 4.* he shews us what he means by saying that Artemon also before Paul "divided Christ in two." Ephrem of Antioch too says that Paul held that "the Son before ages was one, and the Son in the last time another." *ap. Phot. p. 814.* but he seems only referring to the words of the Antiochene Acts, quoted above. Again, it is plain from what Vigilius says in Eutyeh. *t. v. p. 731.* Ed. Col. 1618. (the passage is omitted in Ed. Par. 1624.) that the Eutyechians considered that Paul and Nestorius differed; the former holding that our Lord was a mere man, the latter a mere man only till He was united to the Word. And Marius Mercator says, "Nestorius circa Verbum Dei, *non* ut Paulus sentit, qui non substantivum sed prolativum potentie Dei efficax Verbum esse definit." *p. 50.* Ibas, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, though more suspicious witnesses, say the same, *vid. Facund. vi. 3. iii. 2.* and Leontius de Sectis, *iii. p. 504.*

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The principal evidence in favour of Paul's Nestorianism consists in the Letter of Dionysius to Paul and his answer to Paul's Ten Questions, which are certainly spurious, as on other grounds, so on some of those here urged against the professed Creed of Antioch, but which Dr. Burton in his excellent remarks on Paul's opinions, Bampton Lectures, No. 102, admits as genuine. And so does the accurate and cautious Tillemont, who in consequence is obliged to believe that Paul held Nestorian doctrines; also Bull, Fabricius, Natalis Alexander, &c. In holding these compositions to be spurious, I am following Valesius, Harduin, Montfaucon, Pagi, Mosheim, Cave, Routh, and others.

It might be inquired in conclusion, whether after all the Creed does not contain marks of Apollinarianism in it, which, if answered in the affirmative, would tend to fix its date. As, however, this would carry us further still from our immediate subject in this Volume, it has been judged best not to enter upon the question. Some indulgence may fairly be asked for what has been already said, from its bearing upon the history of the word *ὁμοούσιον*.

FOUR DISCOURSES OF S. ATHANASIUS,

ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA,

AGAINST THE ARIANS.

DISCOURSE I.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION.

Reason for writing; certain persons indifferent about Arianism; Arians not Christians, because sectaries always take the name of their founder.

1. OF all other heresies which have departed from the truth it is acknowledged, that they have but devised ^a a madness ¹, and their irreligiousness ² has long since become notorious to all men. For, that ^b their authors went out from us, it plainly follows, as the blessed John has written, that they never thought nor now think with us. Wherefore, as saith the Saviour, in that they gather not with us, they scatter with the devil, and keep an eye on those who slumber, that, by this second sowing ³ of their own mortal poison, they may have companions in death. But, whereas one heresy and that the last, which has now risen as harbinger ⁴ of Antichrist,

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§ 1.

p. 2,
note e;
p. 91,
note q.
p. 1,
note a.

p. 5,
note k.

p. 79,
note q.

^a ἐπινοήσασαι. This is almost a technical word, and has occurred again and again already, as descriptive of heretical teaching in opposition to the received traditional doctrine. It is also found *passim* in others writers. Thus Socrates, speaking of the decree of the Council of Alexandria, 362, against Apollinaris; “for not originating, ἐπινοήσαντες, any novel devotion, did they introduce it into the Church,

but what from the beginning the *Ecclesiastical Tradition* declared.” Hist. iii.

7. The sense of the word ἐπινοια which will come into consideration below, is akin to this, being the view taken by the mind of an object independent of (whether or not correspondent to) the object itself.

^b τὸ γὰρ ἐξελεθῆν . . . δῆλον ἂν εἴη, i. e. τῶ and so infr. §. 43. τὸ δὲ καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι . . . δῆλον ἂν εἴη.

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the Arian, as it is called, considering that other heresies, her elder sisters, have been openly proscribed, in her cunning and profligacy, affects to array herself in Scripture language^c, like her father the devil, and is forcing her way back into the Church's paradise,—that with the pretence of Christianity, her smooth sophistry (for reason she has none) may deceive men into wrong thoughts of Christ,—nay, since she hath already seduced certain of the foolish, not only to corrupt their ears, but even to take and eat with Eve, till in their ignorance which ensues they think bitter sweet, and admire this loathsome heresy, on this account I have thought it necessary, at your request, to unrip *the folds of its breast-plate*, and to shew the ill-savour of its folly. So while those who are far from it, may continue to shun it, those whom it has deceived may repent; and, opening the eyes of their heart, may understand that darkness is not light, nor falsehood truth, nor Arianism good; nay, that those^d who call

Job 41,
4. Sept.

^c vid. infr. § 4 fin. That heresies before the Arian appealed to Scripture we learn from Tertullian, de Præscr. 42. who warns Catholics against indulging themselves in their own view of isolated texts against the voice of the Catholic Church. vid. also Vincentius, who specifies *obiter* Sabellius and Novatian. Commonit. 2. Still Arianism was contrasted with other heresies on this point, as in these two respects; (1.) they appealed to a *secret tradition*, unknown, even to most of the Apostles, as the Gnostics, Iren. Hær. iii. 1 [p. 205 O.T.], or they professed a gift of prophecy introducing fresh *revelations*, as Montanists, supr. p. 78. and Manichees, Aug. contr. Faust. xxxii. 6. (2.) The Arians availed themselves of certain texts as objections, argued keenly and plausibly from them, and would not be driven from them. Orat. ii. § 18. c. Epiph. Hær. 69. 15. Or rather they took some words of Scripture, and made their own deductions from them; viz. "Son," "made," "exalted," &c. "Making their private irreligiousness as if a rule, they misinterpret all the divine oracles by it." Orat. i. § 52 [infr. p. 256]. vid. also Epiph. Hær. 76. 5 fin. Hence we hear so much of their *θρυλληταί φωναί, λέξεις, ἔπη, ῥητὰ*, sayings in general circulation, which were commonly founded on some particular text. e.g. infr. § 22 [p. 213] "amply

providing themselves with words of craft, they used to go about, &c. *περιήρχοντο.*" vid. supr. p. 22. note γ. Also *ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιφέροντες*, de decr. § 13. *τῷ ῥήτῳ τε θρυλληταί τὰ πανταχοῦ.* Orat. 2. § 18 [p. 307]. *τὸ πολυθρύλλητον σόφισμα*, Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 14. *τὴν πολυθρύλλητον διαλεκτικὴν*, Nysen. contr. Eun. iii. p. 125. *τὴν θρυλλουμένην ἀπορροήν*, Cyril. Dial. iv. p. 505. *τὴν πολυθρύλλητον φάνην*, Socr. ii. 43.

^d These Orations or Discourses seem written to shew the vital importance of the point in controversy, and the unchristian character of the heresy, without reference to the word *δομοῦσιον*. He has insisted in the works above translated, p. 130. ref. 2. that the enforcement of the symbol was but the rejection of the heresy, and accordingly he is here content to bring out the Catholic sense, as feeling that, if persons understood and embraced it, they would not scruple at the word. He seems to allude to what may be called the liberal or indifferent feeling as swaying the person for whom he writes, also infr. § 7 fin. § 9. § 10 init. § 15 fin. § 17. § 21. § 23. He mentions in Apollin. i. 6. one Rhetorius, who was an Egyptian, whose opinion, he says, it was "fearful to mention." S. Augustine tells us that this man taught that "all

these men Christians, are in great and grievous error, as neither having studied Scripture, nor understanding Christianity at all, and the faith which it contains. CHAP. I.

2. For what have they discovered in this heresy like to the religious Faith, that they vainly talk as if its supporters said no evil? This in truth is to call even Caiaphas¹ a Christian, and to reckon the traitor Judas still among the Apostles, and to say that they who asked Barabbas instead of the Saviour did no evil, and to recommend Hymenæus and Alexander as right-minded men, and as if the Apostle slandered them. But neither can a Christian bear to hear this, nor can he consider the man who dared to say it sane in his understanding. For with them for Christ is Arius, as with the Manichees Manichæus; and for Moses and the other saints they have made the discovery of one Sotades², a man whom even Gentiles laugh at, and of the daughter of Herodias. For of the one has Arius imitated the dissolute and effeminate tone, in the Thalias which he has written after him; and the other he has rivalled in her dance, reeling and frolicking in his blasphemies against the Saviour; till the victims of his heresy lose their wits and go foolish, and change the Name of the Lord of glory into the likeness of the *image of corruptible man*³, and for Christians⁴ come to be called Arians, bearing this badge of their irreligion. § 2.

3. For let them not excuse themselves; nor retort their disgrace on those who are not as they, calling Christians after the names of their teachers^c, that they themselves may

heresies were in the right path, and spoke truth," "which," he adds, "is so absurd as to seem to me incredible."

Hær. 72. vid. also Philastr. Hær. 91.

^c He seems to allude to Catholics being called Athanasians; vid. however p. 181, ref. 1. Two distinctions are drawn between such a title as applied to Catholics, and again to heretics, when they are taken by Catholics as a note against them. S. Augustine says, "Arians call Catholics Athanasians or Homoüsians, not other heretics too. But ye not only by Catholics but also by heretics, those who agree with you and those who disagree, are called Pelagians; as even by heresies are Arians called Arians. But ye, and ye only, call us Traducianists, as Arians

call us Homoüsians, as Donatists Marcians, as Manichees Pharisees, and as the other heretics use various titles."

Op. imp. i. 75. It may be added that the heretical name *adheres*, the Catholic dies away. S. Chrysostom draws a second distinction, "Are we divided from the Church? have we heresiarchs? are we called from man? is there any leader to us, as to one there is Marcion, to another Manichæus, to another Arius, to another some other author of heresy? for if we too have the name of any, still it is not those who began the heresy, but our superiors and governors of the Church. We have not 'teachers upon earth,'" &c. in Act. Ap. Hom. 33 fin. [p. 466 O.T.]

¹ de Decr. § 2, p. 4; § 24, p. 41; § 27, p. 48.

² p. 94, note a.

³ vid. Hil. de Trin. viii. 28. Rom. 1, 25. ⁴ p. 27, note h.

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appear to have that Name in the same way. Nor let them make a jest of it, when they feel shame at their disgraceful appellation; rather, if they be ashamed, let them hide their faces, or let them recoil from their own irreligion. For never at any time did Christian people take their title from the Bishops¹ among them, but from the Lord, on whom we rest our faith. Thus, though the blessed Apostles have become our teachers, and have ministered the Saviour's Gospel, yet not from them have we our title, but from Christ we are and are named Christians. But for those who derive the faith which they profess from others, good reason is it they should bear their name, whose property they have become^f. Yes surely; while all of us are and are called

¹ vid. however p. 179, note e, fin.

§ 3.

^f vid. foregoing note. Also, "Let us become His disciples, and learn to live according to Christianity; for whoso is called by other name besides this, is not of God." Ignat. ad Magn. 10. Hege- sippus speaks of "Menandrians, and Marcionites, and Carpocratians, and Valentinians, and Basilidians, and Saturnilians," who "each in his own way and that a different one brought in his own doctrine." Euseb. Hist. iv. 22. "There are, and there have been, my friends, many who have taught atheistic and blasphemous words and deeds, coming in the Name of Jesus; and they are called by us from the appellation of the men, whence each doctrine and opinion began. . . . Some are called Marcians, others Valentinians, others Basilidians, others Saturnilians," &c. Justin. Tryph. 35 [pp. 113, 114 O.T.]. "They have a name from the author of that most impious opinion Simon, being called Simonians." Iren. Hær. i. 23 [p. 70 O.T.]. "When men are called Phrygians, or Novatians, or Valentinians, or Marcionites, or Anthropians, or by any other name, they cease to be Christians; for they have lost Christ's Name, and clothe themselves in human and foreign titles." Lact. Inst. iv. 30. "A. How are you a Christian, to whom it is not even granted to bear the name of Christian? for you are not called Christian but Marcionite. M. And you are called of the Catholic Church; therefore ye are not Christians either. A. Did we profess man's name, you would have spoken to the point; but if we are called from being all over the world, what is there bad in this?" Adamant.

Dial. § 1. p. 809. "We never heard of Petrines, or Paulines, or Bartholomeans, or Thaddeans, but from the first there was one preaching of all the Apostles, not preaching them, but Christ Jesus the Lord. Wherefore also they all gave one name to the Church, not their own, but that of their Lord Jesus Christ, since they began to be called Christians first at Antioch; which is the sole Catholic Church, having nought else but Christ's, being a Church of Christians, not of Christs, but of Christians; He being one, they from that one being called Christians. After this Church and her preachers, all others are no longer of the same character, making show by their own epithets, Manichæans, and Simonians, and Valentinians, and Ebionites." Epiph. Hær. 42. p. 366. "This is the fearful thing, that they change the name of Christians of the Holy Church, which hath no epithet but the name of Christ alone, and of Christians, to be called by the name of Audius," &c. *ibid.* 70. 15. vid. also Hær. 75. 6 fin. "Since one might properly and truly say that there is a 'Church of evil doers,' I mean the meetings of the heretics, the Marcionists, and Manichees, and the rest, the faith hath delivered to thee by way of security the Article, 'And in One Holy Catholic Church,' that thou mayest avoid their wretched meetings; and ever abide with the Holy Church Catholic, in which thou wast regenerated. And if ever thou art sojourning in any city, inquire not simply where the Lord's House is, (for the sects of the profane also make an

Christians after Christ, Marcion broached a heresy time since and was cast out; and those who continued with the Bishop who ejected him remained Christians; but those who followed Marcion, were called Christians no more, but henceforth Marcionites. Thus Valentinus also, and Basilides, and Manichæus, and Simon Magus, have imparted their own name to their followers; and are accosted as Valentinians, or as Basilidians, or as Manichees, or as Simonians; and others, Cataphrygians from Phrygia, and from Novatus Novatians. So too Meletius, when ejected by Peter the Bishop and Martyr, called his party no longer Christians, but Meletians^s; and so in consequence when Alexander of blessed memory had cast out Arius, those who remained with Alexander, remained Christians; but those who went out with Arius, left the Saviour's Name to us who were with Alexander, and as to them they were henceforward denominated Arians. Behold then, after Alexander's death too, those who communicate with his successor Athanasius, and those with whom the said Athanasius communicates, are instances of the same rule; none of them bear his name¹, nor is he named from them, but all in like manner, and as is usual, are called Christians. For though we have

¹ vid. however p. 179, note e.

attempt to call their own dens, houses of the Lord,) nor merely where the Church is, but where is the Catholic Church. For this is the peculiar name of this Holy Body," &c. Cyril Cat. xviii. 26 [p. 252 O.T.]. "Were I by chance to enter a populous city, I should in this day find Marcionites, Apollinarians, Cataphrygians, Novatians, and other such, who called themselves Christian; by what surname should I recognise the congregation of my own people, were it not called Catholic? . . . Certainly that word 'Catholic' is not borrowed from man, which has survived through so many ages, nor as the sound of Marcion or Apelles or Montanus, nor takes heretics for its authors. Christian is my name, Catholic my surname." Pacian. Ep. 1 [pp. 321, 322 O.T.]. "If you ever hear those who are called Christians, named, not from the Lord Jesus Christ, but from some one else, say Marcionites, Valentinians,

Mountaineers, Campestrians, know that it is not Christ's Church, but the synagogue of Antichrist." Jerom. adv. Lucif. fin.

^s vid. supr. p. 89, note m. Meletius was Bishop of Lycopolis in the Thebais, in the first year of the fourth century. He was convicted of sacrificing to idols in the persecution, and deposed by a Council under Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, and subsequently martyr. Meletius separated from his communion, and commenced a schism; at the time of the Nicene Council it included as many as twenty-eight or thirty Bishops; in the time of Theodoret, a century and quarter later, it included a number of Monks. Though not heterodox, they supported the Arians on their first appearance, in their contest with the Catholics. The Council of Nicaea, instead of deposing them, allowed their Bishops a titular rank in their sees, but forbade them to exercise their functions.

Disc.
I. a succession of teachers and become their disciples, yet, because we are taught by them the things of Christ, we both are, and are called, Christians all the same. But those who follow the heretics, though they have innumerable successors in their heresy, yet for certain bear the name of him who devised it. Thus, though Arius be dead, and many of his party have succeeded him, yet those who think with him, as being known from Arius, are called Arians. And, what is a remarkable evidence of this, those of the Greeks who even at this time come into the Church, on giving up the superstition of idols, take the name, not of their catechists, but of the Saviour, and are henceforth for Greeks called Christians; while those of them who go off to the heretics, and again all who from the Church change to this heresy, abandon Christ's name, and at once are called Arians, as no longer holding Christ's faith, but having inherited Arius's madness.

§ 4. 4. How then can they be Christians, who for Christians are Ario-maniacs^h? or how are they of the Catholic Church, who have shaken off the Apostolical faith, and become authors of what is new and evil? who, after abandoning the oracles of divine Scripture, call Arius's *Thalias* a new wisdom? and with reason too, for they are announcing a new heresy. And hence a man may marvel, that, whereas many have written many treatises and abundant homilies upon the Old Testament and the New, yet in none of them is a *Thalia* found; nay nor among the more respectable of the Gentiles, but among those only who sing such strains over their cups, amid cheers and jokes, when men are merry, that the rest may laugh; till this marvellous Arius, taking no grave pattern, and ignorant even of what is respectable, while he stole largely from other heresies, would be original in the ludicrous, with none but Sotades for his rival. For what beseemed him more, when he would dance forth against the Saviour, than to throw his wretched words of irreligion into dissolute and abandoned metres? that, while a *man*,

vid.
Eccles.
4, 24.

^h vid. p. 91, note q. Manes also was called mad; "Thou must hate all heretics, but especially him who even in name is a maniac." Cyril. Catech. vi. 20 [p. 70 O.T.]. vid. also ibid. 24 fin.—a play upon the name, vid. p. 114, note b.

as Wisdom says, *is known from the utterance of his word*, so from those numbers should be seen the writer's effeminate soul and corruption of thought¹. In truth, that crafty one did not escape detection; but, for all his many writings to and fro, like the serpent, he did but fall into the error of the Pharisees. They, that they might transgress the Law, pretended to be anxious for the words of the Law, and that they might deny the expected and then present Lord, were hypocritical with God's name, and were convicted of blaspheming when they said, *Why dost Thou, being a man, make Thyself God*, and sayest, *I and the Father are one*? And so too, this counterfeit and Sotadean Arius, feigns to speak of God, introducing Scripture language¹, but is on

CHAP.
I.

John 10,
33.

¹ p. 178,
note c.

¹ It is very difficult to gain a clear idea of the character of Arius. Athanasius speaks as if his Thalia was but a token of his personal laxity, and certainly the mere fact of his having written it seems incompatible with any remarkable seriousness and strictness. Yet Constantine and Epiphanius speak of him in very different terms, yet each in his own way, in the following extracts. It is possible that Constantine is only declaiming, for his whole invective is like a school exercise or fancy composition. Constantine too had not seen Arius at the time of this invective which was prior to the Nicene Council, and his account of him is inconsistent with itself, for he also uses the very strong and broad language about Arius quoted *supr.* p. 94, note a. "Look then, look all men, what words of lament he is now professing, being held with the bite of the serpent; how his veins and flesh are possessed with poison, and are in a ferment of severe pain; how his whole body is wasted, and is all withered and sad and pale and shaking, and all that is miserable, and fearfully emaciated. How hateful to see, and filthy is his mass of hair, how he is half dead all over, with falling eyes, and bloodless countenance, and woe-begone! so that all these things combining in him at once, frenzy, madness, and folly, for the countenance of the complaint, have made thee wild and savage. But not having any sense, what bad plight he is in, he cries out, 'I am transported with delight, and I leap and skip for joy, and I fly:' and again, with boyish impetuosity, 'Be it so,' he says, 'we are

lost.'" *Harduin. Conc. t. i. p. 457.* Perhaps this strange account may be taken to illustrate the words "mania" and "Ario-maniacs." S. Alexander too speaks of Arius's melancholic temperament, *μελαγχολικοῖς ἡρμωσμένῃς δόξης κενῆς*. *Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 741.* S. Basil also speaks of the Eunomians as *εἰς λαμπρὰν μελαγχολίαν παρενεχθέντας*. *contr. Eun. ii. 24.* Elsewhere he speaks of the Pneumatomachists as worse than *μελαγχολῶντες*. *de Sp. S. 41.* Epiphanius's account of Arius is as follows:—"From elation of mind the old man swerved from the mark. He was in stature very tall, downcast in visage, with manners like wily serpent, captivating to every guileless heart by that same crafty bearing. For ever habited in cloke and vest, he was pleasant of address, ever persuading souls and flattering; wherefore what was his very first work but to withdraw from the Church in one body as many as seven hundred women who professed virginity?" *Hær. 69. 3.* Arius is here said to have been tall; Athanasius, on the other hand, would appear to have been short, if we may so interpret Julian's indignant description of him, *μηδὲ ἀνὴρ, ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπίσκος ἐντελής*, "not even a man, but a common little fellow." *Ep. 51.* Yet S. Gregory Nazianzen speaks of him as "high in prowess, and humble in spirit, mild, meek, full of sympathy, pleasant in speech, more pleasant in manners, *angelical in person*, more angelical in mind, serene in his rebukes, instructive in his praises," &c. &c. *Orat. 21. 9.*

Disc. all sides recognised as godless^k Arius, denying the Son, and
 1. reckoning Him among the creatures.

^k And so godless or atheist Aetius, supr. p. 81. vid. p. 3, note f. for an explanation of the word. In like manner Athan. says, ad Serap. iii. 2. that if a man says "that the Son is a creature, who is Word and Wisdom, and the Expression, and the Radiance, whom whoso seeth seeth the Father," he falls under the text, "Whoso denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father." "Such a one," he continues, "will in no long time say, as the fool, *There is no God.*" In like manner he speaks of those who think the Son to be the Spirit as "without (ἐξω) the Holy Trinity, and *atheists.*" (Serap. iv. 6.) because they really do not believe in the God *that is*, and there is none other but He. And so again, "As the faith delivered [in the Holy Trinity] is one, and this unites us to God, and he who takes ought from the Trinity, and is baptized in the sole Name of the Father or of the Son, or

in Father and Son without the Spirit, gains nothing, but remains empty and incomplete, both he and the professed administrator, (for in the Trinity is the completion, [initiation,]) so who-so divides the Son from the Father, or degrades the Spirit to the creatures, hath neither the Son nor the Father, but is *an atheist* and worse than an infidel and any thing but a Christian." Serap. i. 30. Eustathius speaks of the Arias as ἀνθρώπους ἀθέους, who were attempting κρατῆσαι τοῦ θεοῦ. ap. Theod. Hist. i. 7. p. 760. Naz. speaks of the heathen πολύθεος ἀθεία. Orat. 25. 15. and he calls faith and regeneration "a denial of atheism, ἀθείας, and a confession of godhead, θεότητος," Grat. 23. 12. He calls Lucius, the Alexandrian Anti-pope, on account of his *cruelties*, "this second Arius, the more copio is river of the atheistic spring, τῆς ἀθείου πηγῆς." Orat. 25. 11. Palladius, the Imperial officer, is ἀνὴρ ἄθεος. ibid. 12.

CHAP. II.

EXTRACTS FROM THE THALIA OF ARIUS.

Arius maintains that God became a Father, and the Son was not always; the Son out of nothing; once He was not; He was not before His generation; He was created; named Wisdom and Word after God's attributes; made that He might make us; one out of many powers of God; alterable; exalted on God's foreknowledge what He was to be; not very God; but called so as others by participation; foreign in substance from the Father; does not know or see the Father; does not know Himself.

1. Now the commencement of Arius's Thalia and flippancy, effeminate in tone and nature, runs thus:—

CHAP.
II.
§ 5.

“According to faith of God's elect, God's prudent ones,
Holy children, rightly dividing, God's Holy Spirit receiving,
Have I learned this from the partakers of wisdom,
Accomplished, divinely taught, and wise in all things.
Along their track, have I been walking, with like opinions,
I the very famous, the much suffering for God's glory;
And taught of God, I have acquired wisdom and knowledge.”

And the mockeries which he utters in it, repulsive and most irreligious, are such as these¹:—“God was not always a Father;” but “once God was alone and not yet a Father, but afterwards He became a Father.” “The Son was not always;” for, whereas all things were made out of nothing, and all existing creatures and works were made, so the Word of God Himself was “made out of nothing,” and “once He was not,” and “He was not before His generation,” but He as others “had an origin of creation.” “For God,” he says, “was alone, and the Word as yet was not, nor the Wisdom. Then, wishing to frame us, thereupon He made a certain one, and named Him Word and Wisdom and Son, that He might form us by means of Him.” Accordingly, he says that there are two wisdoms, first,

¹ de Syn.
§ 15.
p. 94.

Disc.
I.

the attribute coexistent with God, and next, that in this Wisdom the Son was generated, and was only named Wisdom and Word as partaking of it. "For Wisdom," saith he, "by the will of the wise God, had its existence in Wisdom." In like manner, he says, that there is another Word in God besides the Son, and that the Son again as partaking of it, is named Word and Son according to grace. And this too is an idea proper to their heresy, as shewn in other works of theirs, that there are many powers; one of which is God's own by nature and eternal; but that Christ, on the other hand, is not the true power of God; but, as others, one of the so-called powers, one of which, namely, the locust and the caterpillar¹, is called in Scripture, not merely the power, but the *great power*. The others are many and are like the Son, and of them David speaks in the Psalms, when he says, *The Lord of hosts or powers*. And by nature, as all others, so the Word Himself is alterable, and remains good by His own free will, while He chooseth; when, however, He wills, He can alter as we can, as being of an alterable nature. For "therefore," saith he, "as foreknowing that He would be good, did God by anticipation bestow on Him this glory, which afterwards, as man, He attained from virtue. Thus in consequence of His works fore-known², did God bring it to pass that He, being such, should come to be."

¹ de Syn.
§ 18, p.
101.
Joel 2,
25.
Ps. 24,
10.

² p. 11,
ref. 1; p.
114,
note c.
§ 6.

2. Moreover he has dared to say, that "the Word is not the very God;" "though He is called God, yet He is not very God," but "by participation of grace, He, as others, is God only in name." And, whereas all beings are foreign and different from God in substance, so too is "the Word alien and unlike in all things to the Father's substance and propriety," but belongs to things generated and created, and is one of these. Afterwards, as though he had succeeded to the devil's recklessness, he has stated in his Thalia, that "even to the Son the Father is invisible," and "the Word cannot perfectly and exactly either see or know His own Father;" but even what He knows and what He sees, He knows and sees "in proportion to His own measure," as we also know according to our own power. For the Son, too, he says, not only knows not the Father exactly, for He fails

in comprehension^a, but “He knows not even His own substance;”—and that “the substances of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, are separate in nature, and estranged, and disconnected, and alien¹, and without participation of each other²,” and, in his own words, “utterly unlike from each other in substance and glory, unto infinity.” Thus as to “likeness of glory and substance,” he says that the Word is entirely diverse from both the Father and the Holy Ghost. With such words hath the irreligious spoken; maintaining that the Son is distinct by Himself, and in no respect partaker of the Father. These are portions of Arius’s fables as they occur in that jocose composition.

3. Who is there that hears all this, nay, the metre of the Thalia, but must hate, and justly hate, this Arius jesting on such matters as on a stage³? who but must regard him, when he pretends to name God and speak of God, but as the serpent counselling the woman? who, on reading what follows in his work, but must discern in his irreligious doctrine that error, into which by his sophistries the serpent in the sequel seduced the woman? who at such blasphemies is not transported? *The heaven, as the Prophet says, was astonished, and the earth shuddered* at the transgression of the Law. But the sun, with greater horror once, impatient of the bodily contumelies, which the common Lord of all voluntarily endured for us, turned away, and recalling his rays made that day sunless. And shall not all human kind

CHAP.
II.

¹ p. 43,
note b.
² p. 95,
note d.

§ 7.

³ Ep.
Encycl.
6.
Epiph.
Hær. 73.
1.

Jer. 2,
12. Sept.

^a Vid. *supr.* p. 96, note f. *κατάληψις* was originally a Stoical word, and even when considered perfect, was, properly speaking, attributable only to an imperfect being. For it is used in contrast to the Platonic doctrine of *ἰδεαί*, to express the hold of things obtained by the mind through the senses; it being a Stoical maxim, nihil esse in intellectu quod non fuerit prius in sensu. In this sense it is also used by the Fathers, to mean real and certain knowledge after inquiry, though it is also ascribed to Almighty God. As to the position of Arius, since we are told in Scripture that none “knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of man which is in him,” if *κατάληψις* be an exact and complete knowledge of the object of contemplation, to deny that the Son

comprehended the Father, was to deny that He was in the Father, i.e. the doctrine of the *περιχώρησις*. p. 95, note d. or to maintain that He was a distinct, and therefore a created, being. On the other hand Scripture asserts that, as the Holy Spirit which is in God, “searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God,” so the Son, as being “in the bosom of the Father,” alone “hath declared Him.” *vid.* Clement. Strom. v. 12. And thus Athan. speaking of Mark xiii. 32, “If the Son is in the Father, and the Father in the Son, and the Father knows the day and the hour, it is plain that the Son too, being in the Father, and knowing the things in the Father, Himself also knows the day and the hour.” Orat. iii. 44 [*infra* p. 463].

Disc. I. at Arius's blasphemies be struck speechless, and stop their ears, and shut their eyes, to escape hearing them or seeing their author? Rather, will not the Lord Himself have reason to denounce men so irreligious, nay, so unthankful, in the words which He hath already uttered by the prophet Hosea, *Woe unto them, for they have fled from Me; destruction upon them, for they have transgressed against Me; though I have redeemed them, yet they have spoken lies against Me.*

Hos. 7, 13.

Ib. 15. And soon after, *They imagine mischief against Me; they turn away to nothing.* For to turn away from the Word of God, which is, and to fashion to themselves one that is not, is to fall to what is nothing. For this was why the Ecumenical¹ Council, when Arius thus spoke, cast him from the Church, and anathematized him, as impatient of such irreligion. And ever since has Arius's error been reckoned for a heresy more than ordinary, being known as Christ's foe², and harbinger³ of Antichrist. Though then so great a condemnation be itself of special weight to make men flee from that irreligious heresy^b, as I said above, yet since certain persons called Christian, either in ignorance or pretence, think it as I then said, little different from the Truth, and call its professors Christians⁴; proceed we to put some questions to them, according to our powers, thereby to expose the unscrupulousness of the heresy. Perhaps, when thus encountered, they will be silenced, and flee from it, as from the sight of a serpent.

¹ p. 49,
note o.

² p. 6,
note n.

³ p. 177,
ref. 4.

⁴ p. 179,
ref. 4.

^b And so Vigilus of the heresies hæretici sunt pronuntiati, orthodoxorum securitati sufficeret. contr. Eutyeh. i. p. 494.

CHAP. III.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT.

The Arians affect Scripture language, but their doctrine new, as well as unscriptural. Statement of the Catholic doctrine, that the Son is proper to the Father's substance, and eternal. Restatement of Arianism in contrast, that He is a creature with a beginning: the controversy comes to this issue, whether one whom we are to believe in as God, can be so in name only, and is merely a creature. What pretence then for being indifferent in the controversy? The Arians rely on state patronage, and dare not avow their tenets.

1. IF then the use of certain phrases of divine Scripture changes, in their opinion, the blasphemy of the Thalia into blessing, of course they ought also to deny Christ with the present Jews, when they see how they study the Law and the Prophets; perhaps too they will deny the Law¹ and the Prophets like Manichees^a, because the latter read some portions of the Gospels. If such bewilderment and empty speaking be from ignorance, Scripture will teach them, that the devil, the author of heresies, because of the ill-savour which attaches to evil, borrows Scripture language, as a cloak wherewith to sow the ground with his own poison, and to seduce the simple. Thus he deceived Eve; thus he framed former heresies; thus he has persuaded Arius at this time to make a show of speaking against those former ones, that he may introduce his own without observation. And yet, after all, the man of craft hath not escaped. For being irreligious towards the Word of God, he lost his all at once², and betrayed to all men his ignorance of other heresies too^b; and having not a particle of truth in his belief,

CHAP.
III.
§ 8.

¹ p. 130,
ref. 1.

² p. 2,
note e.

^a Faustus, in August. contr. Faust. ii. 1. admits the Gospels, (vid. Beausobre Manich. t. i. p. 291, &c.) but denies that they were written by the reputed authors. *ibid.* xxxii. 2. but *nescio quibus Semi-judæis.* *ibid.* xxxiii. 3. Accordingly they thought themselves at liberty to reject or correct parts of them. They rejected many of the facts, e.g. our Lord's nativity, cir-

cumcision, baptism, temptation, &c. *ibid.* xxxii. 6.

^b All heresies seem connected together and to run into each other. When the mind has embraced one, it is almost certain to run into others, apparently the most opposite, it is quite uncertain which. Thus Arians were a reaction from Sabellians, yet did not the less consider than they that

Disc.
1.

does but pretend to it. For how can he speak truth concerning the Father, who denies the Son, that reveals concerning Him? or how can he be orthodox concerning the Spirit, while he speaks profanely of the Word that supplies the Spirit? and who will trust him concerning the Resurrection, denying, as he does, Christ for us the first-begotten from the dead? and how shall he not err in respect to His incarnate presence¹, who is simply ignorant of the Son's genuine and true generation from the Father? For thus, the former Jews also, denying the Word, and saying, *We have no king but Cæsar*, were forthwith stripped of all they had, and forfeited the light of the Lamp, the odour of ointment, knowledge of prophecy, and the Truth itself; till now they understand nothing, but are walking as in darkness. For who was ever yet a hearer of such a doctrine²? or whence or from whom did the abettors and hirelings^c of the heresy

¹ ἐνσάρκου παρ-
ουσίας

² p. 12,
note γ.

God was but one Person, and that Christ was a creature, *supr.* p. 41, note e. Apollinaris was betrayed into his heresy by opposing the Arians, yet his heresy started with the tenet in which the Arians ended, that Christ had no human soul. His disciples became, and even naturally, some of them Sabellians, some Arians. Again, beginning with denying our Lord a soul, he came to deny Him a body, like the Manichees and Docetæ. The same passages from Athanasius will be found to refute both Eutylians and Nestorians, though diametrically opposed to each other: and these agreed together, not only in considering nature and person identical, but, strange to say, in holding, and the Apollinarians too, that our Lord's manhood existed before its union with Him, which is the special heresy of Nestorius. Again, the Nestorians were closely connected with the Sabellians and Samosatenes, and the latter with the Photinians and modern Socinians. And the Nestorians were connected with the Pelagians; and Acrius, who denied Episcopacy and prayers for the dead, with the Arians; and his opponent the Semarian Eustathius with the Eneerates. One reason of course of this peculiarity of heresy is, that when the mind is once unsettled, it may fall into any error. Another is that it *is* heresy; all heresies being secretly connected, as

in temper, so in certain primary principles. And, lastly, the Truth only is a *real* doctrine, and therefore stable; every thing false is of a transitory nature and has no stay, like reflections in a stream, one opinion continually passing into another, and creations being but the first stages of dissolution. Hence so much is said in the Fathers of orthodoxy being a narrow way. Thus S. Gregory speaks of the middle and "royal" way. *Orat.* 32. 6. also Damasc. *contr. Jacob.* t. 1. p. 398. *vid.* also Leon. *Ep.* 85. l. p. 1051. *Ep.* 129. p. 1254. "levissimâ adjecione corrumpitur." also *Serm.* 25. l. p. 83. also *Vigil.* in Eutyeh. i. *init.* Quasi inter duos latrones crucifigitur Dominus, &c. *Novat. Trin.* 30. *vid.* the promise, "Thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, *when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left.*" *Is.* xxx. 21.

^c δωροδόκοι. and so κέρδος τῆς φιλοχρηματίας, *infr.* § 53. He mentions προστασίας φίλων, § 10. And so S. Hilary speaks of the exemptions from taxes which Constantius granted the Clergy as a bribe to Arianize; "You concede taxes as Cæsar, thereby to invite Christians to a denial; you remit what is your own, that we may lose what is God's." *contr. Const.* 10. And again, of resisting Constantius as *hostem blandientem, qui non dorsa*

gain it? who thus expounded to them when they were at school¹? who told them, "Abandon the worship of the creation, and then draw near and worship a creature and a work^d?" But if they themselves own that they have heard it now for the first time, how can they deny that this heresy is foreign, and not from our fathers²? But what is not from our fathers, but has come to light in this day, how can it be but that of which the blessed Paul has foretold, that *in the latter times some shall depart from the sound³ faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, in the hypocrisy of liars; cauterized in their own conscience, and turning from the truth^e*

CHAP. III.

¹ p. 76, note i; de Syn. § 9. p. 84. ² p. 78, note o. ³ ἡγία- νούσης. Socrat. i. 6. ⁴ 1 Tim. 4, 1. 2. Tit. 1, 14.

2. For, behold, we take divine Scripture, and thence dis- course with freedom of the religious Faith, and set it up as a light upon its candlestick, saying:—Very Son of the Father, natural and genuine, proper to His substance, Wisdom Only-begotten, and Very and Only Word of God is He; not a creature or work, but an offspring proper to the Father's substance. Wherefore He is very God, existing one in substance⁴ with the very Father; while other beings, to whom

§ 9.

⁴ ὁμοού- σιος

cædit, sed ventrem palpat, non proscribit ad vitam, sed datit in mortem, non caput gladio desecat, sed animum auro occidit. *ibid.* 5. vid. Coustant. in loc. Liberius says the same, Theod. Hist. ii. 13. And S. Gregory Naz. speaks of φιλοχρόσους μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοχρίστους. Orat. 21. 21. On the other hand, Ep. Æg. 22. Athan. contrasts the Arians with the Meletians, as not influenced by secular views. But it is obvious that there were, as was natural, two classes of men in the heretical party;—the fanatical class who began the heresy and were its real life, such as Arius, and afterwards the Anomœans, in whom misbelief was a "mania;" and the Eusebians, who cared little for a theory of doctrine or consistency of profession, compared with their own aggrandizement. With these must be counted numbers, who conformed to Arianism lest they should suffer temporal loss.

^e This passage is commonly taken by the Fathers to refer to the Oriental sects of the early centuries, who fulfilled one or other of those conditions which it specifies. It is quoted against the Marcionists by Clement. Strom. iii. 6. Of the Carpocratians apparently, Iren. Hær. i. 25 [p. 75 O.T.]; Epiph. Hær. 27. 5. Of the Valentinians, Epiph. Hær. 31. 34. Of the Montanists and others, *ibid.* 48. 8. Of the Saturnilians (according to Huet.) Origen in Matt. xiv. 16. Of apostolic heretics, Cyril. Cat. iv. 27. Of Marcionites, Valentinians, and Manichees, Chrysost. de Virg. 5. Of Gnostics and Manichees, Theod. Hær. ii. præf. Of Encratites, *ibid.* v. fin. Of Eutyches, Ep. Anon. 190. (apud Garner. Diss. v. Theod. p. 901.) Pseudo-Justin seems to consider it fulfilled in the Catholics of the fifth century, as being Anti-pelagians. Quæst. 22. vid. Bened. note in loc. Besides Athanasius, no early author occurs to the writer of this, by whom it is referred to the Arians, except S. Alexander's Letter ap. Socr. i. 6. and, if he may hazard the conjecture, there is much in that letter like Athan.'s own writing.

^d vid. p. 3, note f. fin. This consideration, as might be expected, is insisted on by the Fathers, vid. Cyril. Dial. iv. p. 511, &c. v. p. 566. Greg. Naz. 40. 42; Hil. Trin. viii. 28; Ambros. de fid. i. n. 69 and 104.

Disc. He said, *I said ye are Gods*, had this grace from the Father, only by participation¹ of the Word, through the Spirit. For
 I. He is the *expression* of the Father's *Person*, and *Light* from
¹ de Decr. § 14 fin.;
 de Syn. p. 51.
 §. 151. For this too the Lord has said, *He that hath seen Me, hath*
 John 14, *seen the Father*. And He ever was and is, and never was
 9. not. For the Father being everlasting, His Word and His
 2 p. 25, Wisdom must be everlasting².
 note c.

3. On the other hand, what have these persons to shew us from the infamous Thalia? Or, first of all, let them study it themselves, and copy the tone of the writer; at least the mockery which they will encounter from others may instruct them how low they have fallen; and then let them proceed to explain themselves. For what can they say from it, but that "God was not always a Father, but became so afterwards; the Son was not always, for He was not before His generation; He is not from the Father, but He, as others, has come into subsistence out of nothing; He is not proper to the Father's substance, for He is a creature and work?" And "Christ is not very God, but He, as others, was made God by participation; the Son has not exact knowledge of the Father, nor does the Word see the Father perfectly; and neither exactly understands nor knows the Father. He is not the very and only Word of the Father, but is in name only called Word and Wisdom, and is called by grace Son and Power. He is not unalterable, as the Father is, but alterable in nature, as the creatures, and He comes short of perfect knowledge of the Father for comprehension." Wonderful this heresy, not plausible even, but making speculations against Him that is, that He be not, and every where putting forward blasphemy for blessing! Were any one, after inquiring into both sides, to be asked, whether of the two he would follow in faith, or whether of the two spoke fitly of God,—or rather let them say themselves, these abettors of irreligion, what, if a man be asked concerning God, (for *the Word was God*,) it were fit to answer^f. For from this one question the whole case on both sides may be

^f That is, "Let them tell us, is it such is the Word, viz. that He was right to predicate this or to predicate from eternity or was created," &c. &c. that of God, (of One who is God,) for

determined, what is fitting to say,—He was, or He was not; always, or before His birth; eternal, or from this and from then; true, or by adoption, and from participation and in idea¹; to call Him one of things generated, or to unite Him to the Father; to consider Him unlike the Father in substance, or like and proper to Him; a creature, or Him through whom the creatures were generated; that He is the Father's Word, or that there is another Word beside Him, and that by this other He was generated, and by another Wisdom; and that He is only named Wisdom and Word, and is become a partaker of this Wisdom, and second to it?

CHAP. III.
¹ κατ' ἐπινοίαν, vid. Orat. ii. § 38.

4. Which of the two theologies sets forth our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Son of the Father, this with which ye have burst forth, or that which we have spoken and maintain from the Scriptures? If the Saviour be not God, nor Word, nor Son, you shall have leave to say what you will, and so shall the Gentiles, and the present Jews. But if He be Word of the Father and true Son, and God from God, and *over all blessed for ever*, is it not becoming to obliterate and blot out those other phrases and that Arian Thalia, as but a pattern of evil, a store of all irreligion, into which, whoso falls, *knoweth not that the dead are there, and that her guests are in the depths of hell?* This they know themselves, and in their craft they conceal it, not having the courage to speak out, but uttering something else². For should they speak, a condemnation would follow; and should they be suspected, proofs from Scripture will be cast³ at them from every side. Wherefore, in their craft, as children of this world, after feeding their so-called lamp from the wild olive, and fearing lest it should soon be quenched, (for it is said, *the light of the wicked shall be put out*,) they hide it under the bushel⁴ of their hypocrisy, and make a different profession, and boast of patronage of friends and authority of Constantius⁵, that what with their hypocrisy and their boasts, those who come to them may be kept from seeing how foul their heresy is. Is it not detestable even in this, that it dares not speak out, but is kept hid by its own friends, and fostered as serpents are? for from what sources have they got together⁶ these words? or from whom have they received what they venture to say⁷? Not any one man can they specify who has supplied

§ 10.
Rom. 9, 5.
Prov. 9, 18.
² p. 10, note u; p. 127, note g.
³ p. 53, note f.
Job 18, 5.
⁴ Ep. Æg. 18.
⁵ p. 4, note h; p. 190, note c.
⁶ συνεφόρησαν, infra, § 22.
⁷ p. 12, note γ.

Disc. it. For who is there in all mankind, Greek or Barbarian, who
 L. ventures to rank among creatures One whom he confesses
 the while to be God, and says, that He was not till He was
 made? or who is there, who to the God in whom he has
 Matt. 3, put faith, refuses to give credit, when He says, *This is My*
 17. *Beloved Son*, on the pretence that He is not a Son, but a
 creature? rather, such madness would rouse an universal
 indignation. Nor does Scripture afford them any pretext;
 for it has been often shewn, and it shall be shewn now, that
 their doctrine is alien to the divine oracles. Therefore, since
 all that remains is to say that from the devil came their
 mania, (for of such opinions he alone is sower¹), proceed we
 to resist him;—for with him is our real conflict, and they are
 but instruments;—that, the Lord aiding us, and the enemy,
 as he is wont, being overcome with arguments, they may be
 put to shame, when they see him without resource who sowed
 this heresy in them, and may learn though late, that, as
 being Arians, they are not Christians².

¹ p. 5,
note k.

² p. 179,
ref. 4.

CHAP. IV.

THAT THE SON IS ETERNAL AND INCREATE.

These attributes, being the points in dispute, are first proved by direct texts of Scripture. Concerning the "eternal power" of God in Rom. i. 20, which is shewn to mean the Son. Remarks on the Arian formula, "Once the Son was not," its supporters not daring to speak of "a time when the Son was not."

1. AT his suggestion then ye have maintained and ye think, that "there was once when the Son was not;" this is the first cloke of your views of doctrine which has to be stripped off. Say then what was once when the Son was not, O slanderous and irreligious men^a? If ye say the Father, your blasphemy is but greater; for it is impious to say that He was "once," or to signify Him by the word "once." For He is ever, and is now, and as the Son is, so is He, and is Himself He that is, and Father of the Son. But if ye say that the Son was once, when He Himself was not, the answer is foolish and unmeaning. For how could He both be and not be? In this difficulty, you can but answer, that there was a time, when the Word was not; for your very adverb "once" naturally signifies this. And your other, "The Son was not before His generation," is equivalent to saying, "There was once when He was not," for both the one and the other signify that there is a time before the Word.

CHAP.
IV.
§ 11.

2. Whence then this your discovery? Why do ye, as *the* Ps. 2, 1. *heathen rage, and imagine vain words against the Lord and*

^a Athan. observes that this formula of the Arians is a mere evasion to escape using the word "time." vid. also Cyril. Thesaur. iv. pp. 19, 20. Else let them explain,—"There was," *what* "when the Son was not?" or *what* was before the Son? since He Himself was before all times and ages, which He created (supr. p. 30, note n). Thus, if "when" be a word of time, He it is who *was* "when" He *was not*, which is absurd. Did they mean, how-

ever, that it was the Father who "was" before the Son? This was true, if "before" was taken, not to imply time, but origination or beginning. And in this sense the first verse of S. John's Gospel may be interpreted "In the Beginning," or Origin, i. e. in the Father "was the Word." Thus Athan. himself understands that text, Orat. iv. § 1. vid. also Orat. iii. § 9; Nyssen. contr. Eunom. iii. p. 106; Cyril. Thesaur. 32. p. 312.

- Disc. I.** *against His Christ?* for no holy Scripture has used such language of the Saviour, but rather “always” and “eternal”
- John 1, 1.** and “co-existent always with the Father.” For, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* And in the Apocalypse he^b thus speaks;
- Apoc. 1, 4.** *Who is and who was and who is to come.* Now who can rob “*who is*” and “*who was*” of eternity? This too in confutation of the Jews hath Paul written in his Epistle to
- Rom. 9, 5.** the Romans, *Of whom as concerning the flesh Christ, who is over all, God blessed for ever;* while silencing the Greeks,
- Ib. 1, 20.** he has said, *The visible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal Power and Godhead;* and what
- 1 Cor. 1, 24.** the Power of God is^c, he teaches us elsewhere himself, *Christ the Power of God and the Wisdom of God.* Surely in these words he does not designate the Father, as ye often whisper one to another, affirming that the Father is *His eternal power.* This is not so; for he says not, “God Himself is the power,” but “His is the power.” Very plain is it to all that “His” is not “He;” yet not something alien but rather proper to Him.
- 2 Cor. 3, 16. 17.** 3. Study too the context and *turn to the Lord;* now the *Lord is that Spirit*^d; and ye will see that it is the Son who

^b τὰδε λέγει. Our translation of the New Testament renders such phrases similarly; “he.” διὸ λέγει “wherefore he saith,” but in the margin “it.” Eph. v. 14. εἶρηκε περὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης οὕτω, “he spake.” Heb. iv. 4. And we may take in explanation “As the Holy Ghost saith, To-day,” &c. Heb. iii. 7. Or understand with Athan. διελέγξει λέγων ὁ Παῦλος, infr. § 57. ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰωάννης, Orat. iii. § 30. vid. also iv. § 31. On the other hand, “as the Scripture hath said,” John vii. 42: “what saith the Scripture?” Rom. iv. 3: “that the Scripture saith in vain;” James iv. 5. And so Athan. οἶδεν ἡ θεία γραφή λέγουσα, infr. § 56; ἕθος τῆ θεοῦ γραφῆ.. φησὶ. Orat. iv. § 27; λέγει ἡ γραφή. de decr. § 22; φησιν ἡ γραφή. de Syn. § 52.

^c Athan. has so interpreted this text supr. p. 149. vid. Justinian’s Comment for its various interpretations. It was either a received interpretation, or had been adduced at Nicæa, for Asterius had some years before these Discourses

replied to it, vid. supr. p. 101, and Orat. ii. § 37 [infra p. 332].

^d S. Athanasius observes, Serap. i. 4—7. that the Holy Ghost is never in Scripture called simply “Spirit” without the addition “of God” or “of the Father” or “from Me” or of the article, or of “Holy,” or “Comforter,” or “of truth,” or unless He has been spoken of just before. Accordingly this text is understood of the third Person in the Holy Trinity by Origen, contr. Cels. vi. 70; Basil de Sp. S. n. 52; Pseudo-Athan. de comm. ess. 6. On the other hand, the word πνεῦμα, “Spirit,” is used more or less distinctly for our Lord’s Divine Nature whether in itself or as incarnate, in Rom. i. 4, 1 Cor. xv. 45, 1 Tim. iii. 16, Hebr. ix. 14, 1 Pet. iii. 18, John vi. 63, &c. Indeed the early Fathers speak as if the “Holy Spirit,” which came down upon S. Mary might be considered the Word. E.g. Tertullian against the Valentinians, “If the Spirit of God did not descend into the womb to par-

is signified. For after making mention of the creation, he naturally speaks of the Framer's Power as seen in it, which Power, I say, is the Word of God, by whom all things were made. If indeed the creation is sufficient of itself alone, without the Son, to make God known, see that you fall not into the further opinion that without the Son it came to be. But if through the Son it came to be, and *in Him all things consist*, it must follow that he who contemplates the creation rightly, is contemplating also the Word who framed it, and through Him begins to apprehend the Father¹. And if, as the Saviour also says, *No one knoweth the Father, save the Son, and he to whom the Son shall reveal Him*, and if on Philip's asking, *Show us the Father*, He said not, "Behold the creation," but, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*, reasonably doth Paul, while accusing the Greeks of contemplating the harmony and order of the creation without reflecting on the Framing Word within it; (for the creatures witness to their own Framer;) and wishing that through the creation they might apprehend the true God, and abandon their worship of it, reasonably hath he said, *His Eternal Power and Godhead*, thereby signifying the Son.

CHAP.
IV.
§ 12.

Col. 1,
17.
¹ vid.
contr.
Gent.
45—47.
Matt. 11,
27.
John 14,
8, 9.

Rom. 1,
20.

4. And where the sacred writers say, "Who exists before the ages," and *By whom He made the ages*, they thereby as clearly preach the eternal and everlasting being of the Son, even while they are designating God Himself. Thus, if Esaias says, *The Everlasting God, the Creator of the ends of the earth*; and Susanna said, *O Everlasting God*; and

Heb. 1,
2.

Is. 40,
28.
Hist. Sus.
42.

take in flesh from the womb, why did He descend at all?" de carn. Chr. 19. vid. also *ibid.* 5 and 14. *contr.* Prax. 26. Just. Apol. i. 33 [p. 26 O.T.]. Iren. Hær. v. 1 [p. 451 O.T.]. Cyr. Idol. Van. 6. (p. 19. Oxf. Tr.) Lactant. Inst. iv. 12. *vid.* also Hilar. Trin. ii. 27; Athan. λόγος ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐπλαττε τὸ σῶμα. Serap. i. 31 fin. ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἦν τὸ πνεῦμα. *ibid.* iii. 6. And more distinctly even as late as S. Maximus, αὐτὸν ἀντὶ σποράς συλλαβοῦσα τὸν λόγον, κεκύηκε t. 2. p. 309. The earliest ecclesiastical authorities are S. Ignatius ad Smyrn. *init.* and S. Hermas (even though his date were A.D. 150.) who also says plainly, *Filius autem Spiritus Sanctus est.* Past. iii. 5. n. 5.

The same use of "Spirit" for the Word or Godhead of the Word, is also found in Tatian. *adv. Græc.* 7. Athenag. Leg. 10. Theoph. ad Autol. ii. 10. Iren. Hær. iv. 36. Tertull. Apol. 23 [p. 60 O.T.]. Lact. Inst. iv. 6. 8. Hilar. Trin. ix. 3. and 14. Eustath. *apud Theod. Eran.* iii. p. 235. Athan. de Incarn. 22 (if it be Athan.'s). *contr.* Apoll. i. 8. Apollinar. *ap. Theod. Eran.* i. p. 71. and the Apollinarists *passim.* Greg. Naz. Ep. 101. ad Cleod. p. 85. Ambros. Incarn. 63. Severian. *ap. Theod. Eran.* ii. p. 167. Vid. Grot. ad Marc. ii. 8; Bull. Def. F. N. i. 2. § 5; Constant. *Præf. in Hilar.* 57, &c. Montfaucon in Athan. Serap. iv. 19. [see also Tertullian, de Orat. *init.* and note H in Oxford Tr. p. 322. sqq.]

Disc. Baruch wrote, *I will cry unto the Everlasting in my days,*
 I. and shortly after, *My hope is in the Everlasting, that He*
 Bar. 4, will save you, and joy is come unto me from the Holy One ;
 20. 22. yet forasmuch as the Apostle, writing to the Hebrews, says,
 Heb. 1, 3. *Who being the radiance of His glory and the Expression of*
 Ps. 90, *His Person*; and David too in the eighty-ninth Psalm, *And*
 17. *the brightness of the Lord be upon us*, and, *In Thy Light*
 Ib. 36, 9. *shall we see Light*, who has so little sense as to doubt of the
 eternity of the Son¹? for when did man see light without
 the brightness of its radiance, that he may say of the Son,
¹ supr. "There was once, when He was not," or "Before His
 pp. 20, generation He was not."
 48.

5. And the words addressed to the Son in the hundred
 Ps. 145, and forty-fourth Psalm, *Thy kingdom is a kingdom of all*
 13. *ages*, forbid any one to imagine any interval at all in which
 the Word did not exist. For if every interval is measured
² αἰώνων by ages, and of all the ages³ the Word is King and Maker,
 therefore, whereas no interval at all exists prior to Him^c,
 it were madness to say, "There was once when the Ever-
 lasting³ was not," and "From nothing is the Son."

6. And whereas the Lord Himself says, *I am the Truth*,
 John 14, not "I became the Truth;" but always, *I am*,—*I am the*
 6. *Shepherd*,—*I am the Light*,—and again, *Call ye Me not, Lord*
 Ib. 10, *and Master? and ye call Me well, for so I am*, who, hearing
 14. such language from God, and Wisdom, and Word of the
 Ib. 8, 12. Father, speaking of Himself, will any longer hesitate about
 Ib. 13, its truth, and not forthwith believe that in the phrase *I am*,
 13. is signified that the Son is eternal and unoriginate?

§ 13. 7. It is plain then from the above that the Scriptures de-
 clare the Son's eternity; it is equally plain from what follows
 that the Arian phrases "He was not," and "before" and
 "when," are in the same Scriptures predicated of creatures.
 Moses, for instance, in his account of the generation of our
 Gen. 2, 5. system, says, *And every plant of the field, before it was in the*

^c Vid. p. 30, note n. The subject is treated at length in Greg. Nyss. contr. Eunom. i. t. 2. Append. p. 93—101. vid. also Ambros. de Fid. i. 8—11. As time measures the material creation, "ages" were considered to measure the immaterial, as the duration of

Angels. This had been a philosophical distinction, Timæus says εἰκὼν ἐστὶ χρόνος τῷ ἀγεννάτῳ χρόνῳ, ὃν αἰῶνα ποταγορούμεν. vid. also Philon. Quod Deus Immut. 6. Euseb. Laud. C. 1 prope fin., p. 501. Naz. Or. 38, 8.

earth, and every herb of the field before it grew; for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground. And in Deuteronomy, When the Most High divided to the nations. And the Lord said in His own Person¹, If ye loved Me, ye would rejoice because I said, I go unto the Father, for My Father is greater than I. And now I have told you before it come to pass, that when it is come to pass, ye might believe. And concerning the creation He says by Solomon, Or ever the earth was, when there were no depths, I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water. Before the mountains were settled, before the hills, was I brought forth. And, Before Abraham was, I am. And concerning Jeremias He says, Before I formed thee in the womb, I knew thee. And David in the Psalm says, Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever the earth and the world were made, Thou art God from everlasting and world without end. And in Daniel, Susanna cried out with a loud voice and said, O everlasting God, that knowest the secrets; and knowest all things before they be. Thus it appears that the phrases "once was not," and "before it came to be," and "when," and the like, belong to things generate and creatures, which come out of nothing, but are alien to the Word. But if such terms are used in Scripture of things generate, but, "ever" of the Word, it follows, O ye God's enemies, that the Son did not come out of nothing, nor is in the number of generated things at all, but is the Father's Image and Word eternal, never having not been, but being ever, as the eternal Radiance² of a Light which is eternal. Why imagine then times before the Son? or wherefore blaspheme the Word as after times, by whom even the ages were made³? for how did time or age at all subsist when the Word, as you say, had not appeared, through whom all things were made and without whom not one thing was made? Or why, when you mean time, do you not plainly say, "a time was when the Word was not?" but you drop the word "time" to deceive the simple, why you do not at all conceal your own feeling, nor, even if you did, could you escape discovery. For you still simply mean times, when you say, "There was when He was not," and "He was not before His generation."

CHAP.
IV.

Dent.

32. 8.

¹ δι' ἐαυ-

τοῦ

John 14,

28. 29.

Prov. 8,

23.

John,

58.

Jer. 1, 5.

Ps. 90, 2.

Hist.

Sus. 42.

² p. 39,

note b.

³ p. 108,

note h.

John 1,

3.

CHAP. V.

SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Objection, that the Son's eternity makes Him co-ordinate with the Father, introduces the subject of His Divine Sonship, as a second proof of His eternity. The word Son is introduced in a secondary, but is to be understood in real sense. Since all things partake of the Father in partaking of the Son, He is the whole participation of the Father, that is, He is the Son by nature; for to be wholly participated is to beget.

Disc.

I.

§ 14.

1. WHEN these points are thus proved, their profaneness goes further. "If there never was, when the Son was not," say they, "but He is eternal, and co-exists with the Father, call Him no more the Father's Son, but brother^a." O insensate and contentious! For if we said only that He was eternally with the Father, and not His Son, their pretended scruple would have some plausibility; but if, while we say that He is eternal, we also confess Him to be Son from the Father, how can He that is begotten be considered brother of Him who begets? And if our faith is in Father and Son, what brotherhood is there between them? and how can the Word be called brother of Him whose Word He is? This is not an objection of men really ignorant, for they comprehend how the truth lies; but it is a Jewish pretence, and that from those who, in Solomon's words, *through desire separate themselves* from the truth. For the Father and the Son were not generated from some pre-existing origin¹, that we may

Prov. 18,
1.

¹ vid. de
Syn. §
51. p.
152.

^aThat this was an objection urged by Eunomius, has already been mentioned from S. Cyril, *supr.* p. 151, note z. It is implied also in the Apology of the former, § 24. and in Basil. *contr.* Eunom. ii. 28. Aetius was in Alexandria with George of Cappadocia, A. D. 356—8. and Athan. wrote these Discourses in the latter year, as the *de Syn.* at the end of the next. It is probable then that he is alluding to

the Anomæan arguments as he heard them reported. *vid. de Syn.* l. c. where he says, "they say, *as you have written,*" § 51. Ἀνόμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν is mentioned *infr.* § 17. As the Arians here object that the First and Second Persons of the Holy Trinity are ἀδελοί, so did they say the same in the course of the controversy of the Second and Third. *vid. Athan. Serap.* i. 15. iv. 2.

account Them brothers, but the Father is the Origin of the Son and begat Him; and the Father is Father, and not the Son of any; and the Son is Son, and not brother.

CHAP.
V.

2. Further, if He is called the eternal offspring^b of the Father, He is rightly so called. For never was the substance of the Father imperfect¹, that what is proper to it should be added afterwards²; nor, as man from man, has the Son been begotten, so as to be later than His Father's existence, but He is God's offspring, and as being proper Son of God, who is ever, He exists eternally. For, whereas it is proper to men to beget in time, from the imperfection of their nature³, God's offspring is eternal, for His nature is ever perfect^c. If then He is not a Son, but a work made out of nothing, they have but to prove it; and then they are at liberty, as if speculating about a creature, to cry out,

^b In other words, by the Divine *γέννησις* is not meant an act but an eternal and unchangeable fact, in the Divine Essence. Arius, not admitting this, objected at the outset of the controversy to the phrase "always Father, always Son," Theod. Hist. i. 4. p. 749. and Eunomius argues that, "if the Son is co-eternal with the Father, the Father was never such in act, *ἐνεργός*, but was *ἀργός*." Cyril. Thesaur. v. p. 41. S. Cyril answers that *works*, *ἔργα*, are made *ἔξωθεν, from without*; but that our Lord, as S. Athanasius here says, is neither a "work" nor "from without." And hence he says elsewhere that, while men are fathers first in posse then in act, God is *δυνάμει τε καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ πατήρ*. Dial. 2. p. 458. (vid. supr. p. 65. nofem.) Victorinus in like manner, says, that God is *potentiâ et actione Deus sed in aeternâ*; Adv. Ar. i. p. 202. and he quotes S. Alexander, speaking apparently in answer to Arius, of a *semper generans generatio*. And Arius scoffs at *ἀειγενής* and *ἀγεννητογενής*. Theod. Hist. i. 4. p. 749. And Origen had said, *ὁ σωτήρ ἀεὶ γεννᾶται*. ap. Routh. Reliq. t. 4. p. 304. and S. Dionysius calls Him the Radiance, *ἀναρχον καὶ ἀειγενές*. Athan. S. D. 15. S. Augustine too says, *Semper gignit Pater, et semper nascitur Filius*. Ep. 238. n. 24. Petav. de Trin. ii. 5. n. 7. quotes the following passage from Theodorus Abucara, "Since the Son's generation does but signify His having His existence from the Father, which

He has ever, therefore He is ever begotten. For it became Him, who is properly (*κυρίως*) the Son, ever to be deriving His existence from the Father, and not as we who derive its commencement only. In us generation is a way to existence; in the Son of God it denotes the existence itself; in Him it has not existence for its end, but it is itself an end, *τέλος*, and is perfect, *τέλειον*." Opusc. 26.

^c vid. foregoing note. A similar passage is found in Cyril. Thesaur. v. p. 42, Dial. ii. fin. This was retorting the objection; the Arians said, "How can God be ever perfect, who added to Himself a Son?" Athan. answers, "How can the Son not be eternal, since God is ever perfect?" vid. Greg. Nyssen. contr. Eunom. Append. p. 142. Cyril. Thesaur. x. p. 78. As to the Son's perfection, Aetius objects ap. Epiph. Hær. 76. pp. 925, 6, that growth and consequent accession from without were essentially involved in the idea of Sonship; whereas S. Greg. Naz. speaks of the Son as not *ἀτελῆ πρότερον, εἶτα τέλειον, ὡς περ νόμος τῆς ἡμετέρας γενέσεως*. Orat. 20. 9 fin. In like manner, S. Basil argues against Eunomius, that the Son is *τέλειος*, because He is the Image, not as if copied, which is a gradual work, but as a *χαρακτήρ*, or impression of a seal, or as the knowledge communicated from master to scholar, which comes to the latter and exists in him perfect, without being lost to the former. contr. Eunom. ii. 16 fin.

¹ ἀτελής
² ἐπισυμβάλῃ,
vid. p.
37, note
Y.

³ infr.
§ 26 fin.
supr.
p. 19,
note s.

Disc. "There was once when He was not;" for things which are
 1. generate were not, and came to be. But if He is Son, as the Father says, and the Scriptures proclaim, and "Son" is nothing else than what is generated from the Father; and what is generated from the Father is His Word, and Wisdom, and Radiance; what is to be said but that, in maintaining "Once the Son was not," they rob God of His Word, like plunderers, and openly predicate of Him that He was once without His proper Word and Wisdom, and that the Light was once without radiance, and the Fountain was once barren¹ and dry²? For though they pretend alarm at the name of time, because of those who reproach them with it, and say, that He was before times, yet whereas they assign certain periods, in which they imagine He was not, they are most irreligious still, as equally suggesting times, and imputing to God's nature³ an absence of His rational Word⁴.

¹ ἄγονος
² p. 20,
 p. 25,
 note e.
³ περι
 τὸν θεόν,
 p. 38,
 note z.
⁴ ἀλογί-
 αν εἰσιά-
 γοντες,
 p. 208,
 note b.
 § 15.

3. But if on the other hand, while they acknowledge with us the name of "Son," from an unwillingness to be publicly and generally condemned, they deny that the Son is the proper offspring of the Father's substance, on the ground that this must imply parts and divisions⁵; what is this but to deny that He is very Son, and only in name to call Him Son at all? And is it not a grievous error, to have material thoughts about what is immaterial, and because of the weakness of their proper nature to deny what is natural and proper to the Father? It does but remain⁶, that they should deny Him also, because they understand not how God is⁷, and what the Father is, now that, foolish men, they measure by themselves the Offspring of the Father. And persons in such a state of mind as to consider that there cannot be a Son of God, demand our pity; but they must be interrogated and exposed for the chance of bringing them to their senses.

⁵ de
 Decr.
 § 10, 11.
 pp. 16—
 19.

⁶ ὥρα
 p. 130,
 note c.
⁷ infr.
 § 23.

4. If then, as you say, "the Son is from nothing," and "was not before His generation," He, of course, as well as others, must be called Son and God and Wisdom only by participation; for thus all other creatures consist, and by sanctification are glorified. You have to tell us then, of what He is partaker⁸. All other things partake the Spirit, but He, according to you, of what is He partaker? of the Spirit? Nay, rather the Spirit Himself takes from the Son, as He Himself

⁸ de Syn.
 § 45. 51.
 p. 148,
 151.

says; and it is not reasonable to say that the latter is sanctified by the former. Therefore it is the Father that He partakes; for this only remains to say. But this, which is participated, what is it or whence¹? If it be something external provided by the Father, He will not now be partaker of the Father, but of what is external to Him; and no longer will He be even second after the Father, since He has before Him this other; nor can He be called Son of the Father, but of that, as partaking which, He has been called Son and God. And if this be extravagant and irreligious, when the Father says, *This is My Beloved Son*, and when the Son says that God is His own Father, it follows that what is partaken is not external, but from the substance of the Father. And as to this again, if it be other than the substance of the Son, an equal extravagance will meet us; there being in that case something between this that is from the Father and the substance of the Son, whatever that be^d.

CHAP.
V.

¹ p. 15,
note e.

Matt. 3,
17.

5. Such thoughts then being evidently extravagant and untrue, we are driven to say that what is from the substance of the Father, and proper to Him, is entirely the Son; for it is all one to say that God is wholly participated, and that He begets; and what does begetting signify but a Son? And thus of the Son Himself, all things partake according to the grace of the Spirit coming from Him²;

^d Here is taught us the strict unity of the Divine Substance. When it is said that the First Person of the Holy Trinity communicates divinity to the Second, it is meant that that one Essence which is the Father, also is the Son. Hence the force of the word *ὁμοούσιον*, which was in consequence accused of Sabellianism, but was distinguished from it by the particle *ὁμοῦ*, "together," which implied a difference as well as unity;—whereas *ταύτουόσιον* or *συνουόσιον* implied, with the Sabellians, an identity or a confusion. The Arians, on the other hand, as in the instance of Eusebius, &c. *supr.* p. 63, note g; p. 116, note h; considered the Father and the Son two *οὐσῖαι*. The Catholic doctrine is that, though the Divine Substance is both the Father Ingenerate and also the Only-begotten Son, it is not itself *ἀγέννητος* or *γεννητή*; which was the objection

urged against the Catholics by Aetius, Epiph. *Hær.* 76. 10. Thus Athan. says, *de Decr.* § 30. "He has given the authority of all things to the Son, and, having given it, is *once more*, *πάλιν*, the Lord of all things through the Word." *supr.* p. 55. Again, "the Father having given all things to the Son, has all things *once again* *πάλιν*. . . for the Son's Godhead is the Godhead of the Father." *Orat.* iii. § 36 *fin.* [*infra* pp. 452, 453]. Hence *ἡ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς τὸν υἱὸν θεοτῆς ἀρρέουσως καὶ ἀδιαίρετως τυγχάνει*. *Expos. F.* 2. *vid. supr.* p. 145, note r. "Vera et æterna substantia, in se tota permanens, totam se cœternæ veritati nativitatibus indulsit." Fulgent. *Resp.* 7. And S. Hilary, "Filius in Patre est et in Filio Pater, non per transfusionem, refusionemque mutuan, sed per viventis naturæ perfectam nativitatem." *Trin.* vii. 31.

² *de Decr.*
§ 31.
p. 57.

Disc. 1. and this shews that the Son Himself partakes of nothing, but what is partaken from the Father, is the Son; for, as partaking of the Son Himself, we are said to partake of God; and this is what Peter said, *that ye may be partakers*¹ *in a divine nature*; as says too the Apostle, *Know ye not, that ye are a temple of God?* and, *We are the temple of the living God.* And beholding the Son, we see the Father; for the thought² and comprehension of the Son, is knowledge concerning the Father, because He is His proper offspring from His substance. And since to be partaken no one of us would ever call affection or division of God's substance, (for it has been shewn and acknowledged that God is participated, and to be participated is the same thing as to beget;) therefore that which is begotten is neither affection nor division of that blessed substance. Hence it is not incredible that God should have a Son, the Offspring of His own substance; nor do we imply affection or division of God's substance, when we speak of "Son" and "Offspring;" but rather, as acknowledging the genuine, and true, and Only-begotten of God, so we believe.

6. If then, as we have stated and are shewing, what is the Offspring of the Father's substance be the Son, we cannot hesitate, rather, we must be certain, that the same³ is the Wisdom and Word of the Father, in and through whom He creates and makes all things; and His Brightness too, in whom He enlightens all things, and is revealed to whom He will; and His Expression and Image also, in whom He is contemplated and known, wherefore *He and His Father are one*, and whoso looketh on Him, looketh on the Father; and the Christ, in whom all things are redeemed, and the new creation wrought afresh. And on the other hand, the Son being such Offspring, it is not fitting, rather it is full of peril, to say, that He is a work out of nothing, or that He was not before His generation. For he who thus speaks of that which is proper to the Father's substance, already blasphemes the Father Himself⁴; since he really thinks of Him what he falsely imagines of His offspring.

Disc. 1.

² Pet. 1, 4.
¹ κοινωνοι

1 Cor. 3,
16.

² Cor. 6,
16.

² ἔγνωσα,
vid. de

Syn. §
48 fin.

³ supr.
p. 27,
note i;
p. 41,
note e.

John 10,
30.

⁴ p. 3,
note f.

CHAP. VI.

SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Third proof of the Son's eternity, viz. from other titles indicative of His consubstantiality; as the Creator; as One of the Blessed Trinity; as Wisdom; as Word; as Image. If the Son a perfect Image of the Father, why is He not a Father also? because God, being perfect, is not the origin of a race. Only the Father a Father because the Only Father, only the Son a Son because the Only Son. Men are not really fathers and really sons, but shadows of the True. The Son does not become a Father, because He has received from the Father, to be immutable and ever the same.

1. THIS thought is of itself a sufficient refutation of the Arian heresy; however, its heterodoxy will appear also from the following:—If God be Maker and Creator, and create His works through the Son, and we cannot regard things which come to be, except as being through the Word, is it not blasphemous, God being Maker, to say, that His Framing Word and His Wisdom once was not? it is the same as saying, that God is not Maker, if He had not His proper Framing Word which is from Him, but that That by which He frames, accrues to Him from without¹, and is alien from Him, and unlike² in substance.

2. Next, let them tell us this,—or rather learn from it how irreligious they are in saying, “Once He was not,” and, “He was not before His generation;”—for if the Word is not with the Father from everlasting, the Trinity³ is not everlasting; but a One⁴ was first, and afterwards by addition it became a Three⁵; and so as time went on, it seems what we know concerning God grew and took shape⁶. And further, if the Son is not proper offspring of the Father's substance, but of nothing has come to be, then of nothing the Trinity consists, and once there was not a Three, but a One; and a Three once with deficiency, and then complete; deficient, before the Son was generated, complete when He had

CHAP.
VI.
§ 17.

¹ p. 43,
note b.
² ἀνό-
μοιος

³ τριάς.
⁴ μονάς.
⁵ τριάς.
⁶ vid.
Orat. iv.
§ 13.

Disc. I. come to be ; and henceforth a thing generated is reckoned with the Creator, and what once was not has divine worship and glory with Him who was ever¹. Nay, what is more serious still, the Three is discovered to be unlike Itself, consisting of strange and alien natures and substances. And this, in other words, is saying, that the Trinity has a generated consistence. What sort of a worship then is this, which is not even like itself, but is in process of completion as time goes on, and is now not thus, and then again thus ? For probably it will receive some fresh accession, and so on without limit, since at first and at starting it took its consistence by way of accessions. And so undoubtedly it may decrease on the contrary, for what is added plainly admits of being subtracted.

§ 18. 3. But this is not so: perish the thought; the Three is not generated ; but there is an eternal and one Godhead in a Three, and there is one Glory of the Holy Three. And ye presume to divide it into different natures ; the Father being eternal, yet ye say of the Word which is seated by Him, " Once He was not ;" and, whereas the Son is seated by the Father, yet ye think to place Him far from Him. The Three is Creator and Framer, and ye fear not to degrade It to things which are from nothing ; ye scruple not to equal servile beings to the nobility of the Three, and to rank the King, the Lord of Sabaoth, with subjects². Cease this confusion of things unassociable, or rather of things which are not with Him who is. Such statements do not glorify and honour the Lord, but the reverse ; for he who dishonours the Son, dishonours also the Father. For if theological doctrine is now perfect in a Trinity, and this is the true and only worship of Him, and this is the good and the truth, it must have been always so, unless the good and the truth be something that came after, and theological doctrine is completed by additions. I say, it must have been eternally so ; but if not eternally, not so at present either, but at present so, as you suppose it was from the beginning,—I mean, not a Trinity now. But such heretics no Christian would bear ; it belongs to Greeks, to introduce a general Trinity, and to level It with things generate ; for these do admit of deficiencies and additions ; but the faith of Christians acknowledges the blessed Trinity as unalterable and perfect and

¹ p. 191,
note d.

² de Decr.
§ 31,
p. 56.

ever what It was, neither adding to It what is more, or imputing to It any loss, (for both ideas are irreligious,) and therefore it dissociates it from all things generated, and it guards as indivisible and worships the unity of the Godhead Itself; and shuns the Arian blasphemies, and confesses and acknowledges that the Son was ever; for He is eternal, as is the Father, of whom He is the Eternal Word,—to which subject let us now return again.

4. If God be, and be called, the Fountain of wisdom and life,—as He says by Jeremiah, *They have forsaken Me the Fountain of living waters*; and again, *A glorious high throne from the beginning, is the place of our sanctuary*; O Lord, the Hope of Israel, *all that forsake Thee shall be ashamed, and they that depart from Me shall be written in the earth, because they have forsaken the Lord, the Fountain of living waters*; and in the book of Baruch it is written, *Thou hast forsaken the Fountain of wisdom*,—this implies that life and wisdom are not foreign to the Substance of the Fountain, but are proper to It, nor were at any time without existence¹, but were always. Now the Son is all this, who says, *I am the Life*, and, *I Wisdom dwell with prudence*. Is it not then irreligious to say, "Once the Son was not?" for it is all one with saying, "Once the Fountain was dry, destitute of Life and Wisdom." But a fountain it would then cease to be; for what begetteth not from itself, is not a fountain². What a load of extravagance! for God promises that those who do His will shall be as a fountain which the water fails not, saying by Isaiah the prophet, *And the Lord shall satisfy thy soul in drought, and make thy bones fat; and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not*. And yet these, whereas God is called and is a Fountain of wisdom, dare to insult Him as barren³ and void of His proper Wisdom. But their doctrine is false; truth witnessing that God is the eternal Fountain of His proper Wisdom; and, if the Fountain be eternal, the Wisdom also must needs be eternal. For in It were all things made, as David says in the Psalm, *In Wisdom hast Thou made them all*; and Solomon says, *The Lord by Wisdom hath formed the earth, by understanding hath He established the heavens*.

5. And this Wisdom is the Word, and by Him, as John says,

CHAP. VI.

§ 19.

Jer. 2, 13.

Ib. 17,

12. 13.

Bar. 3,

12.

¹ ἀνύ-
παρκτα

John 14,

6.

Prov. 3,

12.

² p. 202,

ref. 2.

Isa. 58,

11.

³ ἄγονον

Ps. 104,

24.

Prov. 3,

19.

Disc. I. *all things were made, and without Him was made not one thing*^a. And this Word is Christ; for *there is One God, the Father, from whom are all things, and we for Him; and One Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through Him*. And if all things are through Him, He Himself is not to be reckoned with that "all." For he who dares¹ to call Him, through whom are all things, one of that "all," surely will have like speculations concerning God, from whom are all. But if he shrinks from this as extravagant, and excludes God from that all, it is but consistent that he should also exclude from that all the Only-Begotten Son, as being proper to the Father's substance. And, if He be not one of the all², it is sin to say concerning Him, "He was not," and "He was not before His generation." Such words may be used of the creatures; but as to the Son, He is such as the Father is, of whose substance He is proper Offspring, Word, and Wisdom³. For this is proper to the Son, as regards the Father, and this shews that the Father is proper to the Son; that we may neither say that God was ever without His Rational Word^b, nor that the Son was non-existing⁴. For wherefore a

¹ vid. Petav. de Trin. ii. 12. § 4.

² de Decr. § 30. supr. p. 54.

³ de Decr. § 17. p. 28.

⁴ ἀνόπαρκτον

^a The words "that was made" which ends this verse were omitted by the ancient citers of it, as Irenæus, Clement, Origen, Eusebius, Tertullian, nay, Augustine; but because it was abused by the Eunomians, Macedonians, &c. as if derogatory to the divinity of the Holy Spirit, it was quoted in full, as by Epiphanius (Ancor. 75), who goes so far as to speak severely of the ancient mode of citation. vid. Fabric. and Routh, ad Hippol. contr. Noet. 12. [The Codex Alex. and some other uncial MSS. punctuate so as to join these words to the following verse; so does S. Cyril Alex.]

^b ἄλογον. vid. supr. p. 25, note c, where other instances are given from Athan. and Dionysius of Rome; also p. 2, note e. vid. also Orat. iv. 2. 4. Sent. D. 23. Origen, supr. p. 48. Athenag. Leg. 10. Tat. contr. Græc. 5. Theoph. ad Autol. ii. 10. Hipp. contr. Noet. 10. Nyssen. contr. Eunom. vii. p. 215. viii. pp. 230, 240. Orat. Catech. 1. Naz. Orat. 29. 17 fin. Cyril. Thesaur. xiv. p. 145. (vid. Petav. de Trin. vi. 9.) It must not be supposed from these instances that the Fathers meant that our Lord was literally what is called the *attribute* of reason or wisdom in the Divine Essence, or in other words that He was God merely viewed as He

is wise; which would be a kind of Sabellianism. But, whereas their opponents said that He was but *called* Word and Wisdom *after* the attribute, (vid. supr. p. 95, note c,) they said that such titles marked, not only a typical resemblance to the attribute, but so full a correspondence and (as it were) coincidence in *nature* with it, that whatever relation that attribute had to God, such in kind had the Son;—that the attribute was His symbol, and not His mere archetype; that our Lord was eternal and proper to God, because that attribute was, which was His title, vid. Athan. Ep. Æg. 14 [Hist. tracts pp. 142, 143 O.T.], that our Lord was that Essential Reason and Wisdom,—not *by* which the Father *is* wise, but *without* which the Father was *not* wise;—not, that is, in the way of a formal cause, but in *fact*. Or, whereas the Father Himself is Reason and Wisdom, the Son is the necessary result of that Reason and Wisdom, so that, to say that there was no Word, would imply there was no Divine Reason; just as a radiance implies a light; or, as Petav. remarks, l. c. quoting the words which follow shortly after in the text, the eternity of the Original implies the eternity of the Image; τῆς ὑποστάσεως

Son, if not from Him? or wherefore Word and Wisdom, if not ever proper to Him? When then was God without Him who is proper to Him? or how can a man consider that which is proper, as foreign and alien¹ in substance? for other things, according to the nature of things generate, are without likeness in substance with the Maker; but are external to Him, made by the Word at His grace and will, and thus admit of ceasing to be, if it so pleases Him who made them^c; for such is the nature of things generate². But as to what is proper to the Father's substance, (for this we have already found to be the Son,) what daring is it and irreligion to say that "This comes from nothing," and that "It was not before generation," but was adventitious³, and can at some time cease to be again?

СНАР.
VI.
§ 20.

¹ ἄλλο-
τριου-
σίου,
supr.
p. 150,
ref. 1.

² infr.
p. 223,
note i.

³ ἐπισυμ-
βέβηκε.
p. 37,
note y.

6. Let a person only dwell upon this thought, and he will discern how the perfection and the plenitude of the Father's substance is impaired by this heresy; however, he will see its extravagance still more clearly, if he considers that the Son is the Image and Radiance of the Father, and Expression, and Truth. For if, when Light exists, there be withal its Image, viz. Radiance, and a Subsistence existing, there be of it the entire Expression, and a Father existing, there be His Truth, viz. the Son⁴; let them consider what depths of irreligion they fall into, who make time the measure of the Image and Countenance of the Godhead. For if the Son was not before His generation, Truth was not always in God, which it were a sin to say; for, since the Father was, there was ever in Him the Truth, which is the Son, who says, *I am the Truth*. And the Subsistence existing, of course there was forthwith its Expression and Image; for God's Image is not delineated without^d, but God Himself hath

⁴ "the
Son"
omitted
by
Montf.

John 14,
6.

ἵπαρχούσης, πάντως εὐθὺς εἶναι δεῖ τὸν χαρακτῆρα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ταύτης, § 20. vid. also infr. § 31. de Decr. § 13. p. 21. § 20, 23. pp. 35, 40. Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 737.

^c This was but the opposite aspect of the tenet of our Lord's consubstantiality or eternal generation. For if He came into being at the will of God, by the same will He might cease to be; but if His existence is unconditional and necessary, as God's attributes might be, then as He had no

beginning, so can He have no end; for He is in, and and one with, the Father, who has neither beginning nor end. On the question of the "will of God" as it affects the doctrine, vid. Orat. iii. § 59, &c.

^d Athan. argues from the very name Image for our Lord's eternity. An Image, to be really such, must be an expression from the Original, not an external and detached imitation. vid. supr. note b. infr. § 26. p. 217. Hence S. Basil, "He is an Image not made

Disc. I.
Prov. 8,
30.

begotten it; in which seeing Himself, He has delight, as the Son Himself says, *I was His delight*. When then did the Father not see Himself in His own Image? or when had He not delight, that a man should dare to say, "the Image is out of nothing," and "The Father had not delight before the Image was generated?" and how should the Maker and Creator see Himself in a created and generated substance?

§ 21. for such as is the Father, such must be the Image. Proceed we then to consider the attributes of the Father, and we shall come to know whether this Image is really His. The Father is eternal, immortal, powerful, light, King, Sovereign, God, Lord, Creator, and Maker. These attributes must be in the Image, to make it true that he *that hath seen the Son hath seen the Father*. If the Son be not all this, but, as the Arians consider, a thing generate, and not eternal, this is not a true Image of the Father, unless indeed they give up shame, and go on to say, that the title of Image, given to the Son, is not a token of a similar substance^c, but His name¹ only. But this, on the other hand, O ye Christ's enemies, is not an Image, nor is it an Expression. For what is the likeness of what is out of nothing to Him who brought what was nothing into being? or how can that which is not, be like Him that is, being short of Him in once not being, and in its having its place among things generate?

John 14,
9.

¹ de
Decr. §
16, pp.
25, 26.

² ὅμοιος
κατὰ
πάντα,
p. 115,
note e.
infr. §
40.
p. 237.

7. However, such the Arians wishing Him to be, have contrived arguments such as this;—"If the Son is the Father's offspring and image, and is like in all things² to the Father, then it necessarily holds that as He is begotten, so He begets, and He too becomes father of a son. And again, he who is begotten from Him, begets in his turn, and so on

with the hand, or a work of art, but a living Image," &c. *supr.* p. 106, note d. *vid.* also *contr.* Eunom. ii. 16, 17. Epiph. *Hær.* 76, 3. Hilar. *Trin.* vii. 41 *fin.* Origen observes that man, on the contrary, is an example of an external or improper image of God. Periarch. i. 2. § 6. It might have been more direct to have argued from the name of Image to our Lord's consubstantiality rather than eternity, as, e.g. S. Gregory Naz. "He is Image as one in substance, ὁμοούσιον, . . . for this is the nature of an image, to be a copy of the archetype." *Orat.* 30. 20. *vid.* also *de Decr.* § 20, 23. *supra*, pp. 35, 40. but

for whatever reason Athan. avoids the word ὁμοούσιον, in these Discourses. S. Chrys. on Col. i. 15. [pp. 212, 213 O.T.]

^c ὁμοίως οὐσίας. And so § 20 *init.* ὅμοιον κατ' οὐσίαν, and ὅμοιος τῆς οὐσίας, § 26. ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν, iii. 26. and ὅμοιος κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς. Ep. *Æg.* 17. Also Alex. Ep. *Encycl.* 2. Considering what he says in the *de Syn.* § 38, &c. *supr.* p. 136, note g, in controversy with the Semi-arians a year or two later, this use of their formula, in preference to the ὁμοούσιον, (*vid.* foregoing note,) deserves our attention.

without limit; for this is to make the Begotten like Him that begat Him." Authors of blasphemy, verily, are these foes of God¹ who, sooner than confess that the Son is the Father's Image^f, conceive material and earthly ideas concerning the Father Himself, ascribing to Him severings² and effluences³ and influences. If then God be as man, let Him be also a parent as man, so that His Son should be father of another, and so in succession one from another, till the series they imagine grows into a multitude of gods⁴. But if God be not as man, as He is not, we must not impute to Him the attributes of man. For brutes and men, after a Creator has begun them, are begotten by succession; and the son, having been begotten of a father who was a son, becomes accordingly in his turn a father to a son, in inheriting from his father that by which he himself has come to be. Hence in such instances there is not, properly speaking, either father or son, nor do the father and the son stay in their respective characters, for the son himself becomes a father, being

CHAP.
VI.

¹ Θεομά-
χοι, p. 6,
note n.
² τομὰς,
p. 63,
ref. 2.
³ ἀπορ-
ροίας,
p. 19,
note q.
⁴ p. 18.

^f The objection is this, that, if our Lord be the Father's Image, He ought to resemble Him in being a Father. S. Athanasius answers that God is not as man; with us a son becomes a father because our nature is *βενυστή*, transitive and without stay, ever shifting and passing on into new forms and relations; but that God is perfect and ever the same, what He is once that He continues to be; God the Father remains Father, and God the Son remains Son. Moreover men become fathers by detachment and transmission, and what is received is handed on in a succession; whereas the Father, by imparting Himself wholly, begets the Son; and a perfect nativity finds its termination in itself. The Son has not a Son, because the Father has not a Father. Thus the Father is the only true Father, and the Son only true Son; the Father only a Father, the Son only a Son; being really in Their Persons what human fathers are but by office, character, accident, and name; vid. *supr.* p. 18, note o. And since the Father is unchangeable as Father, in nothing does the Son more fulfil the idea of a perfect Image than in being unchangeable too. Thus S. Cyril also, *Thesaur.* 10. p. 124. And this perhaps may illustrate a strong and almost start-

ling implication of some of the Greek Fathers, that the First Person in the Holy Trinity, considered as Father, is not God. E. g. *εἰ δὲ θεὸς ὁ υἱός, οὐκ ἐπεὶ υἱός· ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ πατήρ, οὐκ ἐπεὶ πατήρ, θεός· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐσία τοιαύτη, εἰς ἑστὶ πατήρ καὶ ὁ υἱός θεός.* Nyssen. t. i. p. 915. vid. Petav. de Deo i. 9. § 13. Should it be asked, "What is the Father if not God?" it is enough to answer, "the Father." Men differ from each other as being individuals, but the characteristic difference between Father and Son is, not that they are individuals, but that they *are* Father and Son. In these extreme statements it must be ever borne in mind that we are contemplating divine things according to *our notions*, not in *fact*: i. e. speaking of the Almighty Father, *as such*; there being no real separation between His Person and His Substance. It may be added, that, though theologians differ in their decisions, it would appear that our Lord is not the Image of the Father's person, but of the Father's substance; in other words, not of the Father considered as Father, but considered as God. That is, God the Son is like and equal to God the Father, because they are both the same God; vid. p. 149, note x. also next note.

Disc.

I.

¹ ἀποβ-
βόλας² ἔστη-
κε
§ 22.

son of his father, but father of his son. But it is not so in the Godhead; for not as man is God; for the Father is not from father; therefore doth He not beget one who shall beget; nor is the Son from effluence¹ of the Father, nor is He begotten from a father that was begotten; therefore neither is He begotten so as to beget. Thus it belongs to the Godhead alone, that the Father is properly[§] father, and the Son properly son, and in Them, and Them only, does it hold² that the Father is ever Father and the Son ever Son. Therefore he who asks why the Son has not a son, must inquire why the Father had not a father. But both suppositions are indecent and irreligious exceedingly. For as the Father is ever Father and never could be Son, so the Son is ever Son and never could be Father. For in this rather is He shewn to be the Father's Expression and Image, remaining what He is and not changing, but thus receiving from the Father to be one and the same. If then the Father change, let the Image change; for so is the Image and Radiance in its relation towards Him who begat It. But if the Father is unalterable, and what He is that He continues, necessarily does the Image also continue what He is, and will not alter. Now He is Son from the Father; therefore He will not become other than is proper to the Father's substance. Idly then have the foolish ones devised this objection also, wishing to separate the Image from the Father, that they might level the Son with things generated.

[§] κυρίως, vid. p. 18, note o. Elsewhere Athan. says, "The Father being one and only is Father of a Son one and only; and in the instance of Godhead only have the names Father and Son stay, and are ever; for of men if any one be called father, yet he has been son of another; and if he be called

son, yet is he called father of another; so that in the case of men the names father and son do not properly, κυρίως, hold." ad Serap. i. 16. also *ibid.* iv. 4 fin. and 6. vid. also κυρίως, Greg. Naz. Orat. 29. 5. ἀληθῶς, Orat. 25, 16. ὕψως, Basil. contr. Eunom. i. 5. p. 215.

CHAP. VII.

OBJECTIONS TO THE FOREGOING PROOF.

Whether, in the generation of the Son, God made One that was already, or One that was not.

1. RANKING Him among these, according to the teaching of Eusebius, and accounting Him such as the things which come into being through Him, the Arians revolted from the truth, and used, when they commenced this heresy, to go about with dishonest phrases which they had got together¹; nay, up to this time some of them^a, when they fall in with boys in the market-place, question them, not out of divine Scripture, but thus, as if bursting with *the abundance of their heart*;—"He who is, did He make him who was not, from Him who is, or him who was? therefore did He make the

CHAP.
VII.

¹ p 193,
ref. 6.

Matt. 12,
34.

^a This miserable procedure, of making sacred and mysterious subjects a matter of popular talk and debate, which is a sure mark of heresy, had received a great stimulus about this time by the rise of the Anomœans. Eusebius's testimony to the profaneness which attended Arianism upon its rise, has been given above, p. 75, note h. The Thalia is another instance of it. S. Alexander speaks of the interference, even judicial, in its behalf against himself, of disobedient women, δι' ἐντροχίας γυναικαίων ἀτάκτων ἀήπατησαν, and of the busy and indecent gadding about of the younger, ἐκ τοῦ περιτροχάζειν πᾶσαν ἀγνίαν ἀσέμνως. ap. Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 730, also p. 747; also of the men's buffoon conversation, p. 731. Socrates says that "in the Imperial Court, the officers of the bedchamber held disputes with the women, and in the city in every house there was a war of dialectics." Hist. ii. 2. This mania raged especially in Constantinople, and S. Gregory Naz. speaks of "Jezebels in as thick a crop as hemlock in a field." Orat. 35. 3. vid.

supr. p. 91, note q. He speaks of the heretics as "aiming at one thing only, how to make good or refute points of argument," making "every market-place resound with their words, and spoiling every entertainment with their trifling and offensive talk." Orat. 27. 2. The most remarkable testimony of the kind though not concerning Constantinople, is given by S. Gregory Nyssen, and often quoted, "Men of yesterday and the day before, mere mechanics, off-hand dogmatists in theology, servants too and slaves that have been flogged, runaways from servile work, are solemn with us and philosophical about things incomprehensible . . . With such the whole city is full; its smaller gates, forums, squares, thoroughfares; the clothes-venders, the money-lenders, the victuallers. Ask about pence, and he will discuss the Generate and Ingenerate; inquire the price of bread, he answers, Greater is the Father, and the Son is subject; say that a bath would suit you, and he defines that the Son is out of nothing." t. 2. p. 898.

Disc. Son, whereas He was, or whereas He was not^b?" And again,

1. "Is the Ingenerate one or two?" and "Has He free will, and yet does not alter at His own choice, as being of an alterable nature? for He is not as a stone to remain by Himself unmoveable." Next they turn to women, and address them in turn in this womanish language; "Hadst thou a son before bearing? now, as thou hadst not, so neither was the Son of God before His generation." In such language do the disgraceful men sport and revel, and liken God to men, pretending to be Christians, but changing God's glory into an image made like to corruptible man¹.

Rom. 1,
23.
1 p. 179,
ref. 3.
§ 23.

2. Words so senseless and dull deserve no answer at all; however, lest their heresy appear to have any foundation, it may be right, though we go out of the way for it, to refute them even here, especially on account of the women who are so readily deceived by them. When they thus speak, they should inquire of an architect, whether he can build without materials; and if he cannot, whether it follows that God could not make the universe without materials². Or they should ask every man, whether he can be without place; and if he cannot, whether it follows that God is in place³; that so they may be brought to shame even by their audience. Or why is it that, on hearing that God has a Son, they deny Him by the parallel of themselves; whereas, if they hear that He creates and makes, no longer do they object their human ideas? they ought in creation also to entertain the same, and to supply God with materials, and so deny Him to be Creator, till they end in herding with Manichees. But if the bare idea of God transcends such thoughts, and, on very first hearing, a man believes and knows that He is in being, not as we are, and yet in being as God, and creates not as man creates, but yet creates as God, it is plain that He begets also not as men beget, but begets as God. For God does

² supr.
p. 18,
note o.
³ de
Decr.
§ 11.
pp. 17,
18.

^b This objection is found in Alex. Ep. Encycl. 2. *ὁ δὲν θεὸς τὸν μὴ ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος*. Again, *ὄντα γεγέννηκε ἢ οὐκ ὄντα*. Greg. Orat. 29. 9. who answers it. Pseudo-Basil. contr. Eunom. iv. p. 281. 2. Basil calls the question *πολυθύλλητον*, contr. Eunom. ii. 14. It will be seen to be but the Arian formula of "He was not before His generation," in another shape; being

but this, that the very fact of His being begotten or a Son, implies a beginning, that is, a time when He was not; it being by the very force of the words absurd to say that "God begat Him that *was*," or to deny that "God begat Him that *was not*." For the symbol, *οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι*, vid. note at the end of this Discourse.

not make man His pattern; but rather we men, for that God is properly, and alone truly¹, Father of His Son, are also called fathers of our own children; for of Him *is every fatherhood in heaven and earth named*. And their positions, while unscrutinized, have a shew of sense; but if any one scrutinize them by reason, they will but bring on them derision and mockery.

CHAP.
VII.
p. 56,
note k.
Eph. 3,
15.

3. For first of all, as to their first question, which is such as § 24. this, how dull and vague it is! they do not explain who it is they ask about, so as to allow of an answer, but they say abstractedly, "He who is," "him who is not." Who then "is," and what "are not," O Arians? or who "is," and who "is not?" what are said "to be," what "not to be?" for He that is, can make things which are not, and which are, and which were before. For instance, carpenter, and goldsmith, and potter, each, according to his own art, works upon materials previously existing, making what vessels he pleases; and the God of all Himself, having taken the dust of the earth existing and already brought to be, fashions man; that very earth, however, whereas it was not once, He has at one time made by His own Word. If then this is the meaning of their question, the creature on the one hand plainly was not before its generation, and men, on the other, work the existing material; and thus their reasoning is inconsequent, since both "what is" becomes, and "what is not" becomes, as these instances shew. But if they speak concerning God and His Word, let them complete their question and then ask, Was the God "who is" ever without rational Word²? and, whereas He is Light, was He ray-less? or was He always Father of the Word? Or again in this manner, Has the Father "who is" made the Word "who is not," or has He ever with Him His Word, as the proper offspring of His substance? This will shew them that they do but presume and venture on sophisms about God and Him who is from Him. Who indeed can bear to hear them say that God was ever without rational Word? this is what they fall into a second time, though endeavouring in vain to escape it and to hide it with their sophisms. Nay, one would fain not hear them disputing at all, that God was not always Father, but became so afterwards, (which is necessary for their fantasy, that His Word

² ἔλογος
p. 208,
note b.

Disc. 1. once was not,) considering the number of the proofs already adduced against them; while John besides says, *The Word was*, and Paul again writes, *Who being the brightness of His glory*, and, *Who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.*

John 1, 1. § 25. 4. They had best have been silent; but since it is otherwise, it remains to meet their shameless question with a bold retort¹. Perhaps on seeing the counter absurdities which beset themselves, they may cease to fight against the truth.

Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 17. After many prayers^c then that God would be gracious to us, thus we might ask them in turn; God who is, has He so

become², whereas He was not? or is He also before His generation³? whereas He is, did He make Himself, or is He of

nothing, and being nothing before, did He suddenly appear Himself? Indecent is such an enquiry, yea, indecent and very blasphemous, yet parallel with theirs; for the answer they make, abounds in irreligion. But if it be blasphemous and utterly irreligious thus to inquire about God, it will be blasphemous too to make the like inquiries about His Word.

5. However, by way of exposing a question so senseless and so dull, it is necessary to answer thus:—whereas God is, He was eternally; since then the Father is ever, His Radiance ever is, which is His Word. And again, God who is, hath from Himself His Word who also is; and neither hath

the Word been added⁴, whereas He was not before, nor was the Father once without a Word. For this assault upon the Son makes the blasphemy recoil upon the Father; as if He devised for Himself a Wisdom, and Word, and Son from without⁵; for whichever of these titles you use, you denote the offspring from the Father, as has been said. So that this their objection does not hold; and naturally; for denying the Word they in consequence ask questions which are irrational⁶. As then if a person saw the sun, and then inquired concerning its radiance, and said, “Did that which is make

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^c This cautious and reverent way of speaking is a characteristic of S. Athanasius. “I had come to the resolution to be silent at this time, but on the exhortation of your holiness, &c. I have in few words written this Epistle, and even this hardly, of which do you supply the defects,” &c. ad Serap. i. 1. vid. ii. init. ad Epict. 13 fin. ad Max. init. Pref. ad Monach. “The unwearied ha-

bit of the religious man is to worship the All (τὸ πᾶν) in silence, and to hymn God his Benefactor with thankful cries, . . . but since,” &c. contr. Apoll. i. init. “I must ask another question, bolder, yet with a religious intention; be propitious, O Lord, &c.” Orat. iii. 63 [infra p. 490]. vid. p. 20, ref. 1. p. 25, note c. p. 153, note d.

that which was, or that which was not," he would be held not to reason sensibly, but to be utterly mazed, because he fancied what is from the Light to be external to it, and was raising questions, when and where and whether it were made; in like manner, thus to speculate concerning the Son and the Father and thus to inquire, is far greater madness, for it is to conceive of the Word of the Father as external to Him, and to image the natural offspring as a work, with the avowal, "He was not before His generation."

6. Nay, let them over and above take this answer to their question;—The Father who was, made the Son who was, for *the Word was made flesh*; and, whereas He was Son of God, He made Him in consummation of the ages also Son of Man, unless forsooth, after Samosatene, they affirm that He did not even exist at all, till He became man.

7. This is sufficient from us in answer to their first question; and now on your part, O Arians, remembering your own words, tell us whether He who was needed Him who was not for the framing of the universe, or Him who was? Ye said that He made for Himself His Son out of nothing, as an instrument whereby to make the universe. Which then is superior, that which needs or that which supplies the need? or does not each supply the deficiency of the other? Ye rather prove the weakness of the Maker, if He had not power of Himself to make the universe, but provided for Himself an instrument from without ^d, as carpenter might do or shipwright, unable to work any thing, without axe and saw? Can any thing be more irreligious! yet why should one dwell on its heinousness, when enough has gone before to shew that their doctrine is a mere fantasy?

§ 26.

^d ὄργανον, vid. p. 12, note z. p. 118. Eccles. Theol. i. 8. supr. p. 62, note f. note n. p. 62, note f. This was alleged and by the Anomœans, supr. p. 12, by Arius, Socr. i. 6. and by Eusebius, note x.

CHAP. VIII.

OBJECTIONS CONTINUED.

Whether we may decide the question by the parallel of human sons, which are born later than their parents. No, for the force of the analogy lies in the idea of connaturality. Time is not involved in the idea of Son, but is adventitious to it, and does not attach to God, because He is without parts and passions. The titles Word and Wisdom guard our thoughts of Him and His Son from this misconception. God not a Father, as a Creator, *in posse* from eternity, because creation does not relate to the substance of God, as generation does.

Disc.
I.

1. NOR is answer needful to their other very simple and foolish inquiry, which they put to women; or none besides that which has been already given, namely, that it is not suitable to measure divine generation by the nature of men. However, that as before they may pass judgment on themselves, it is well to meet them on the same ground, thus:— Plainly, if they inquire of parents concerning their son, let them consider whence is the child which is begotten. For, granting the parent had not a son before his begetting, still, after having him, he had him, not as external or as foreign, but as from himself, and proper to his substance and his unvarying image, so that the former is beheld in the latter, and the latter is contemplated in the former. If then they assume from human examples that generation implies time, why not from the same infer that it implies the Natural and the Proper^a, instead of extracting serpent-like from the earth only what turns to poison? Those who ask of parents,

^a *supr.* p. 10, note u. The question was, *What* was that sense of Son which would apply to the Divine Nature? The Catholics said that its essential meaning *could* apply, viz. consubstantiality, whereas the point of posteriority to the Father depended on a condition, *time*, which could not exist in the instance of God. p. 16, note k. The

Arians on the other hand said, that to suppose a true Son, was to think of God irreverently, as implying division, change, &c. The Catholics replied that the notion of materiality was quite as foreign from the Divine Essence as time, and as the Divine Sonship was eternal, so was it also clear both of imperfection or extension.

and say, "Hadst thou a son before thou didst beget him?" should add, "And if thou hadst a son, didst thou purchase him from without as a house or any other possession¹?" And then thou wouldest be answered, "He is not from without, but from myself." For things which are from without are possessions, and pass from one to another; but my son is from me, proper and similar to my substance², not become mine from another, but begotten of me; wherefore I too am wholly in him, while I remain myself what I am^b." For so it is; though the parent be distinct in time, as being man, who himself has come to be in time, yet he too would have had his child ever coexistent with him, but that his nature was a restraint and made it impossible. For Levi too was already in the loins of his great-grandfather, before his own generation, and his grandfather begot him. When then the man comes to that age at which nature supplies the power, immediately, with nature unrestrained, he becomes father of the son from himself. Therefore, if on asking parents about children, they get for answer, that children which are by nature are not from without, but from their parents, let them confess in like manner concerning the Word of God, that He is simply from the Father. And if they make a question of the time, let them say what is to restrain God (for it is

CHAP.
VIII.

p. 21.

p. 210,
note c.

§ 27.

^b It is from expressions such as this that the Greek Fathers have been accused of tritheism. The truth is, every illustration, as being incomplete on one or other side of it, taken by itself, tends to heresy. The title Son by itself suggests a second God, as the title Word a mere attribute, and the title Instrument a creature. All heresies are partial views of the truth, and are wrong, not so much in what they say, as in what they deny. The truth, on the other hand, is a positive and comprehensive doctrine, and in consequence necessarily mysterious and open to misconception. vid. p. 43, note d. p. 140, note n. When Athan. implies that the Eternal Father is in the Son, though remaining what He is, as a man in his child, he is intent only upon the point of the Son's connaturality and equality, which the Arians denied. In like manner he says in a later Discourse, "In the Son the Father's godhead is beheld. The Emperor's count-

enance and form are in his Image, and the countenance of his Image is in the Emperor. For the Emperor's likeness in his Image is an unvarying likeness, ἀπαράλλακτος, so that he who looks upon the Image, in it sees the Emperor, and again he who sees the Emperor, recognises that he is in the Image. The Image then might say, 'I and the Emperor are one.'" Orat. iii. § 5 [infra p. 405]. And thus the Auctor de Trin. refers to "Peter, Paul, and Timothy having three subsistencies and one humanity." i. p. 918. S. Cyril even seems to deny that each individual man may be considered a separate substance except as the Three Persons are such (Dial. i. p. 409): and S. Gregory Nyssen is led to say that, strictly speaking, the abstract *man*, which is predicated of separate individuals, is still one, and this with a view of illustrating the Divine Unity. ad Ablab. t. 2. p. 449. vid. Petav. de Trin. iv. 9.

· Disc.
1.

necessary to prove their irreligion on the very ground on which their scoff is made), let them tell us, what is there to hinder God from being always Father of the Son; for that what is begotten must be from its father is undeniable.

2. Moreover, they will pass judgment on themselves in attributing such things to God, if, as they questioned women on the subject of time, so they inquire of the sun concerning its radiance, and of the fountain concerning its issue¹. They will find that these, though an offspring, always exist with those things from which they are^c. And if parents, such as these, have in common with their children nature and duration, why, if they suppose God inferior to things that come to be^d, do they not openly say out their own irreligion? But if they do not dare to say this openly, and the Son is confessed to be, not from without, but a natural offspring from the Father, and that there is nothing which is a hindrance to God, (for not as man is He, but more than the sun, or rather the God of the sun,) it follows that the Word co-exists with the Father both as from Him and as ever, through whom the Father caused that all things which were not should be. That then the Son comes not of nothing but is eternal and from the Father, is certain even from the nature of the case; and the question of the heretics to parents exposes their perverseness; for they confess the point of nature, and now have been put to shame on the point of time.

§ 28. 3. As we said above, so now we repeat, that the divine generation must not be compared to the nature of men, nor the Son considered to be part of God, nor generation to imply any passion whatever; God is not as man; for men beget passibly, having a transitive nature, which waits for periods by reason of its weakness. But with God this cannot be; for He is not composed of parts, but being impassible and simple, He is impassibly and

^c The question is not, whether in matter of fact, in the particular case, the rays would issue after, and not with the first existence of the luminous body; for the illustration is not used to shew *how* such a thing may be, or to give an *instance* of it, but to convey to the mind a correct *idea* of what it is proposed to teach in the Catholic doctrine.

^d S. Athanasius's doctrine is, that, God containing in Himself all perfection, whatever is excellent in one created thing above another, is found in its perfection in Him. If then such generation as radiance from light is more perfect than that of children from parents, that belongs, and transcendently, to the All-perfect God.

indivisibly Father of the Son¹. This again is strongly evidenced and proved by divine Scripture. For the Word of God is His Son, and the Son is the Father's Word and Wisdom; and Word and Wisdom is neither creature nor part of Him whose Word He is, nor an offspring passibly begotten. Uniting then the two titles², Scripture speaks of "Son," in order to herald the offspring of His substance natural and true; and, on the other hand, that none may think of the Offspring humanly, while signifying His substance, it also calls Him Word, Wisdom, and Radiance; to teach us that the generation was impassible, and eternal, and worthy of God^e. What affection then, or what part of the Father is the Word and the Wisdom and the Radiance? So much may be impressed even on these men of folly; for as they asked women concerning God's Son, so³ let them inquire of men concerning the Word, and they will find that the word which they put forth is neither an affection of them nor a part of their mind. But if such be the word of men, who are passible and partitive, why speculate they about passions and parts in the instance of the immaterial and indivisible God, that under pretence of reverence^f they may deny the true and natural generation of the Son?

CHAP.
VIII.
p. 19.

p. 140,
note n.

³ Orat.
iii. 67.

^e This is a view familiar to the Fathers, viz. that in this consists our Lord's Sonship, that He is the Word, or as S. Augustine says, *Christum ideo Filium quia Verbum*. Aug. Ep. 120. 11. "If God is the Father of a Word, why is not He which is begotten a Son?" de Decr. § 17. supr. p. 27: "If I speak of Wisdom, I speak of His offspring;" Theoph. ad Autolye. i. 3: "The Word, the genuine Son of Mind;" Clem. Protrept. p. 58. Petavius discusses this subject accurately with reference to the distinction between Divine generation and Divine Procession. de Trin. vii. 14.

^f Heretics have frequently assigned reverence as the cause of their opposition to the Church; and if even Arius affected it, the plea may be expected in any other. "O stultos et impios metus," says S. Hilary, "et irreligiosam de Deo sollicitudinem." de Trin. iv. 6. It was still more commonly professed in regard to the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation. Thus Manes, Absit ut Dominum nostrum

Jesum Christum per naturalia mulieris descendisse confitear; ipse enim testimonium dat, quia de sinibus Patris descendit. Archel. Disp. p. 185. "We, as saying that the Word of God is incapable of defilement, even by the assumption of mortal and vulnerable flesh, fear not to believe that He is born of a Virgin; ye" Manichees, "because with impious perverseness ye believe the Son of God to be capable of it, dread to commit Him to the flesh." August. contr. Secund. 9. Faustus "is neither willing to receive Jesus of the seed of David, nor made of a woman . . . nor the death of Christ itself, and burial, and resurrection, &c." August. contr. Faust. xi. 3. As the Manichees denied our Lord a body, so the Apollinarians denied Him a rational soul, still under pretence of reverence, because, as they said, the soul was necessarily sinful. Leontius makes this their main argument, *ὁ νοῦς ἀμαρτητικός ἐστίν*. de Sect. iv. p. 507. vid. also Greg. Naz. Ep. 101. ad Cledon. p. 89; Athan. in Apoll. i. 2. 14. Epiph. Ancor.

Disc.

I.

4. Enough was said above to shew that the offspring from God is not an affection; and now it has been shewn in particular that the Word is not begotten according to affection. The same may be said of Wisdom; God is not as man; nor must they here think humanly of Him. For, whereas men are capable of wisdom, God partakes in nothing, but is Himself the Father of His own Wisdom, of which whoso partakes is given the name of wise. And this Wisdom is not a passion, nor a part, but an Offspring proper to the Father. Wherefore He is ever Father, nor is the character of Father adventitious¹ to God, lest He seem alterable; for if it is good that He be Father, yet He has not ever been Father, then good has not ever been in Him.

¹ ἐπιγέ-
γνε

§ 29.

5. But, observe, say they, God was always a Maker, nor is the power of framing adventitious to Him; does it follow then, that, because He is the Framer of all, therefore His works also are eternal, and is it wicked to say of them too, that they were not before generation? Senseless are these Arians; for what likeness is there between Son and Work, that they should parallel a father's with a maker's function? How is it that, with that difference between offspring and work, which has been shewn, they remain so ill-instructed? Let it be repeated then, that a work is external to the nature, but a son is the proper offspring of the substance; it follows that a work need not have been always, for the workman frames it when he will; but an offspring is not subject to will, but is proper to the substance². And a man may be and may be

² vid.
Orat. iii.
§ 59,
&c.

79. 80. Athan. &c. call the Apollinarian doctrine Manichean in consequence. vid. in Apoll. ii 8. 9. &c. Again, the Eranistes in Theodoret, who advocates a similar doctrine, will not call our Lord *man*. "I consider it important to acknowledge an assumed *nature*, but to call the Saviour of the world *man* is to impair our Lord's glory." Eranist. ii. p. 83. Eutyches, on the other hand, would call our Lord *man*, but refused to admit His human *nature*, and still with the same profession. "Ego," he says, "sciens sanctos et beatos patres nostros refutantes *duarum naturarum* vocabulum, et non *audens* de naturâ tractare Dei Verbi, qui in carnem venit, in veritate non in phantasmate *homo factus*," &c. Leon.

Ep. 21. 1 fin. "Forbid it," he says at Constantinople, "that I should say that the Christ was of two natures, or should discuss the nature, *φυσιολογεῖν*, of my God." Concil. t. 2. p. 157 [in Act. prima conc. Chal. t. iv. 1001 ed. Col.]. And so in this day popular Tracts have been published, ridiculing S. Luke's account of our Lord's nativity under pretence of reverence towards the God of all, and interpreting Scripture allegorically on Pantheistic principles. A modern argument for Universal Restitution takes the same form; "Do not *we* shrink from the notion of another's being sentenced to eternal punishment; and *are we more merciful than God?*" vid. Matt. xvi. 22, 23.

called Maker, though the works are not as yet; but father he cannot be called, nor can he be, unless a son exist. And if they curiously inquire why God, though always with the power to make, does not always make, (though this also be the presumption of madmen, for *who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His Counsellor?* or how shall the thing formed say to the potter, *why hast thou made me thus?* however, not to leave even a weak argument unnoticed,) they must be told, that although God always had the power to execute, yet the things generated had not the power of being eternal^s. For they are out of nothing, and therefore were not before their generation; but things which were not before their generation, how could these co-exist with the ever-existing God? Wherefore God, looking to what was good for them, then made them all when He saw that, when produced, they were able to abide. And as, though He was able, even from the beginning in the time of Adam, or Noe, or Moses, to send His own Word, yet He sent Him not until the consummation of the ages; for this He saw to be good for the whole creation, so also things generated did He make when He would, and as was good for them. But the Son, not being a work, but proper to the Father's offspring, always is; for, whereas the Father always is, so what is proper to His substance must always be; and this is His Word and His Wisdom. And that creatures should not be in existence, does not disparage the Maker; for He hath the power of framing them, when He wills; but for the offspring not to be ever with the Father, is a disparagement of the perfection of His substance. Wherefore His works were framed, when He would, through His Word; but the Son is ever the proper offspring of the Father's substance.

CHAP.
VIII.

Rom.
11, 24.
Ib. 9, 20.

^s Athan.'s argument is as follows: that, as it is of the *essence* of a son to be *connatural* with the father, so is it of the *essence* of a creature to be of *nothing*, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων; therefore, while it was *not* impossible *from the nature of the case*, for Almighty God to be always Father, it *was* impossible for the same reason that He should be always a Creator. vid. infr. § 58 [p. 263]: where he takes, "They shall

perish," in the Psalm, not as a fact but as the definition of the *nature* of a creature. Also ii. § 1 [infra p. 282], where he says, "It is proper to creatures and works to have said of them, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων and οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆν." vid. Cyril. Thesaur. 9. p. 67. Dial. ii. p. 460. on the question of being a Creator *in posse*, vid. supra, p. 65. note m.

CHAP. IX.

OBJECTIONS CONTINUED.

Whether is the Ingenerate one or two? Inconsistent in Arians to use an unscriptural word; necessary to define its meaning. Different senses of the word. If it means "without Father," there is but One Ingenerate; if "without beginning or creation," there are two. Inconsistency of Asterius. "Ingenerate" a title of God, not in contrast with the Son, but with creatures, as is "Almighty," or "Lord of powers." "Father" is the truer title, as not only Scriptural, but implying a Son, and our adoption as sons.

Disc. I. § 30. 1. THESE considerations encourage the faithful, and distress the heretical, perceiving, as they do, their heresy overthrown thereby. Moreover, their further question "whether the Ingenerate be one or two^a," shews how false are their views, how treacherous and full of guile. Not for the Father's honour ask they this, but for the dishonour of the Word. Accordingly, should any one, not aware of their craft, answer, "the Ingenerate is one," forthwith they spirt out their own venom, saying, "Therefore the Son is among things generate, and well have we said, He was not before His generation." Thus they make any kind of disturbance

^a The word ἀγέννητον was in the philosophical schools synonymous with "God;" hence by asking whether there were two Ingenerates, the Anomœans implied that there were two Gods, if Christ was God in the sense in which the Father was. Hence Athan. retorts, φάσκοντες, οὐ λέγομεν δύο ἀγέννητα, λέγουσι δύο θεούς. Orat. iii. 16 [infra p. 423]; also ii. 38. Plato used ἀγέννητον of the Supreme God (supr. p. 51, note b); the Valentinians, Tertull. contr. Val. 7; and Basilides, Epiph. Hær. 31. 10. S. Clement uses it, supr. p. 147, note t; and S. Ignatius applies it to the Son, p. 147. S. Dionysius Alex. puts as an hypothesis in controversy the very position of the Anomœans, on which their whole argument turned. ap. Euseb. Præp. vii. 19. viz. that ἡ ἀγεννησία is the very οὐσία of God, not an attribute. Their view

is drawn out at length in Epiph. Hær. 76. S. Athanasius does not go into this question, but rather confines himself to the more popular form of it, viz. the Son is by His very name not ἀγέννητος, but γεννητός, but all γεννητὰ are creatures; which he answers, as de Decr. § 28. supr. p. 53, by saying that Christianity had brought in a new idea into theology, viz. the sacred doctrine of a true Son, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας. This was what the Arians had originally denied, ἐν τῷ ἀγέννητον ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀληθῶς, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ. Euseb. Nic. ap. Theod. Hist. i. 5. When they were urged *what* according to them was the middle idea to which the Son answered, if they would not accept the Catholic, they would not define but merely said, γέννημα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὡς ἐν τῶν γεννημάτων, vid. p. 10, note u.

and confusion, provided they can but separate the Son from the Father, and reckon the Framer of all among His works. Now first they may be convicted on this score, that, while blaming the Nicene Bishops for their use of phrases not in Scripture, though these not injurious, but subversive of their irreligion, they themselves went off upon the same fault, that is, using words not in Scripture¹, and those in contumely of the Lord, knowing *neither what they say nor whereof they affirm*. For instance, let them ask the Greeks, who have been their instructors, (for it is a word of their invention, not Scripture,) and when they have been instructed in its various significations, then they will discover that they cannot even question properly, on the subject which they have undertaken. For they have led me to ascertain² that by "ingenerate" is meant what has not yet come to be, but is possible to be, as wood which is not yet become, but is capable of becoming, a vessel; and again what neither has nor ever can come to be, as a triangle quadrangular, and an even number odd. For neither has nor ever can a triangle become quadrangular; nor has ever, nor can ever, even become odd. Moreover, by "ingenerate," is meant, what exists, but not generated from any, nor having a father at all. Further, Asterius, that unprincipled sophist, the patron too of this heresy, has added in his own treatise, that what is not made, but is ever, is "ingenerate^b." They ought then, when they ask the question, to add in what sense they take the word "ingenerate," and then the parties questioned would be able to answer to the point.

¹p. 31,
note p.
1 Tim. 1,
7.

²p. 52,
note d.

§ 31.

2. But if they still are satisfied with merely asking, "Is the Ingenerate one or two?" they must be told first of all, as ill-educated men, that many are such and nothing is such, many which are capable of generation, and nothing is not

^b The two first senses here given answer to the two first mentioned, de Decr. § 28. and, as he there says, are plainly irrelevant. The third in the de Decr. which, as he there observes, is ambiguous and used for a sophistical purpose, is here divided into third and fourth, answering to the two senses which alone are assigned in the de Syn. § 46. and on them the question turns. This is an instance, of which many

occur, how Athan. used his former writings and worked over again his former ground, and simplified or cleared what he had said. In the de Decr. A. D. 350, we have three senses of ἀγέννητον, two irrelevant and the third ambiguous; here in Orat. 1. (358,) he divides the third into two; in the de Syn. (359.) he rejects and omits the two first, leaving the two last, which are the critical senses.

Disc. capable, as has been said. But if they ask according as
 I. Asterius ruled it, as if "what is not a work but was always" were ingenerate, then they must constantly be told that the Son as well as the Father must in this sense be called ingenerate. For He is neither in the number of things generated, nor a work, but has ever been with the Father, as has already been shewn, in spite of their many variations for the sole sake of testifying against the Lord, "He is of nothing" and "He was not before His generation." When then, after failing at every turn, they betake themselves to the other sense of the question, "existing but not generated of any nor having a father," we shall tell them that the Ingenerate in this sense is only one, namely the Father; and they will take nothing by their question^c. For to say that God is in this sense Ingenerate, does not shew that the Son is a thing generate, it being evident from the above proofs that the Word is such as He is who begat Him. Therefore if God be ingenerate, His Image is not generate, but an Offspring¹, which is His Word and His Wisdom. For what likeness has the generate to the Ingenerate? (one must not weary to use repetition;) for if they will have it that the one is like the other, so that he who sees the one beholds the other, they are like to say that the Ingenerate is the image of creatures; the end of which is a confusion of the whole subject, an equalling of things generated with the Ingenerate, and a denial of the Ingenerate by measuring Him with the works; and all to reduce the Son into their number.

¹ p. 209,
note d.

§ 32.

3. However, I suppose even they will be unwilling to proceed to such lengths, if they follow Asterius the sophist. For he, earnest as he is in his advocacy of the Arian heresy, and maintaining that the Ingenerate is one, runs counter to them in saying, that the Wisdom of God is ingenerate and unoriginate also; the following is a passage out of his work²: "The Blessed Paul said not that he preached Christ the power of God or the wisdom of God, but, without the article, *God's power and God's wisdom*; thus preaching that the proper power of God Himself, which is natural to Him and

² de Syn.
§ 18. p.
101. infr.
ii. 37 [p.
332].
1 Cor. 1,
24.

^c These two senses of ἀγέννητον *unbegotten* and *unnade* were afterwards expressed by the distinction of *νν* and *ν*, ἀγέννητον and ἀγένητον. vid. Damasc. F. O. i. 8. p. 135. and Le Quien's note.

co-existent with Him ingenerately, is something besides." And again, soon after: "However, His eternal power and wisdom, which truth argues to be unoriginate and ingenerate; this must surely be one." For though misunderstanding the Apostle's words, he considered that there were two wisdoms; yet, by speaking still of a wisdom co-existent with Him, he declares that the Ingenerate is not simply one, but that there is another ingenerate with Him. For what is co-existent, co-exists not with itself, but with another. If then they agree with Asterius, let them never ask again, "Is the Ingenerate one or two," or they will have to contest the point with him; if, on the other hand, they differ even from him, let them not take up their defence upon his treatise, lest, *biting one another, they be consumed one of another.*

Gal. 5,
15.

4. So much on the point of their ignorance; but who can say enough on their want of principle? who but would justly hate them while possessed by such a madness? for when they were no longer allowed to say "out of nothing" and "He was not before His generation," they hit upon this word "ingenerate," that, by saying among the simple that the Son was generate, they might imply the very same phrases "out of nothing," and "He once was not;" for in such phrases things generate and creatures are implied. If they have confidence in their own positions, they should stand to them, and not change about so variously¹; but this they will not, from an idea that success is easy, if they do but shelter their heresy under colour of the word "ingenerate." Yet after all, this term is not used in contrast with the Son, clamour as they may, but with things generate; and the like may be found in the words "Almighty" and "Lord of the Powers^d." For if we say that the Father has power and mastery over all things by the Word, and the Son rules the Father's kingdom, and has the power of all, as His Word, and as the Image of the Father, it is quite plain that neither

§ 33.

¹ p. 84,
note b.

^d The passage which follows is written with his de Decr. before him. At first he but uses the same topics, but presently he incorporates into this Discourse an actual portion of his former work, with only such alterations as an author commonly makes in transcribing. This, which is not unfrequent with Athan. shews us the

care with which he made his doctrinal statements, though they seem at first sight written off. It also accounts for the diffuseness and repetition which might be imputed to his composition, what seems superfluous being often only the insertion of an extract from a former work.

Disc.
I.

here is the Son reckoned among that all, nor is God called Almighty and Lord with reference to Him, but to those things which through the Son come to be, and over which He exercises power and mastery through the Word. And therefore the Ingenerate is specified not by contrast to the Son, but to the things which through the Son come to be. And excellently: since God is not as things generate, but is their Creator and Framer through the Son. And as the word "Ingenerate" is specified relatively to things generate, so the word "Father" is indicative of the Son. And he who names God Maker and Framer and Ingenerate, regards and apprehends things created and generated; and he who calls God Father, thereby conceives and contemplates the Son. And hence one might marvel at the obstinacy which is added to their irreligion, that, whereas the term "ingenerate" has the aforesaid good sense, and admits of being used religiously^l, they, in their own heresy, bring it forth for the dishonour of the Son, not having read that he who honoureth the Son honoureth the Father, and he who dishonoureth the Son, dishonoureth the Father. If they had any concern at all^e for reverent speaking and the honour due to the Father, it became them rather, and this were better and higher, to acknowledge and call God Father, than to give Him this name. For, in calling God ingenerate, they are, as I said before, calling Him from His works, and as Maker only and Framer, supposing that hence they may imply that the Word is a work after their own pleasure. But that he who calls God Father, names Him from the Son, being well aware that if there be a Son, of necessity through that Son all things generate were created. And they, when they call Him Ingenerate, name Him only from His works, and know not the Son any more than the Greeks; but he who calls God Father, names Him from the Word; and knowing the Word, he acknowledges Him to be Framer of all, and understands that through Him all things were made.

§ 34. 5. Therefore it is more pious and more accurate to denote God from the Son and call Him Father, than to name Him from His works only and 'call Him Ingenerate^f. For the

^e Here he begins a close transcript of the de Decr. § 30. *supr.* p. 55. the last sentence, however, of the paragraph being an addition.

^f The arguments against the word Ingenerate here brought together are also found in Basil, *contr. Eunom.* i. 5. p. 215. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 31. 23. Epiph.

^l de Syn.
§ 47.
p. 147.
vid.
John 5,
23.

latter title, as I have said, does nothing more than refer to all the works, individually and collectively, which have come to be at the will of God through the Word; but the title Father, has its significance and its bearing¹ only from the Son. ¹ Ἰσotaται

And, whereas the Word surpasses things generate, by so much and more doth calling God Father surpass the calling Him Ingenerate. For the latter is unscriptural and suspicious, because it has various senses; so that, when a man is asked concerning it, his mind is carried about to many ideas; but the word Father is simple and scriptural, and more accurate, and only implies the Son. And “Ingenerate” is a word of the Greeks, who know not the Son; but “Father,” has been acknowledged and vouchsafed by our Lord. For He, knowing Himself whose Son He was, said, *I am in the Father, and the Father is in Me*; and, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father, and I and the Father are One*; but no where is He found to call the Father Ingenerate. Moreover, when He teaches us to pray, He says not, “When ye pray, say, O God Ingenerate,” but rather, *When ye pray, say, Our Father, which art in heaven*. And it was His will that the Summary² of our faith should have the same bearing, in bidding us be baptized, not into the name of Ingenerate and generate, nor into the name of Creator and creature, but into the Name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For with such an initiation we too, being of the works, are made sons, and using the name of the Father, acknowledge from that name the Word in the Father Himself also^h. A vain thing then is their argument about the term “Ingenerate,” as is now proved, and nothing more than a fantasy.

ΣΠΑΡ.
IX.

John 14,
10, 9;
10, 30.

Luke 11,
2.

² p. 123,
ref. 1.

Hær. 76. p. 941. Greg. Nyss. contr. Eunom. vi. p. 192. &c. Cyril. Dial. ii. Pseudo-Basil. contr. Eunom. iv. p. 283.

§ These three texts are found together frequently in Athan. particularly in Orat. iii. where he considers the doctrines of the “Image” and the περιχώρησις. vid. de Decr. § 21. § 31. de Syn. § 45. Orat. iii. 3. 5. 6. 10. 16 fin. 17. Ep. Æg. 13. Sent. D.

26. ad Afr. 7. 8. 9. vid. also Epiph. Hær. 64. 9. Basil. Hexaem. ix fin. Cyr. Thes. xii. p. 111. [add in S. Joan. 168, 847] Potam. Ep. ap. Dacher. t. 3. p. 299. Hil. Trin. vii. 41. et supr. Vid. also Animadv. in Eustath. Ep. ad Apoll. Rom. 1796.

^h Here ends the extract from the de Decretis. The sentence following is added as a close.

CHAP. X.

OBJECTIONS CONTINUED.

How the Word has free-will, yet without being alterable. He is unalterable because the Image of the Father, proved from texts.

DISC.
I.

§. 35.

¹ αὐτ-
εξούσιος
² προαι-
ρέσει

1. As to their question whether the Word is alterable^a, it is superfluous to examine it; it is enough simply to write down what they say, and so to shew its daring irreligion. How they trifle, appears from the following questions:—"Has He free will¹, or has He not? is He good from choice² according to free will, and can He, if He will, alter, being of an alterable nature? or, as wood or stone, has He not His choice free to be moved and incline hither and thither?" It is but agreeable to their heresy thus to speak and think; for, when once they have framed to themselves a God out of nothing and a created Son, of course they also adopt such terms as are suitable to a creature. However, when in their controversies with Churchmen they hear from them of the real and only Word of the Father, and yet venture thus to speak of Him, does not their doctrine then become the most loathsome that can be found? is it not enough to distract a man on mere hearing, though unable to reply, and to make him stop his ears, from astonishment at the novelty of what he hears them say, which even to mention is to blaspheme? For if the Word be alterable and changing, where will He stay, and what will be the end of His progress? how shall the alterable possibly be like the Unalterable? How should he who has seen the alterable, be considered to have seen the Unalterable? in which of His states shall we be able to behold in Him the Father? for it is plain that not at all times shall

^a *πρεπτός*, i. e. not, changeable, but of a moral nature capable of improvement. Arius maintained this in the strongest terms at starting. "On being asked whether the Word of God is capable of altering as the devil altered, they scrupled not to say, 'Yea, He is capable.'" Alex. ap. Socr. i. 6. p. 11.

we see the Father in the Son, because the Son is ever altering, and is of changing nature. For the Father is unalterable and unchangeable, and is always in the same state and the same; but if, as they hold, the Son is alterable, and not always the same, but ever of a changing nature, how can such a one be the Father's Image, not having the likeness of His unalterableness¹? how can He be really in the Father, if His moral choice is indeterminate? Nay, perhaps, as being alterable, and advancing daily, He is not perfect yet. But away with such madness of the Arians, and let the truth shine out, and shew that they are beside themselves. For must not He be perfect who is equal to God? and must not He be unalterable, who is one with the Father, and His Son proper to His substance? and the Father's substance being unalterable, unalterable must be also the proper Offspring from it. And if they slanderously impute alteration to the Word, let them learn how much their own reason is in peril²; for from the fruit is the tree known. For this is why he who hath seen the Son, hath seen the Father, and why the knowledge of the Son is knowledge of the Father.

CHAP.
X.

¹ supr.
§ 22.
init.
p. 212.

² p. 2,
note e.

2. Therefore the Image of the unalterable God must be unchangeable; for *Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever*. And David in the Psalm says of Him, *Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of Thine hands. They shall perish, but Thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment. And as a vesture shalt Thou fold them up, and they shall be changed, but Thou art the same, and Thy years shall not fail*. And the Lord Himself says of Himself through the Prophet, *See now that I, even I am He, and I change not*. It may be said indeed that what is here expressed relates to the Father; yet it suits the Son also to speak it, specially because, when made man, He manifests His own identity and unalterableness to such as suppose that by reason of the flesh He is changed and become other than He was. More trustworthy are the sacred writers, or rather the Lord, than the perversity of the irreligious. For Scripture, as in the above-cited passage of the Psalter, signifying under the name of heaven and earth, that the nature of all things generate and created is alterable and change-

§ 36.

Heb. 13,
8.
Ib. 1,
10-12.

Deut.
32, 39.
Mal. 3,
6.

Disc. I. able, yet excepting the Son from these, shews us thereby that He is in no wise a thing generate; nay teaches that He changes every thing else, and is Himself not changed; in saying, *Thou art the same, and Thy years shall not fail.*

¹ p. 223, note g. And with reason; for things generate, being from nothing¹, and not being before their generation, because, in truth, they come to be after not being, have a nature which is changeable; but the Son, being from the Father, and proper to His substance, is unchangeable and unalterable as the Father Himself. For it were sin to say that from that substance which is unalterable was begotten an alterable word and a changeable wisdom. For how is He longer the Word, if He be alterable? or can that be Wisdom which is changeable? unless perhaps, as accident in substance², so they would have it, viz. as in any particular substance, a certain grace and habit of virtue exists accidentally, which is called Word and Son and Wisdom, and admits of being taken from it and added to it. For they have often expressed this sentiment, but it is not the faith of Christians; as not declaring that He is truly Word and Son of God, or that the wisdom intended is the true Wisdom. For what alters and changes, and has no stay in one and the same condition, how can that be true? whereas the Lord says, *I am the Truth.*

John 14, 6. If then the Lord Himself speaks thus concerning Himself, and declares His unalterableness, and the sacred writers have learned and testify this, nay and our notions of God acknowledge it as religious, whence did these men of irreligion draw this novelty? from their heart as from a seat of corruption did they vomit it forth³.

³ de Syn. § 16 fin. p. 98.

CHAP. XI.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; AND FIRST, PHIL. ii. 9, 10.

Various texts which are alleged against the Catholic doctrine: e.g. Phil. ii. 9, 10. Whether the words "Wherefore God hath highly exalted" prove moral probation and advancement. Argued against, first, from the force of the word "Son;" which is inconsistent with such an interpretation. Next, the passage examined. Ecclesiastical sense of "highly exalted," and "gave," and "wherefore;" viz. as being spoken with reference to our Lord's manhood. Secondary sense; viz. as implying the Word's "exaltation" through the resurrection in the same sense in which Scripture speaks of His descent in the Incarnation; how the phrase does not derogate from the nature of the Word.

1. BUT since they allege the divine oracles and force on them a misinterpretation, according to their private sense^a, it becomes necessary to meet them just so far as to lay claim to these passages, and to shew that they bear an orthodox sense, and that our opponents are in error. They say then, that the Apostle writes, *Wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a Name which is above every name; that at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth: and David, Wherefore God, even Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows.* Then they urge,

CHAP.
XI.
§ 37.

Phil. 2,
9. 10.

Ps. 45, 9.

^a vid. supr. p. 78, note n. "We must not make an appeal to the Scriptures, nor take up a position for the fight, in which victory is not, or is doubtful, or next to doubtful. For though this conflict of Scripture with Scripture did not end in a drawn battle, yet the true order of the subject required that that should be laid down first, which now becomes but a point of debate, viz. *who have a claim to the faith itself, whose are the Scriptures.*" Tertull. de Præscr. 19 [pp. 467, 468 O.T.]. Ruffinus says of S. Basil and S. Gregory, "Putting aside all Greek literature, they are said to have passed thirteen years together in studying the Scriptures alone, and followed out

their sense not *from their private opinion*, but by the writings and authority of the Fathers, &c." Hist. ii. 9. "Seeing the Canon of Scripture is perfect &c. what need we join unto it the authority of the Church's understanding and interpretation? because the Scripture being of itself so deep and profound, all men do not understand it in one and the same sense, but *so many men, so many opinions* almost may be gathered out of it; for Novatian expounds it one way, Photinus another, Sabellius, &c." Vincent. Comm. 2. Hippolytus has a passage very much to the same purpose. contr. Noët. 9 fin.

Disc. as something acute: "If He was exalted and received
I. grace, on a wherefore, and on a wherefore He was anointed, He received the reward of His good choice; but having acted from choice, He is altogether of an alterable nature."

¹ of Ni- This is what Eusebius¹ and Arius have dared to say, nay
comedia. vid. to write; while their partizans do not shrink from convers-
Theod. ing about it in full market-place², not seeing how mad an
Hist. i. 5. argument they use. For if He received what He had
² p. 213, note a. as a reward of His good choice, and would not have had it, unless He had needed it and had His work to shew for

³ βελατι- it, then having gained it from virtue and promotion³, with
ώσεως reason had He "therefore" been called Son and God, with-
out being very Son. For what is from another by nature, is a real offspring, as Isaac was to Abraham, and Joseph to Jacob and the Radiance to the Sun; but the so-called sons from virtue and grace, have but in place of nature

⁴ p. 237, a grace by acquisition, and are something else besides⁴ the
ref. 1. gift itself; as the men who have received the Spirit by

Is. 1, 2. participation, concerning whom Scripture saith, *I have
Sept. begotten and exalted children, and they have rebelled against
Me*⁵. And of course, since they were not sons by nature,

⁵ vid. therefore, when they altered, the Spirit was taken away and
Euseb. they were disinherited; and again on their repentance that
Nic. God who thus at the beginning gave them grace, will
supr. receive them, and give light, and call them sons again. But

§ 38. if they say this of the Saviour also, it follows that He is neither very God nor very Son, nor like the Father, nor in any wise has God for a Father of His being according to substance, but of the mere grace given to Him, and for a Creator of His being according to substance, after the similitude of all others. And being such, as they maintain, it will be manifest further that He had not the name "Son" from the first, if so be it was the prize of works done and of that very same advance which He made when He became man, and took the form of a servant; but then, when, after becoming *obedient unto death*, He was, as the text says, *highly exalted*, and received that Name as a grace, *that at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow*.

Phil. 2,
8.

2. What then was before this, if then He was exalted, and then began to be worshipped, and then was called Son, when

He became man? For He seems Himself not to have promoted¹ the flesh at all, but rather to have been Himself promoted through it, if, according to their perverseness, He was then exalted and called Son, when He became man. What then was before this? One must urge the question on them again, to make it understood what their irreligious doctrine results in^b. For if the Lord be God, Son, Word, yet was not all these before He became man, either He was something else beside these, and afterwards became partaker of them for His virtue's sake, as we have said; or they must adopt the alternative, (may it fall upon their heads!) that He was not before that time, but is wholly man by nature and nothing more. But this is no sentiment of the Church, but of Samosatene and of the present Jews. Why then, if they think as Jews, are they not circumcised with them too, instead of pretending Christianity, while they are its foes? For if He was not, or was indeed, but afterwards was promoted, how were all things made by Him, or how in Him, were He not perfect, did the Father delight²? And He, on the other hand, if now promoted, how did He before rejoice in the presence of the Father? And, if He received His worship after dying, how is Abraham seen to worship Him in the tent³, and Moses in the bush? and, as Daniel saw, myriads of myriads, and thousands of thousands were ministering unto Him? And if, as they say, He had His promotion now, how did the Son Himself make mention of that His glory before and above the world, when He said, *Glorify Thou Me, O Father, with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was.* If, as they say, He was then exalted, how did He before that *bow the heavens and come down*; and again, *The Highest gave His thunder*? Therefore, if, even before

CHAP.
XI.
βελτιώ-
σας

² vid.
Prov. 8,
30.

³ p. 120,
note g.

John 17,
5.

Ps. 18,
9. 13.

^b The Arians perhaps more than other heretics were remarkable for bringing objections against the received view, rather than forming a consistent theory of their own. Indeed the very vigour and success of their assault upon the truth lay in its being a mere assault, not a positive and substantive teaching. They therefore, even more than others, might fairly be urged on to the consequences of their positions. Now the text in question, as it must be interpreted if it is to

serve as an objection, was an objection also to the received doctrine of the Arians. They considered that our Lord was above and before all creatures from the first, and their Creator; how then could He be exalted above all? They surely, as much as Catholics, were obliged to explain it of our Lord's manhood. They could not then use it as a weapon against the Church, until they took the ground of Paul of Samosata.

Disc. the world was made, the Son had that glory, and was Lord of
I. glory and the Highest, and descended from heaven, and is
 ever to be worshipped, it follows that He had no promotion
 from His descent, but rather Himself promoted the things
 which needed promotion; and if He descended to effect their
 promotion, therefore He did not receive in reward the name
 of the Son and God, but rather He Himself has made us sons
 of the Father, and made men gods, by becoming Himself man.

§ 39. 3. Therefore He was not man, and then became God, but
¹ θεοποι- He was God, and then became man, and that to make us gods¹.
 ἡσθη Since, if when He became man, only then He was called Son
 and God, but before He became man, God called the ancient
 people sons, and made Moses a god of Pharaoh, (and Scrip-
 ture says of many, *God standeth in the congregation of gods*,)
 Ps. 81, it is plain that He is called Son and God later than they.
 (82,) 1. How then are all things through Him, and He before all? or
 Sept. how is He *first-born of the whole creation*², if He has others
 Col. 1, 15. before Him who are called sons and gods? And how is it
² vid. infr. ii. § 62. that those first partakers^c do not partake of the Word?
 This opinion is not true; it is an evasion of our present
 Judaizers. For how in that case can any at all know God
 as their Father? for adoption there cannot be apart from the
 real Son, who says, *No one knoweth the Father, save the Son,*
 Matt. 11, *and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him.* And how can
 27. there be deifying apart from the Word and before Him? yet,
 John 10, *saith He to their brethren the Jews, If He called them gods,*
 35. *unto whom the Word of God came.* And if all that are called
 sons and gods, whether in earth or in heaven, were adopted
 and deified through the Word, and the Son Himself is the
 Word, it is plain that through Him are they all, and He
 Himself before all, or rather He Himself only is very Son³,
 and He alone is very God from the very God, not receiving
 these prerogatives as a reward for His virtue, nor being

^c In this passage Athan. considers that the participation of the Word is deification, as communion with the Son is adoption; also that the old Saints, inasmuch as they are called "gods" and "sons," did partake of the Divine Word and Son, or in other words were gifted with the Spirit. He asserts the same doctrine very

strongly in Orat. iv. § 22 [p. 539]. On the other hand, infr. 47 [p. 247]. he says expressly that Christ received the Spirit in Baptism *that He might give it to man.* There is no real contradiction in such statements; what was given in one way under the Law, was given in another and fuller under the Gospel.

something else beside¹ them, but being all these by nature and according to substance. For He is Offspring of the Father's substance, so that one cannot doubt that after the resemblance of the unalterable Father, the Word also is unalterable.

4. Hitherto we have met their irrational conceits with the true conceptions^d implied in the Word "Son," as the Lord Himself has given us. But it will be well next to expound the divine oracles, that the unalterableness of the Son and His unchangeable nature, which is the Father's², as well as their perverseness, may be still more fully proved. The Apostle then, writing to the Philippians, says, *Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus; who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men. And, being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient to death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a Name which is above every name; that at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.* Can any thing be plainer and more express than this? He was not from a lower state promoted; but rather, existing as God, He took the form of a servant, and in taking it, did not promote but humbled Himself. Where then is there here any reward of virtue, or what advancement and promotion in such humiliation? For if, being God, He became man, and descending from on high He is still said to be exalted, where is He exalted, being God? this withal being plain, that, since God is highest of all, His Word must necessarily be highest also. Where then could He be exalted higher, who is in the Father and like the Father in all things³?

5. Therefore He is beyond the need of any addition; nor is such as the Arians think Him. For though the Word did descend in order to be exalted, and so it is written, yet what need was there that He should humble Himself, as if

^d τὰς ἐννοίαις χρώμενοι, πρὸς τὰς παράνοια δὲ μᾶλλον, &c. Basil. contr. ἐπινοίας ἀπηντήσαμεν. cf. οὐχὶ ἐπίνοια, Eunom. i. 6. init.

CHAP. XI.
¹ p. 234,
ref. 4.

§ 40.

² πατρι-
κή φύσις
Phil. 2,
5—11.

³ ὁμοίος
κατὰ
πάντα,
p. 115,
note e;
p. 210,
ref. 3.

- DISC. to seek that which He had already? And what grace did
 I. He receive who is the Giver of grace¹? or how did He re-
 1 p. 32, ceive that Name for worship, who is always worshipped by
 note q. His Name? Nay, certainly before He became man, the
 Ps. 54, 1. sacred writers invoke Him, *Save me, O God, for Thy Name's*
 Ib. 20, 7. *sake*; and again, *Some put their trust in chariots, and some*
in horses, but we will remember the Name of the Lord our
 Heb. 1, 6. *God*. And while He was worshipped by the Patriarchs, con-
 § 41. *cerning the Angels it is written, Let all the Angels of God*
 Ps. 71, *worship Him*. And if, as David says in the 71st Psalm, *His*
 (72,) 17. *Name remaineth before the sun, and before the moon from one*
 5. Sept. *generation to another*, how did He receive what He had al-
 ways, even before He now received it? or how is He exalted,
 being before His exaltation, the Most High? or how did
 He receive the right of being worshipped, who before He
 now received it, was ever worshipped?
- John 1, 6. It is not a dark saying but a divine mystery^e. *In the*
 1. 14. *beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the*
Word was God; but for our sakes afterwards the *Word was*
made flesh. And the term in question, *highly exalted*, does
 not signify that the substance of the Word was exalted, for
 Phil. 2, 6. He was ever and is *equal to God*, but the exaltation is of the
 manhood. Accordingly this is not said before the Word
 became flesh; that it might be plain that *humbled* and *exalted*
 are spoken of His human nature; for where there is humble
 estate, there too may be exaltation; and if because of His tak-
 ing flesh *humbled* is written, it is clear that *highly exalted* is
 also said because of it. For of this was man's² nature in want,
 because of the humble estate of the flesh and of death. Since
 then the Word, being the Image of the Father and immortal,
 took the form of a servant, and as man underwent for us death
 in His flesh, that thereby He might offer Himself for us through
 death to the Father; therefore also, as man, He is said because
 of us and for us to be highly exalted, that as by His death

² ὁ ἕν-
 θρωπος

^e Scripture is full of mysteries, but they are mysteries of *fact*, not of words. Its dark sayings or *ænigmata* are such, because in the nature of things they cannot be expressed clearly. Hence contrariwise, Orat. ii. § 77 fin. [p. 391], he calls Prov. viii. 22. an *enigma*, with an allusion to Prov. i. 6. Sept. In like

manner S. Ambrose says, *Mare est scriptura divina, habens in se sensus profundos, et altitudinem prophetico- rum ænigmatum, &c.* Ep. ii. 3. What is commonly called "explaining away" Scripture, is this transference of the obscurity from the subject to the words used.

we all died in Christ, so again in the Christ Himself we might be highly exalted, being raised from the dead, and ascending into heaven, *whither the forerunner is for us entered, not into the figures of the true, but into heaven itself*; now to appear in the presence of God for us. But if now for us the Christ is entered into heaven itself, though He was even before and always Lord and Framer of the heavens, for us therefore is that present exaltation also written. And as He Himself, who sanctifies all, says also that He sanctifies Himself to the Father for our sakes, not that the Word may become holy, but that He Himself may in Himself sanctify all of us, in like manner we must take the present phrase, *He highly exalted Him*, not that He Himself should be exalted, for He is the highest, but that He may become righteousness for us^t; and we may be exalted in Him, and that we may enter the gates of heaven, which He has also opened for us, the forerunners saying, *Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in*. For here also not on Him were shut the gates, who is Lord and Maker of all, but because of us is this too written, to whom the door of paradise was shut. And therefore in a human relation, because of the flesh which He bore, it is said of Him, *Lift up, O ye gates, and shall come in*, as if a man were entering; but in a divine relation on the other hand it is said of Him, since *the Word was God*, that He is the *Lord* and the *King of Glory*. Such our exaltation the Spirit foreannounced in the eighty-ninth Psalm, saying, *And in Thy righteousness shall they be exalted, for Thou art the glory of their strength*. And if the Son be Righteousness, then He is not exalted as being Himself in need, but it is we who are exalted in that Righteousness, which is He.

CHAP.
XI.

Heb. 6,
20; 9,
24.

Ps. 24, 7.

Ps. 88,
(89.) 17,
18. Sept.

vid.
1 Cor. 1,
30.

§ 42.

7. And so too the words *gave Him*, are not written for the Word Himself; for even before He became man, He was

^t When Scripture says that our Lord was exalted, it means in that sense in which He could be exalted; just as, in saying that a man walks or eats, we speak of him not as a spirit, but as in that system of things to which the ideas of walking and eating belong. Exaltation is not a word which can be-

long to God; it is unmeaning, and therefore is not applied to Him in the text in question. Thus, e. g. S. Ambrose: "Ubi humiliatus, ibi obediens. Ex eo enim nascitur obedientia, ex quo humilitas, et in eo desinit, &c." ap. Dav. alt. n. 39.

Disc. worshipped, as we have said, by the Angels and the whole

I.

¹ τὴν πα-
τρικὴν
ιδιότητα

creation in what is proper ¹ to the Father; but because of us and for us this too is written of Him. For as Christ died and was exalted as man, so, as man, is He said to take what, as God, He ever had, that even this so high a grant of grace might reach to us. For the Word was not impaired in receiving a body, that He should seek to receive a grace, but rather He deified ² that which He put on, nay, gave it graciously to the race of man. For as He was ever worshipped as being the Word and existing in the form of God, so being what He ever was, though become man and called Jesus, He still has, as before, the whole creation under foot, and bending their knees to Him in this Name, and confessing that the Word's becoming flesh, and undergoing death in flesh, hath not happened against the glory of His Godhead, but *to the glory of God the Father*. For it is the Father's glory that man, made and then lost, should be found again; and, when the prey of death, that he should be made alive, and should become God's temple. For whereas the powers in heaven, both Angels and Archangels, were ever worshipping the Lord, as they are now worshipping Him in the Name of Jesus, this is our grace and high exaltation, that even when He became man, the Son of God is worshipped, and the heavenly powers are not startled at seeing all of us, who are of one body with Him ³, introduced into their realms. And this had not been, unless He who existed in the form of God had taken on Him a servant's form, and had humbled Himself, permitting His body to reach unto death.

² θεο-
ποίησεν

³ infr.
§ 43.
p. 241.

§ 43.

8. Behold then what men considered the foolishness of God because of the Cross, has become of all things most honoured. For our resurrection is stored up in it; and no longer Israel alone, but henceforth all the nations, as the Prophet foretold, leave their idols and acknowledge the true God, the Father of the Christ. And the delusion of demons is come to nought, and He only who is really God is worshipped in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ. For in that the Lord, even when come in human body and called Jesus, was worshipped and believed to be God's Son, and that through Him the Father was known, it is plain, as has been said, that not the Word, considered as the Word ⁴,

⁴ ὃ λόγος
vid. infr.
§ 44, 47,
48.

received this so great grace, but we. For because of our relationship to His Body we too have become God's temple, and in consequence are made God's sons, so that even in us the Lord is now worshipped, and beholders report, as the Apostle says, that God is in them of a truth ^z. As also John saith in the Gospel, *As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become children of God*; and in his Epistle he writes, *By this we know that He abideth in us by His Spirit which He hath given us*. And this too is an evidence of His goodness towards us that, while we were exalted because that the Highest Lord is in us, and on our behalf grace was given to Him, because that the Lord who supplies the grace has become a man like us, He on the other hand, the Saviour, humbled Himself in taking *our body of humiliation*, and took a servant's form, putting on that flesh which was enslaved to sin ^h. And He indeed gained nothing from us for

^z ὄντως ἐν ἑμῖν ὁ θεός. 1 Cor. xiv. 25. Athan. interprets ἐν in not among; as also in 1 John iii. 24. just afterwards. Vid. ἐν ἐμοί. Gal. i. 24. ἐν τῷ ἑμῶν, Luke xvii. 21. ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, John i. 14. on which text Hooker says, "It pleased not the Word or Wisdom of God to take to itself some one person among men, for then should that one have been advanced which was assumed and no more, but Wisdom, to the end she might save many, built her house of that Nature which is common unto all; she made not this or that man her habitation, but dwelt in us." Eccl. Pol. v. 52. § 3. S. Basil in his proof of the divinity of the Holy Spirit has a somewhat similar passage to the text, "Man in common is crowned with glory and honour, and glory and honour and peace is reserved in the promises for every one that doeth good. And there is a certain glory of Israel peculiar, and the Psalmist speaks of a glory of his own, 'Awake up my glory;' and there is a glory of the sun, and according to the Apostle even a ministration of condemnation with glory. So many then being glorified, choose you that the Spirit alone of all should be without glory?" de Sp. S. c. 24.

^h It was usual to say against the Apollinarians, that, unless our Lord took on Him our nature, *as it is*, He had not purified and changed it, as it is, but another nature; "The Lord came

not to save Adam as free from sin, that He should become like unto him; but as, in the net of sin and now fallen, that God's mercy might raise him up with Christ." Leont. contr. Nestor. &c. ii. p. 996. Accordingly, Athan. says elsewhere, "Had not sinlessness appeared in the nature which had sinned, how was sin condemned in the flesh?" in Apoll. ii. 6. "It was necessary for our salvation," says S. Cyril, "that the Word of God should become man, that human flesh subject to corruption and sick with the lust of pleasures, He might make His own; and, whereas He is life and life-giving, He might destroy the corruption, &c. . . . For by this means, might sin in our flesh become dead." Ep. ad Success. i. p. 138. And S. Leo, "Non alterius naturæ erat ejus caro quam nostra, nec alio illi quam cæteris hominibus anima est inspirata principio, quæ excelleret, non diversitate generis, sed sublimitate virtutis." Ep. 35 fin. vid. also Ep. 28. 3. Ep. 31. 2. Ep. 165. 9. Serm. 22. 2. and 25. 5. It may be asked whether this doctrine does not interfere with that of the immaculate conception; but that miracle was wrought in order that our Lord might not be born in original sin, and does not affect, or rather includes, His taking flesh of the substance of the Virgin, i. e. of a fallen nature. If indeed sin were of the substance of our fallen nature, as some heretics have said, then He could not have

CHAP.
XI.

John 1,
12.

1 John 3,
24.

Disc.
I.

¹ βελτίω-
σιν, ex-
ternal
advance.
John 1, 9.

His own promotion¹: for the Word of God is without want and full; but rather we were promoted from Him; for He is the *Light, which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world.*

² προκο-
πῆς in-
ternal
advance
Luke 2,
52.
³ εὐγε-
νοῦς

9. And in vain do the Arians lay stress upon the conjunction *wherefore*, because Paul has said, *Wherefore hath God highly exalted Him.* For in saying this he did not imply any prize of virtue, nor the promotion from advance², but the cause why the exaltation was bestowed upon us. And what is this but that He who existed in form of God, the Son of a divine³ Father, humbled Himself and became a servant instead of us and in our behalf? For if the Lord had not become man, we had not been redeemed from sins: not raised from the dead, but remaining dead under the earth; not exalted into heaven, but lying in Hades. Because of us then and in our behalf are the words, *highly exalted and given.*

§ 44.

⁴ ἐκκλη-
σιαστι-
κός, vid.
Serap.
iv. 15.
contr.
Gent. 6.
7. 33.
⁵ Orat. ii.
§ 8.

10. This then I consider the sense of this passage, and that, a very ecclesiastical sense⁴. However, there is another way in which one might remark upon it, giving the same sense in a parallel way; viz. that, though it does not speak of the exaltation of the Word Himself, so far as He is Word⁵, (for He is, as was just now said, most high and like His Father,) yet by reason of His incarnation it alludes to His resurrection from the dead. For after saying, *He hath humbled Himself even unto death*, He immediately added, *Where-*

taken our nature without partaking our sinfulness; but if sin be, as it is, a fault of the *will*, then the Divine Power of the Word could sanctify the human will, and keep it from swerving in the direction of evil. Hence S. Austin says, "We say not that Christ by the *felicity of a flesh* separated from sense *could not* feel the desire of sin, but that *by perfection of virtue*, and by a flesh not begotten through concupiscence of the flesh, He *had not* the desire of sin." Op. Imperf. iv. 48. On the other hand, S. Athanasius expressly calls it Manichean doctrine to consider, τὴν φύσιν of the flesh ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ οὐ τὴν πρᾶξιν. contr. Apoll. i. 12 fin. or φυσικὴν εἶναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. ibid. i. 14 fin. His argument in the next ch. is on the ground that all *natures* are from God, but God made man upright nor is the author of evil; (vid. also Vit. Anton. 20) "not

as if," he says, "the devil wrought in man a nature, (God forbid!) for of a nature the devil cannot be maker (δημιουργός) as is the impiety of the Manichees, but he wrought a bias of nature by transgression, and 'so death reigned over all men.' Wherefore, saith he, 'the Son of God came' to destroy the works of the devil; 'what works? that nature, which God made sinless, and the devil biassed to the transgression of God's command and the finding out of sin which is death, did God the Word raise again, so as to be secure from the devil's bias and the finding out of sin. And therefore the Lord said, 'The prince of this world cometh and findeth nothing in Me.'" vid. also § 19. Ibid. ii. 6. he speaks of the devil having "introduced the *law* of sin." vid also § 9.

fore He hath highly exalted Him; wishing to shew, that, although as man He is said to have died, yet, as being Life, He was exalted on the resurrection; for He who descended, is the same also who rose again. He descended in body, and He rose again because He was God Himself in the body. And this again is the reason why according to this meaning he brought in the conjunction *Wherefore*; not as a reward of virtue nor of advancement, but to signify the cause why the resurrection took place; and why, while all other men from Adam down to this time have died and remained dead, He only rose in integrity from the dead. The cause is this, which He Himself has already taught us, that, being God, He has become man. For all other men, being merely born of Adam, died, and death reigned over them; but He, the Second Man, is from heaven, for *the Word was made flesh*, and this Man is said to be from heaven and heavenly¹, because the Word descended from heaven; wherefore He was not held under death. For though He humbled Himself, suffering His own Body to reach unto death, in that it was capable² of death¹, yet it was highly exalted from earth, because He was God's Son in a body. Accordingly what is here said, *Wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him*, answers to S. Peter's words in the Acts, *Whom God raised up, having loosed the bonds of death, because it was not possible that He should be holden of it*. For as Paul has written, "Since being in form of God He became man, and humbled Himself unto death, therefore God also hath highly exalted Him," so also Peter says, "Since, being God, He became

CHAP. XI.
Eph. 4, 10.
ἀναστὰς; but ἀναβὰς
rec. t.
John 1, 14.
1 in Apoll. i. 2.
2 δεκτικόν
Acts 2, 24.

¹ It was a point in controversy with the extreme Monophysites, that is, the Eutychieans, whether our Lord's body was naturally subject to death, the Catholics maintaining the affirmative, as Athanasius here. Eutyches asserted that our Lord had not a human nature, by which he meant among other things that His manhood was not subject to the laws of a body, but so far as He submitted to them, He did so by an act of will in each particular case; and this, lest it should seem that He was moved by the πᾶθη against His will ἀκουσίως; and consequently that His manhood was not subject to death. But the Catholics maintained that He had volun-

tarily placed Himself under those laws, and died naturally, vid. Athan. contr. Apoll. i. 17. and that after the resurrection His body became incorruptible, not according to nature, but by grace. vid. Leont. de Sect. x. p. 530. Anast. Hodeg. c. 23. To express their doctrine of the ὑπερφυῆς of our Lord's manhood the Eutychieans made use of the Catholic expression "ut voluit." vid. Athan. l. c. Eutyches ap. Leon. Ep. 21. "quomodo voluit et scit," twice. vid. also Eranist. i. p. 11. ii. p. 105. Leont. contr. Nest. i. p. 967. Pseudo-Athan. Serm. adv. Div. Hær. § 8. (t. 2. p. 570.)

Disc.

I.

man, and signs and wonders proved Him to beholders to be God, therefore it was not possible that He should be holden of death." To man it was not possible to prosper in this matter; for death belongs to man; wherefore, the Word, being God, became flesh, that, being put to death in the flesh, He might quicken all men by His own power.

§ 45.

¹ ἐλάττωμα, ad Adelph. 4.

11. But since He Himself is said to be *exalted*, and God *gave* Him, and the heretics think this a defect¹ or affection in the substance^k of the Word, it becomes necessary to explain how these words are used. He is said to be exalted from the lower parts of the earth, because, on the other hand, death is ascribed to Him. Both events are reckoned His, since it was His Body^l, and none other's, that was exalted from the dead and taken up into heaven. And again, the Body being His, and the Word not being external to it, it is natural that when the Body was exalted, He, as man, should, because of the body, be spoken of as exalted. If then He did not become man, let this not be said of Him; but if the Word became flesh, of necessity the resurrection and exaltation, as in the case of a man, must be ascribed to Him, that the death which is ascribed to Him may be a redemption of the sins of

^k At first sight it would seem as if S. Athanasius here used *οὐσία substance* for subsistence, or person; but this is not true except with an explanation. Its *direct* meaning is here, as usual, substance, though *indirectly* it comes to imply subsistence. He is speaking of that Divine Essence which, though also the Almighty Father's, is as simply and entirely the Word's as if it were only His. Nay, even when the Substance of the Father is spoken of in a sort of contrast to that of the Son, as in the phrase *οὐσία ἐξ οὐσίας*, harsh as such expressions are, it is not accurate to say that *οὐσία* is used for subsistence or person, or that two *οὐσίαι* are spoken of. (vid. *supr.* p. 155, note f) except, that is, by Arians, as Eusebius, *supr.* p. 63, note g. Just below we find *φύσις τοῦ λόγου*, § 51 *init.*

^l This was the question which came into discussion in the Nestorian controversy, when, as it was then expressed, all that took place in respect to the Eternal Word as man, belonged to His *Person*, and therefore might be predicated of Him; so that it was heretical

not to confess the Word's body, (or the body of God in the Person of the Word,) the Word's death, (as Athan. in the text,) the Word's exaltation, and the Word's, or God's, Mother, who was in consequence called *θεοτόκος*, which was the expression on which the controversy mainly turned. "The God-head," says Athan. elsewhere, "dwelt in the flesh bodily;" which is all one with saying, that, being God, He had a proper body, *ἴδιον*, and using this as an instrument, *ὀργάνον*, He became man, for our sakes; and because of this things *proper to the flesh are said to be His*, since He was in it, as hunger, thirst, suffering, fatigue, and the like, of which the flesh is capable, *δεκτικῆ*; while *the works proper to the Word* Himself, as raising the dead, and restoring sight to the blind, and curing the issue of blood, He did Himself *through* His body, &c." Orat. iii. 31 [*infra* p. 443]. *vid.* the whole passage, which is as precise as if it had been written after the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies, though without the technical words then adopted.

men and an abolition of death, and that the resurrection and exaltation may for His sake remain secure for us. In both respects he hath said of Him, *God hath highly exalted Him*, and *God hath given to Him*; that herein moreover he may shew that it is not the Father that hath become flesh, but it is His Word, who has become man, and has received after the manner of men from the Father, and is exalted by Him, as has been said. And it is plain, nor would any one dispute it, that what the Father gives, He gives through the Son. And it is marvellous and overwhelming verily, that the grace which the Son gives from the Father, that the Son Himself is said to receive; and the exaltation, which the Son effects from the Father, with that, the Son is Himself exalted. For He who is the Son of God, He Himself became the Son of Man; and, as Word, He gives from the Father, for all things which the Father does and gives, He does and supplies through Him; and as the Son of Man, He Himself is said after the manner of men to receive what proceeds from Him, because His Body is none other than His, and is a natural recipient of grace, as has been said. For He received it as far as man's nature¹ was exalted; which exaltation was its being deified. But such an exaltation the Word Himself always had according to the Father's Godhead² and perfection, which was His.

¹ τὸν ἄν-
θρωπον
² τὴν πα-
τρικὴν
ἐαυτοῦ
θεότητα,
vid. p.
145, note
r.

CHAP. XII.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; SECONDLY, PSALM xlv. 7, 8.

Whether the words “therefore,” “anointed,” &c. imply that the Word has been rewarded. Argued against first from the word “fellows” or “partakers.” He is anointed with the Spirit in His manhood to sanctify human nature. Therefore the Spirit descended on Him in Jordan, when in the flesh. And He is said to sanctify Himself for us, and give us the glory He has received. The word “wherefore” implies His divinity. “Thou hast loved righteousness,” &c. do not imply trial or choice.

Disc.
I.

§ 46.

1. SUCH an explanation of the Apostle’s words, confutes the irreligious men; and what the Psalmist says admits also the same orthodox sense, which they misinterpret, but which in the Psalmist is manifestly religious. He says then, *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy Kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity, therefore God, even Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows.* Behold, O ye Arians, and acknowledge even hence the truth. The Psalmist speaks of all us as *fellows* or *partakers*¹ of the Lord; but were He one of things which come out of nothing and of things generate, He Himself had been one of those who partake. But, since he hymned Him as the eternal God, saying, *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever*, and has declared that all other things partake of Him, what conclusion must we draw, but that He is distinct from generated things, and He only the Father’s veritable Word, Radiance, and Wisdom, which all things generate partake², being sanctified by Him in the Spirit³? And therefore He is here “anointed,” not that He may become God, for He was

¹ μετό-
χους

² p. 15,
note e.

³ It is here said that all things *generate* partake the Son and are *sanctified* by the Spirit. How a *γέννησις* or adoption through the Son is necessary for every creature in order to its consistence, life, or preservation, has been explained, *supr.* p. 32, note q. Sometimes the Son was considered as

the special Principle of reason, as by Origen, *vid. ap. Athan. Serap. iv. 9.* *vid. himself, de Incarn. 11.* These offices of the Son and the Spirit are contrasted by S. Basil, in his *de Sp. S. τὸν προστάττοντα κύριον, τὸν δημιουργοῦντα λόγον, τὸ στερεοῦν πνεῦμα,* &c. c. 16. n. 38.

so even before; nor that He may become King, for He had the Kingdom eternally, existing as God's Image, as the sacred Oracle shews; but in our behalf is this written, as before. For the Israelitish kings, upon their being anointed, then became kings, not being so before, as David, as Ezekias, as Josias, and the rest; but the Saviour on the contrary, being God, and ever ruling in the Father's Kingdom, and being Himself the Dispenser of the Holy Ghost, nevertheless is here said to be anointed, that, as before, being said as man to be anointed with the Spirit, He might provide for us men, not only exaltation and resurrection, but the indwelling and intimacy¹ of the Spirit. And signifying this the Lord Himself hath said by His own mouth in the Gospel according to John, *I have sent them into the world, and for their sakes do I sanctify Myself, that they may be sanctified in the truth*². In saying this He has shewn that He is not the sanctified, but the Sanctifier; for He is not sanctified by other, but Himself sanctifies Himself, that we may be sanctified in the truth. He who sanctifies Himself is Lord of sanctification. How then does this take place? What does He mean but this? "I, being the Father's Word, I give to Myself, when become man, the Spirit; and Myself, become man, do I sanctify in Him, that henceforth in Me, who am Truth, (for *Thy Word is Truth*,) all may be sanctified."

2. If then for our sake He sanctifies Himself, and does this when He becomes man, it is very plain that the Spirit's descent on Him in Jordan, was a descent upon us, because of His bearing our body. And it did not take place for promotion³ to the Word, but again for our sanctification, that we might share His anointing, and of us it might be said, *Know ye not that ye are God's Temple, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?* For when the Lord, as man, was washed in Jordan, it was we who were washed in Him and by Him⁴. And when He received the Spirit, we it was who by Him were made recipients of It. And moreover for this reason, not as Aaron or David or the rest, was He anointed with oil, but in another way above all His fellows, *with the oil of gladness*; which He Himself interprets to be the Spirit, saying by the Prophet, *The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because the Lord hath anointed Me*; as also the Apostle has

CHAP.
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¹ οἰκειώ-
τητα

John 17,
18. 19.

² vid.
Cyril,
Thesaur.
20.
p. 197.

§ 47.

³ ἐπι
βελτίω-
σει
1 Cor. 3,
16.

⁴ Pusey
on Bap-
tism, 2d
Ed. pp.
275—
293.

Isai. 61,
1.

Disc. said, *How God anointed Him with the Holy Ghost.* When
 1. then were these things spoken of Him but when He came
 Acts 10, in the flesh and was baptized in Jordan, and the Spirit de-
 38. scended on Him? And indeed the Lord Himself said, *The*
 John 16, *Spirit shall take of Mine; and I will send Him; and to His*
 14. 7; disciples, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost.* And notwithstanding,
 20, 22. He who, as the Word and Radiance of the Father, gives
 to others, now is said to be sanctified, because now He has
 become man, and the Body that is sanctified is His. From
 Him then we have begun to receive the unction and the
 seal, John saying, *And ye have an unction from the Holy*
 1 John 2, *One; and the Apostle, And ye were sealed with the Holy*
 20. *Spirit of promise.* Therefore because of us and for us are
 Eph.1,13. these words.

3. What advance then of promotion, and reward of virtue
 or generally of conduct, is proved from this in our Lord's
 instance? For if He was not God, and then had become
 God, if not being King He was preferred to the Kingdom,
 your reasoning would have had some faint plausibility. But
 if He is God and the throne of His kingdom is everlasting,
 in what way could God advance? or what was there want-
 ing to Him who was sitting on His Father's throne? And
 if, as the Lord Himself has said, the Spirit is His, and takes
 of His, and He sends It, it is not the Word, considered as
 the Word¹ and Wisdom, who is anointed with the Spirit
 which He Himself gives, but the flesh assumed by Him
 which is anointed in Him and by Him^b; that the sanctifi-

¹ p. 240,
 ref. 4.

^b Elsewhere Athan. says that our Lord's Godhead was the immediate anointing or chrism of the manhood He assumed. "God needed not the anointing, nor was the anointing made without God; but God both applied it, and also received it in that body which was capable of it." in Apollin. ii. 3. and τὸ χρίσμα ἐγὼ ὁ λόγος, τὸ δὲ χρισθὲν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Orat. iv. § 36 [infra p. 554]. vid. Origen. Periar. ii. 6. n. 4. And S. Greg. Naz. still more expressly, and from the same text as Athan. "The Father anointed Him 'with the oil of gladness above His fellows,' anointing the manhood with the Godhead." Orat. x fin. Again, "This [the Godhead] is the anointing

of the manhood, not sanctifying by an energy as the other Christs [anointed] but by a presence of Him whole who anointed, ὅλου τοῦ χρίοντος; whence it came to pass that what anointed was called man and what was anointed was made God." Orat. 30. 20. "He Himself anointed Himself; anointing as God the body with His Godhead, and anointed as man." Damasc. F. O. iii. 3. Dei Filius, sicut pluvia in vellus, toto divinitatis unguento nostram se fudit in carnem. Chrysolog. Serm. 60. It is more common, however, to consider that the anointing was the descent of the Spirit, as Athan. says at the beginning of this section, according to Luke iv. 18. Acts x. 38.

cation coming to the Lord as man, may come to all men from Him. For not of Itself, saith He, doth the Spirit speak, but the Word is He who gives It to the worthy. For this is like the passage considered above; for as the Apostle has written, *Who existing in form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but humbled Himself, and took a servant's form*, so David celebrates the Lord, as the everlasting God and King, but sent to us and assuming our body which is mortal. For this is his meaning in the Psalm, *All Thy garments^c smell of myrrh, aloes, and cassia*; and it is represented by Nicodemus and by Mary's company, when he came bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pounds weight; and they the spices which they had prepared for the burial of the Lord's body.

Ps. 45, 9^s

John 19, 39.
Luke 24, 1.

4. What advancement¹ then was it to the Immortal to have assumed the mortal? or what promotion is it to the Everlasting to have put on the temporal? what reward can be great to the Everlasting God and King in the bosom of the Father? See ye not, that this too was done and written because of us and for us, that us who are mortal and temporal, the Lord, become man, might make immortal, and bring into the everlasting kingdom of heaven? Blush ye not, speaking lies against the divine oracles? For when our Lord Jesus Christ had been among us, we indeed were promoted, as rescued from sin; but He is the same²: nor did He alter, when He became man, (to repeat what I have said,) but, as has been written, *The Word of God abideth for ever*. Surely as, before His becoming man, He, the Word, dispensed to the saints the Spirit as His own³, so also when made man, He sanctifies all by the Spirit and says to His Disciples, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*. And He gave to Moses and the other seventy; and through Him David prayed to the Father, saying, *Take not Thy Holy Spirit from me*. On the other hand, when made man, He said, *I will send to you the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth*; and He sent Him, He, the Word of God, as being faithful.

§ 48.

¹ προκοπή

² p. 23, note a; infra, § 51.

Isai. 40, 8. λόγος but ῥῆμα

³ p. 236, note c.

Ps. 51, 11.

John 15, 26.

^c Our Lord's manhood is spoken of as a garment; more distinctly afterwards, "As Aaron was himself, and did not change on putting round him

the high priest's garment, but remaining the same, was but clothed &c. Orat. ii. 8 [infra p. 291]. On the Apollinarian abuse of the idea, vid. note in loc.

Disc.
I.
Heb. 13,
8.

5. Therefore *Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever*, remaining unalterable, and at once gives and receives, giving as God's Word, receiving as man. It is not the Word then, viewed as the Word, that is promoted; for He had all things and has them always; but men, who have in Him and through Him their origin^d of receiving them. For, when He is now said to be anointed in a human respect, we it is who in Him are anointed; since also, when He is baptized, we it is who in Him are baptized. But on all these things the Saviour throws much light, when He says to the Father, *And the glory which Thou gavest Me, I have given to them, that they may be one, even as We are one.* Because of us then He asked for glory, and the words occur, *took and gave and highly exalted*, that we might take, and to us might be given, and we might be exalted, in Him; as also for us He sanctifies Himself, that we might be sanctified in Him¹.

John 17,
22.

¹ Cyril,
Thesaur.
20. p.
197.

^d The word origin, ἀρχή, implies the doctrine, more fully brought out in other passages of the Fathers, that our Lord has deigned to become an instrumental cause, as it may be called, of the life of each individual Christian. For at first sight it may be objected to the whole course of Athan.'s argument thus;—What connection is there between the sanctification of Christ's manhood and ours? how does it prove that human nature is sanctified because a particular specimen of it was sanctified in Him? S. Chrysostom explains; "He is born of our substance: you will say, 'This does not pertain to all;' yea, to all. He mingles (ἀναμίγνυσιν) Himself with the faithful individually, through the mysteries, and whom He has begotten those He nurses from Himself, not puts them out to other hands," &c. Hom. in Matt. 82. 5. [p. 1092 O.T.] And just before, "It sufficed not for Him to be made man, to be scourged, to be sacrificed; but He assimilates us to Him (ἀναφύρει ἐαυτὸν ἡμῖν), not merely by faith, but really, has He made us His body." [p. 1091]. Again, "That we are commingled (ἀνακρασθῶμεν) into that flesh, not merely through love, but really, is brought about by means of that food which He has bestowed upon us." Hom. in Joann. 46. 3. [p. 399 O.T.] And so S. Cyril writes against Nestorius: "Since we have proved that Christ is the Vine, and we branches as adhering to a communion with Him, not spiritual merely but bodily, why

clamours he against us thus bootlessly, saying that, since we adhere to Him, not in a bodily way, but rather by faith and the affection of love according to the Law, therefore He has called, not His own flesh the vine, but rather the Godhead?" in Joann. lib. 10. Cap. 2. pp. 863, 4. And Nyssen: "As they who have taken poison, destroy its deadly power by some other preparation. . . . so when we have tasted what destroys our nature, we have need of that instead which restores what was destroyed. . . . But what is this? nothing else than that Body which has been proved to be mightier than death, and was the beginning, κατ' ἄρχατο, of our life. For a little leaven," &c. Orat. Catech. 37. Decoetâ quasi per ollam carnis nostræ cruditate, sanctificavit in æternum nobis cibum carnem suam. Paulin. Ep. 23. Of course in such statements nothing *material* is implied; or, as Hooker says, "The mixture of His bodily substance with ours is a thing which the ancient Fathers disclaim. Yet the mixture of His flesh with ours they speak of, to signify what our very bodies through mystical conjunction receive from that vital efficacy which we know to be in His, and from bodily mixtures they borrow divers similitudes rather to declare the truth than the manner of coherence between His sacred and the sanctified bodies of saints." Ecl. Pol. v. 56. § 10. But without some explanation of this nature, language such as S. Athanasius's in the text seems a mere matter of words. vid. infr. § 50 fin.

6. But if they take advantage of the word *wherefore*, as connected with the passage in the Psalm, *Wherefore God, even Thy God, hath anointed Thee*, for their own purposes, let these novices in Scripture and masters in irreligion know, that, as before, the word *wherefore* does not imply reward of virtue or conduct in the Word, but the reason why He came down to us, and of the Spirit's anointing which took place in Him for our sakes. For He says not, "Wherefore He anointed Thee in order to Thy being God or King or Son or Word;" for so He was before and is for ever, as has been shewn; but rather, "Since Thou art God and King, therefore Thou wast anointed, since none but Thou couldst unite man to the Holy Ghost, Thou the Image of the Father, in which¹ we were made in the beginning; for Thine is even the Spirit." For the nature of things generate could give no warranty for this, Angels having transgressed, and men disobeyed^e. Wherefore there was need of God; and the Word is God; that those who had become under a curse, He Himself might set free. If then He was of nothing, He would not have been the Christ or Anointed, being one among others and having fellowship as the rest². But, whereas He is God, as being Son of God, and is everlasting King, and exists as Radiance and Expression of the Father, therefore fitly is He the expected Christ, whom the Father announces to mankind, by revelation to His holy Prophets; that as through Him we have come to be, so also in Him all men might be redeemed from their sins, and by Him all things might be ruled^f. And this is the cause of

СНАР.
XII.
§ 49.

¹ p. 254,
note 1.

² p. 15,
note e.

Heb. 1,
3.

^e ἀγγέλων μὲν παραβάτων, ἀνθρώπων δὲ παρακουσάντων. vid. infr. § 51. init. And so ad Afr. 7. ἀγγέλων μὲν παραβάτων, τοῦ δὲ Ἀδάμ παρακούσαντος, where the inference is added more distinctly, "and all creatures needing the grace of the Word," who is ἀτρεπτος, whereas τρεπτά τὰ γενητά. vid. supr. p. 32, note q; infr. Orat. ii. iii. Cyril. in Joann. lib. v. 2. On the subject of the sins of Angels, vid. Huet. Origen. ii. 5. § 16. Petav. Dogm. t. 3. p. 87. Dissert. Bened. in Cyril. Hier. iii. 5. Natal. Alex. Hist. Æt. i. Diss. 7.

^f The word *wherefore* is here declared to denote the *fitness* why the Son of God should become the Son of

man. His Throne, as God, is for ever; He has loved righteousness; therefore He is equal to the anointing of the Spirit, as man. And so S. Cyril on the same text, as in l. c. in the foregoing note. "In this ineffable unity of the Trinity, whose words and judgments are common in all, the Person of the Son has fitly undertaken to repair the race of man, that, since He it is by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing is made, and who breathed the truth of rational life into men fashioned of the dust of the earth, so He too should restore to its lost dignity our nature thus fallen from the citadel of eternity, and should be the

DISC. the anointing which took place in Him, and of the incarnate
 I. presence of the Word^g; which the Psalmist foreseeing, celebrates, first His Godhead and kingdom, which is the Father's, Ps. 45, 5. in these tones, *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy Kingdom*; then, Ib. 8. announces His descent to us thus, *Wherefore God, even Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows.*

§ 50. 7. What is there to wonder at, what to disbelieve, if the Lord who gives the Spirit, is here said Himself to be anointed with the Spirit, at a time when, necessity requiring it, He did not refuse in respect of His manhood to call Himself inferior to the Spirit? For the Jews saying that He cast out devils in Beelzebub, He answered and said to them, for the Matt. 12, 28. exposure of their blasphemy, *But if I through the Spirit of God cast out devils.* Behold, the Giver of the Spirit here says that He cast out devils in the Spirit; but this is not said, except because of His flesh. For since man's nature is not equal of itself to casting out devils, but only in power of the Spirit, therefore as man He said, *But if I through the Spirit of God cast out devils.* Of course too He signified that the blasphemy offered to the Holy Ghost is greater than that against His humanity, when He said, *Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him*; such Ib. 32. as were those who said, *Is not this the carpenter's son?* but Ib. 13, 55. they who blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, and ascribe the deeds of the Word to the devil, shall have inevitable punishment^h. This is what the Lord spoke to the Jews, as

reformer of that of which He had been the maker." Leon. Ep. 64. 2. vid. Athan. de Incarn. 7 fin. 10. In Illud omn. 2. Cyril. in Gen. i. p. 13.

^g *ἐνσαρκος παρουσία.* This phrase which has occurred above, § 8. p. 190, is very frequent with Athan. vid. infr. § 53, 59, 62 fin. ii. 6, 10, 55, 66 twice, 72 fin. iii. 28, 35. Incarn. 20. Sent. D. 9. Ep. Æg. 4. Serap. i. 3, 9. vid. also Cyril. Catech. iii. 11. xii. 15. xiv. 27, 30. Epiph. Hær. 77. 17. The Eutychians avail themselves of it at the Council of Constantinople, vid. Hard. Conc. t. 2. pp. 164, 236.

^h He enters into the explanation of this text at some length in Serap. iv. 8. &c. Origen, he says, and Theo-

gnostus understand the sin against the Holy Ghost to be apostasy from the grace of Baptism, referring to Heb. vi. 4. So far the two agree; but Origen went on to say, that the proper power or virtue of the Son extends over rational natures alone, e. g. heathens, but that of the Spirit only over Christians; those then who sin against the Son or their reason, have a remedy in Christianity and its baptism, but nothing remains for those who sin against the Spirit. But Theognostus, referring to the text, "I have many things to say but ye cannot bear them now; howbeit when He, the Spirit of Truth," &c. argued that to sin against the Son was to sin against inferior light, but

man ; but to the disciples shewing His Godhead and His majesty, and intimating that He was not inferior but equal to the Spirit, He gave the Spirit and said, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost, and I send Him, and He shall glorify Me, and whatsoever He heareth, that He shall speak.* As then in this place the Lord Himself, the Giver of the Spirit, does not refuse to say that through the Spirit He casts out devils, as man ; in like manner He the same, the Giver of the Spirit, refused not to say, *The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath anointed Me,* in respect of His having become flesh, as John hath said ; that it might be shewn in both these particulars, that we are they who need the Spirit's grace in our sanctification, and again who are unable to cast out devils without the Spirit's power. Through whom then and from whom behoved it that the Spirit should be given but through the Son, whose also the Spirit is ? and when were we enabled to receive It, except when the Word became man ? and, as the passage of the Apostle shews, that we had not been redeemed and highly exalted, had not He who exists in form of God taken a servant's form, so David also shews, that no otherwise should we have partaken the Spirit and been sanctified, but that the Giver of the Spirit, the Word Himself, had spoken of Himself as anointed with the Spirit for us. And therefore have we securely received it, He being said to be anointed in the flesh ; for the flesh being first sanctified in Him ¹, and He being said, as man, to have received for its sake, we have the sequel of the Spirit's grace, receiving out of His fulness.

8. Nor do the words, *Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity,* which are added in the Psalm, shew, as again you suppose, that the Nature of the Word is alterable, but rather by their very force signify His unalterableness. For since of things generate the nature is alterable, and the one portion had transgressed and the other disobeyed, as has been said, and it is not certain how they will act, but it often happens that he who is now good afterwards alters and becomes different, so that one who was but now righteous, soon is found unrighteous, wherefore there was here also against the Spirit was to reject the full truth of the Gospel. And then he goes on to give the same interpretation as here in the text, in a passage of great force and beauty.

CHAP.
XII.John 20,
22.
Ib. 16, 13.
14.

Is. 61, 1.

¹ p. 250,
note d.
John 1,
16.
§ 51.

Disc.
I.

need of one unalterable, that men might have the immutability of the righteousness of the Word as an image and type for virtue¹. And this thought commends itself strongly to the right-minded. For since the first man Adam altered, and through sin death came into the world, therefore it became the second Adam to be unalterable; that, should the Serpent again assault, even the Serpent's deceit might be baffled, and, the Lord being unalterable and unchangeable, the Serpent might become powerless in his assaults against all. For as when Adam had transgressed, his sin reached unto all men, so, when the Lord had become man and had overthrown the Serpent, that so great strength of His is to extend through all men, so that each of us may say, *For we are not ignorant of his devices*. Good reason then that the Lord, who ever is in nature unalterable, loving righteousness and hating iniquity, should be anointed and Himself sent on mission, that, He, being and remaining the same¹, by taking this alterable flesh, *might condemn sin in it*, and might secure its freedom, and its ability^k henceforth *to fulfil the righteousness of the law* in itself, so as to be able to say, *But we are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in us*.

2 Cor. 2,
11.

¹ p. 249,
ref. 2.
Rom. 8, 3.
Ib. 4.
Ib. 9.

§ 52.

9. Vainly then, here again, O Arians, have ye made this conjecture, and vainly alleged the words of Scripture; for God's Word is unalterable, and is ever in one state, not as it may happen¹, but as the Father is; since how is He like

¹ Vid. Athan. de Incarn. 13. 14. vid. also Gent. 41 fin. and supr. p. 29, note k. Cum iustitia nulla esset in terrâ, doctorem misit, quasi vivam legem. Lactant. Instit. iv. 25. "The Only-begotten was made man like us, . . . as if lending us His own stedfastness." Cyril. in Joann. lib. v. 2. p. 473 [p. 549 O.T.]; vid. also Thesaur. 20. p. 198. August. de Corr. et Grat. 10—12. Damasc. F. O. iv. 4. But the words of Athan. embrace too many subjects to illustrate distinctly in a note.

^k "Without His sojourning here at all, God was able to speak the Word only and undo the curse . . . but then the power indeed of Him who gave command had been shewn, but man had been but such as Adam before the fall, receiving grace from without, not having it united to the body. . . . Then,

had he been again seduced by the serpent, a second need had arisen of God's commanding and undoing the curse; and this had gone on without limit, and men had remained under guilt just as before, being in slavery to sin; and ever sinning, they had ever needed pardon, and never been made free, being in themselves carnal, and ever defeated by the Law by reason of the infirmity of the flesh." Orat. ii. 68 [infra pp. 378, 379]. And so in Incarn. 7. he says that repentance might have been pertinent, had man merely offended, without corruption following; but that that corruption involved the necessity of the Word's vicarious sufferings and intercessory office.

¹ ἀπλῶς, οὐκ ἀπλῶς ὄρισθη, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς ἐξητάσθη. Socr. i. 9. p. 31.

the Father, unless He be thus? or how is all that is the Father's, the Son's also, if He has not the unalterableness and unchangeableness of the Father¹? Not as being subject to laws^m, and as influenced this way and that, does He love this and hate that, lest, if from fear of forfeiture He chooses the opposite, we admit in another way that He is alterable; but, as being God and the Father's Word, He is a just judge and lover of virtue, or rather its dispenser. Therefore being just and holy by nature, on this account He is said to love righteousness and to hate iniquity; as much as to say, that He loves and takes to Him the virtuous, and rejects and hates the unrighteous. And divine Scripture says the same of the Father; *The Righteous Lord loveth righteousness; Thou hatest all them that work iniquity*; and, *The Lord loveth the gates of Sion, more than all the dwellings of Jacob*; and, *Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated*; and in Esaias, there is the voice of God again saying, *I the Lord love righteousness, and hate robbery of unrighteousness*. Let them then expound those former words as these latter; for the former also are written of the Image of God: else, misinterpreting these as those, they will conceive that the Father too is alterable. But, since the very hearing others say this is not without peril, we do well to think that God is said to love righteousness and to hate robbery of unrighteousness, not as if influenced this way and that, and capable of the contrary, selecting one thing and not choosing another, for this belongs to things generated, but that, as a judge, He loves and takes to Him the righteous and withdraws from the bad. It follows then to think the same concerning the Image of God also, that He loves and hates no otherwise than thus. For such must be the nature of the Image as is Its Father, though the Arians in their blindness fail to see either that Image or any other truth of the divine oracles. For being forced from the conceptions or rather misconceptionsⁿ of their own hearts, they fall back upon passages of divine

CHAP.
XII.
vid. John
17, 10.
¹ p. 231,
ref. 1.

Ps. 11, 8;
5, 5.
87, 2.
Mal. 1, 2.
3.
Is. 61, 8.

^m Eunomius said that our Lord was utterly separate from the Father, "by natural law," νόμῳ φύσεως; S. Basil observes, "as if the God of all had not power over Himself, εαυτοῦ κύριος, but were in bondage under the decrees of

necessity." contr. Eunom. ii. 30.
ⁿ ἐννοιῶν μᾶλλον δὲ παρανοιῶν. vid. p. 237, note d. And so κατ' ἐπίνοιαν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἀπόνοια. Orat. ii. § 38 [infra p. 333].

Disc. Scripture, and here too from want of understanding, according to their wont, they discern not their meaning; but laying down their own irreligion as a sort of canon of interpretation^o, they wrest the whole of the divine oracles into accordance with it. And so on the bare mention of such doctrine, they deserve nothing but the reply, *Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God*; and if they persist in it, they must be put to silence, by the words, *Render to man the things that are man's, and to God the things that are God's.*

Matt. 22, 29.

Ib. 21.

^o *ἰδίαν*. vid. p. 233, note a. p. 257, ref. 5. *ἰδίως κακονοιῶν*, Orat. ii. § 18 [infra p. 307]. Instead of professing to examine Scripture or to acquiesce in what they had been taught, the Arians were remarkable for insisting on certain abstract positions or inferences on

which they make the whole controversy turn. Vid. Socrates's account of Arius's commencement, "If God has a Son, he must have a beginning of existence." &c. &c. and so the word *ἀγενητόν*.

CHAP. XIII.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; THIRDLY, HEBREWS i. 4.

Additional texts brought as objections; e. g. Heb. i. 4. vii. 22. Whether the word "better" implies likeness to the Angels; and "made" or "become" implies creation. Necessary to consider the circumstances under which Scripture speaks. Difference between "better" and "greater;" texts in proof. "Made" or "become" a general word. Contrast in Heb. i. 4. between the Son and the Works in point of nature. The difference of the punishments under the two Covenants shews the difference of the natures of the Son and the Angels. "Become" relates not to the nature of the Word, but to His manhood and office and relation towards us. Parallel passages in which the term is applied to the Eternal Father.

1. BUT it is written, say they, in the Proverbs, *The Lord created Me the beginning of His ways, for His works*¹; and in the Epistle to the Hebrews the Apostle says, *Being made so much better than the Angels, as He hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent Name than they.* And soon after, *Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Christ Jesus, who was faithful to Him that appointed Him*². And in the Acts, *Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus whom ye have crucified both Lord and Christ*³. These passages they brought forward at every turn, mistaking their sense, under the idea that they proved that the Word of God was a creature and work and one of things generate; and thus they deceive the thoughtless, making the language of Scripture their pretence, but instead of the true sense sowing⁴ upon it the poison of their own⁵ heresy. For had they known, they would not have been irreligious against *the Lord of glory*, nor have wrested the good words of Scripture. If then henceforward openly adopting Caiaphas's way,

CHAP.
XIII.
§ 53.
Prov. 8,
22.
1 vid.
Orat. ii.
§ 19—72.
Heb. 1, 4.
Ib. 3, 1.
2 vid.
Orat. ii.
§ 2—11.
Acts 2,
36.
3 vid.
Orat. ii.
§ 11—
18.
4 p. 5,
note k.
5 1810v
1 Cor. 2,
8.

Disc. they have determined on judaizing, and are ignorant of the
 I. text, that verily God shall dwell upon the earth, let them not
 vid. inquire into the Apostolical sayings; for they were out of
 1 Kings place with Jews. Or, if mixing themselves up with the god-
 8, 27. less Manichees^a, they deny that *the Word was made flesh*,
 Zech. 2, and His incarnate presence¹, then let them not bring for-
 10. Bar. ward the Proverbs, for this is out of place with the Mani-
 3, 37. chees. But if for preferment-sake, and the lucre of avarice
 1 p. 252, which follows², and the desire for good repute, they venture
 note g. not on denying the text, *The Word was made flesh*, since
 so it is written, either let them rightly interpret the words
 of Scripture, of the embodied³ presence of the Saviour, or,
 if they deny their sense, let them deny too that the Lord
 became man. For it is unseemly, while confessing that *the
 Word became flesh*, yet to be ashamed at what is written of
 Him, and on that account to corrupt the sense.

§ 54. 2. Thus, it is written, *So much better than the Angels*; let
 us then first examine this. Now it is right and necessary,
 as in all divine Scripture, so here, faithfully to expound the
 time of which the Apostle wrote, and the person⁴, and the
 point; lest the reader, from ignorance missing either these
 or any similar particular, may be wide of the true sense. This
 understood that inquiring eunuch, when he thus besought
 Philip, *I pray thee, of whom doth the Prophet speak this? of
 Act 8, himself, or of some other man?* for he feared lest, expounding
 34. the lesson unsuitably to the person, he should wander from
 the right sense. And the disciples, wishing to learn the
 time of what was foretold, besought the Lord, *Tell us*, said
 Matt. 24, they, *when shall these things be? and what is the sign of Thy
 3. coming?* And again, hearing from the Saviour the events
 of the end, they desired to learn the time of it, that they
 might be kept from error themselves, and might be able to
 teach others; as, for instance, when they have learned, they
 set right the Thessalonians, who were going wrong. When
 then one knows properly these points, his understanding of
 the faith is right and healthy; but if he mistakes any such
 points, forthwith he falls into heresy. Thus the party of
 Hymenæus and Alexander were beside the time, when they
 vid. 1 Thess. 4, 13.
 2 Thess. 2, 1. &c.
 2 Tim. 2, 17. 18.
 1 Tim. 1, 20.

^a Vid. the same contrast, de Syn. § 33. p. 130; supr. § 8. p. 189;
 Orat. iv. § 23 [p. 540].

said that the resurrection had already been ; and the Galatians were after the time, in making much of circumcision now. And to miss the person was the lot of the Jews, and is still, who think that of one of themselves is said, *Behold, a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, and they shall call His Name Emmanuel, which is being interpreted, God with us ;* and that, *A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up to you,* is spoken of one of the Prophets ; and who, as to the words, *He was led as a sheep to the slaughter,* instead of learning from Philip, conjecture them spoken of Esaias or some other of the Prophets which have been ^b.

CHAP. XIII.

Is. 7, 14. Matt. 1, 23.

Deut. 18, 15.

Is. 53, 7.

3. Such has been the state of mind under which Christ's enemies have fallen into their execrable heresy ¹. For had they known the person, and the subject, and the season of

§ 55.

¹ μωσα- ράβ.

the Apostle's words, they would not have expounded of Christ's divinity what belongs to His manhood, nor in their folly have committed so great an act of irreligion. Now this will be readily seen, if one expounds properly the beginning of this passage. For the Apostle says, *God who at sundry times and divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son ;* then again shortly after he says, *when He had by Himself purged our sins, He sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high, having become ² so much better than the Angels, as He hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent Name than they.* It appears then that the Apostle's words make mention of that time, when God spoke unto us by His Son, and when a purging of sins took place.

Heb. 1, 1. 2.

Ib. 3, 4.

² γενό- μενος, being made. E. V.

Now when did He speak unto us by His Son, and when did purging of sins take place? and when did He become man? when, but subsequently to the Prophets in the last days? Next, proceeding with his account of the economy in which we were concerned, and speaking of the last times, he is naturally led to observe that not even in the former times was God silent with men, but spoke to them by the Prophets. And, whereas the Prophets ministered, and the Law

^b The more common evasion on the part of the Jews was to interpret the prophecy of their own sufferings in captivity. It was an idea of Grotius that the prophecy received a first fulfilment in Jeremiah. vid. Justin Tryph. 72 [p. 164 O.T.] et al., Iren. Hær. iv.

33 [pp. 404, 409 sqq. O.T.], Tertull. in Jud. 9, Cyprian. Testim. in Jud. ii. 13 [p. 49 sqq. O.T.], Euseb. Dem. iii. 2. &c. [cf. Driver and Neubauer Jewish commentaries on Is. lii. and liii. and Introduction to English Translation of these pp. xxxvii. sq.]

Disc. I. was spoken by Angels, while the Son too came on earth, and that in order to minister, he was forced to add, *Become so much better than the Angels*, wishing to shew that, as much as the son excels a servant, so much also the ministry of the Son is better than the ministry of servants. Contrasting then the old ministry and the new, the Apostle deals freely with the Jews, writing and saying, *Become so much better than the Angels*. This is why throughout he uses no comparison, such as “become greater,” or “more honourable,” lest we should think of Him and them as one in kind¹, but *better*² is his word, by way of marking the difference of the Son’s nature from things generated. And of this we have proof from divine Scripture; David, for instance, saying in the Psalm, *One day in Thy courts is better than a thousand*: and Solomon crying out, *Receive my instruction and not silver, and knowledge rather than choice gold. For wisdom is better than rubies; and all the things that may be desired are not to be compared to it*. Are not wisdom and stones of the earth different in substance³ and separate⁴ in nature? Are heavenly courts at all akin to earthly houses? Or is there any similarity between things eternal and spiritual, and things temporal and mortal? And this is what Esaias says, *Thus saith the Lord unto the eunuchs that keep My sabbaths, and choose the things that please Me, and take hold of My Covenant; even unto them will I give in Mine house, and within My walls, a place and a name better than of sons and of daughters: I will give them an everlasting name that shall not be cut off*. In like manner there is nought akin between the Son and the Angels; so that the word *better* is not used to compare but to contrast, because of the difference⁵ of His nature from them. And therefore the Apostle also himself, when he interprets the word *better*, places its force in nothing short of the Son’s excellence⁶ over things generated, calling the one Son, the other servants; the one, as a Son with the Father, sitting on the right; and the others, as servants, standing before Him, and being sent, and fulfilling offices. Scripture, in speaking thus, implies, O Arians, not that the Son is generate, but rather other than things generate, and proper to the Father, being in His bosom.

¹ ὁμογενῶν, vid. p. 169.

² κρείττων, superior or above. Ps. 84, 10.

Prov. 8, 10. 11.

³ ἕτεροσυσία
⁴ ἄλλα

Is. 56, 4. 5.

⁵ τὸ ἀλλόττον

⁶ διαφορῆ

4. Nor^c does even the expression *become*, which here occurs, shew that the Son is generate, as ye suppose. If indeed it were simply *become* and no more, a case might stand for the Arians; but, whereas they are forestalled with the word *Son* throughout the passage, shewing that He is other than things generate, so again not even the word *become* occurs absolutely^d, but *better* is immediately subjoined. For the writer thought the expression immaterial, knowing that in the case of one who was confessedly a genuine Son, to say *become* is the same with saying that He was generated, and that He is *better*. For it matters not though we speak of what is generate, as “become” or “made;” but on the contrary, things generate cannot be called generate, God’s handiwork as they are, except so far as after their making they partake of the Son who is the true Generate, and are therefore said to have been generated also, not at all in their own nature, but because of their participation of the Son in the Spirit^e. And this again divine Scripture

^c There is apparently much confusion in the arrangement of the paragraphs that follow; though the appearance may perhaps arise from Athan.’s incorporating some passage from a former work into his text. vid. p. 227. note d. It is easy to suggest alterations, but not any thing satisfactory. The same ideas are scattered about. Thus *συγκριτικῶς* occurs in n. 3. and n. 5. The Son’s seat on the right, and Angels in ministry, n. 3 fin. n. 10. n. 11. “Become” interpreted as “is generated and is,” n. 4. and n. 11. The explanation of “become,” n. 4. n. 9. n. 11.—n. 14. The Word’s *ἐπιδημία* is introduced in n. 7. and 8. *παρουσία* being the more common word; *ἐπιδημία* occurs Orat. ii. § 67 init. Serap. i. 9. Vid. however p. 268, notes n and o. If a change must be suggested, it would be to transfer n. 4. after n. 8. and n. 10. after n. 3.

^d ἀπολελυμένως. vid. also Orat. ii. 54. 62. iii. 22. Basil. contr. Eunom. i. p. 244. Cyril. Thesaur. 25. p. 236. διαλελυμένως. Orat. iv. 1.

^e In this translation, *γενητὸν* and *γεννητὸν* have been considered as synonymous, in spite of such distinction in the reading, as Montfaucon adopts; and this under the impression that that distinction is of a later date, Athan. as Basil after him, apparently not recognising it. The Platonists certainly

spoke of the Almighty as ἀγέννητος, and the world as γεννητὸς, and the Arians took advantage of this phraseology. If then Athan. did not admit it, he would naturally have said so; whereas his argument is, “True, the world or creation is γεννητὸς, but only by μετουσία, as partaking of Him who is the one and only real γεννητὸς, or Son.” vid. p. 32, note q. That is, he does not discriminate between two distinct ideas, “Son” and “creature” confused by a common name, but he admits their connection, only explains it; or, to speak logically, instead of considering *γεννητὸν* and *γενητὸν* as equivocal words, he uses them as synonymous and one, with a primary and secondary meaning. Afterwards they were distinguished, p. 226, note c. In like manner, our Lord is called *μονογενῆς*. Athan. speaks of the *γένεσις* of human sons, and of the Divine, de Decr. § 11. and in de Syn. § 47. he observes that S. Ignatius calls the Son *γενητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος*, without a hint about the distinction of roots. Again, one of the original Arian positions was that our Lord was a *γέννημα* ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῶν γεννημάτων, which Athan. frequently notices and combats, vid. Orat. ii. 19. But instead of answering it by substituting *γενητῶν*, as if *ποιημάτων*, for *γεννημάτων*, he allows that *γέννημα* may be taken as synonymous with

Disc. 1. recognises; for it not only says in the case of things generate, *All things came to be through Him, and without Him there was not any thing made, and, In wisdom hast Thou made them all*; but in the case of sons also which are generate, *To Job there came seven sons and three daughters, and, Abraham was an hundred years old when there came to him Isaac his son*; and Moses said, *If to any one there come sons*. Therefore since the Son is other than things generate, alone the proper offspring of the Father's substance, this plea of the Arians about the word *become* is worth nothing.

5. If moreover, baffled so far, they should still violently insist that the language is that of comparison, and that comparison in consequence implies oneness of kind¹, so that the Son is of the nature of Angels, they will in the first place incur the disgrace of rivalling and repeating what Valentinus held, and Carpocrates, and those other heretics, of whom the former said that the Angels were one in kind with the Christ, and Carpocrates that Angels are framers of the world^f. Perchance it is under the instruction of these masters that they compare the Word of God with the Angels; though surely amid such speculations, they will be moved by the Psalmist, *Who is he among the gods that shall be like unto the Lord?* and, *Among the gods there is none like unto Thee, O Lord*. However, they must be answered, with the chance of their profiting by it, that comparison confessedly does belong to subjects one in kind, not to those which differ. No one, for instance, would compare God with man, or again man with brutes, nor wood with stone, because their natures are unlike; but God is beyond comparison, and man is com-

κρίσμα, and only argues that there is a special sense of it in which it applies to the Word, not as one of a number, as the Arians said, but solely, incommunicably, as being the *μονογενής*. In the passage before us, which at first seems to require the distinction, he does but say, 1. that the Son is not *γενητός* or *γεννητός*, "generate," i.e. in the general sense; 2. that He is generated, *γεγενῆσθαι* or *γεγεννησθαι*, as the *μονογενής*; 3. that the *γενητὰ* or *γεννητὰ* (creatures) are called *γενητὰ*, or said *γεγεννησθαι*, as partaking of the *γεννητός* *υἱός*. 4. that (in themselves) they are properly said *γεγονέναι* or *πεποιθῆσθαι*. It may be admitted, as

evident even from this passage, that though Athan. does not distinguish between *γενητὸν* and *γεννητὸν*, yet he considers *γεγεννησθαι* or *γέννημα* as especially appropriate to the Son, *γεγονέναι* and *γενόμενος* to the creation.

^f These tenets and similar ones were common to many branches of the Gnostics, who paid worship to the Angels, or ascribed to them the creation; the doctrine of their consubstantiality with our Lord arose from their belief in emanation. S. Athanasius here uses the word *δμογενής*, not *δμοούσιος* which was usual with them (vid. Bull D. F. N. ii. 1. § 2) as with the Manichees after them, Beausobre, Manich. iii. 8.

¹ δμο-
γενῆ,
p. 260,
ref. 1.

§ 57.

Ps. 89, 7.
Ib. 86, 8.

pared to man, and wood to wood, and stone to stone. Now in such cases we should not speak of *better*, but of "rather" and "more;" thus Joseph was comely rather than his brethren, and Rachel than Leah; star¹ is not better than star, but is the rather excellent in glory; whereas in bringing together things which differ in kind, then *better* is used to mark the difference, as has been said in the case of wisdom and jewels. Had then the Apostle said, "by so much has the Son precedence of the Angels," or "by so much greater," you would have had a plea, as if the Son were compared with the Angels; but, as it is, in saying that He is *better*, and differs as far as Son from servants, the Apostle shews that He is other than the Angels in nature.

6. Moreover by saying that He it is who has *laid the foundation of all things*, he shews that He is other than all things generate. But if He be other and different in substance² from their nature, what comparison of His substance³ can there be, or what likeness to them? though, even if they have any such thoughts, Paul shall refute them, who speaks to the very point, *For unto which of the Angels said He at any time, Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee? And of the Angels He saith, Who maketh His Angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire.* Observe here, the word *made* belongs to things generate, and he calls them things made; but to the Son he speaks not of making, nor of becoming, but of eternity and kingship, and a Framer's office, exclaiming, *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever; and, Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the works of Thine hands; they shall perish, but Thou remainest.* From which words even they, were they but willing, might perceive that the Framer is other than things framed, the former God, the latter things generate, made out of nothing. For what has been said, *They shall perish*, is said, not as if the creation were destined for destruction, but to express the nature of things generate by the issue to which they tend⁴. For things which admit of perishing, though through the grace⁵ of their Maker they perish not, yet have come out of nothing, and themselves witness that they once were not. And on this account, since their nature is such, it is said of

CHAP. XIII.

¹ Orat. ii. § 20.

Heb. 1, 10.

² ετεροουσιον. ³ p. 144, note k.

1b. 5. 7.

§ 58.

1b. 8.

1b. 10, 11.

⁴ p. 223, note g.

⁵ p. 32, note q.

Disc. the Son, *Thou remainest*, to shew His eternity; for not
I. having the capacity of perishing, as things generate have, but having eternal duration, it is foreign to Him to have it said, "He was not before His generation," but proper to Him to be always, and to endure together with the Father. And though the Apostle had not thus written in his Epistle to the Hebrews, still his other Epistles, and the whole of Scripture, would certainly forbid their entertaining such notions concerning the Word. But since he has here expressly written it, and, as has been above shewn, the Son is Offspring of the Father's substance, and He is Framer, and other things are framed by Him, and He is the Radiance and Word and Image and Wisdom of the Father, and things generate stand and serve in their place below the Trinity, therefore the Son is different in kind and different in substance from things generate, and on the contrary is proper to the Father's substance and one in nature to it^s. And hence it is that the

John 14, Son too says not, *My Father is better than I*, lest we should
28. conceive Him to be foreign to His Nature, but *greater*, not indeed in greatness, nor in time, but because of His generation from the Father Himself^h; nay, in saying *greater* He again shews that He is proper to His substance.

§ 59. 7. And the Apostle's own reason for saying, *so much better than the Angels*, was not any wish in the first instance to compare the substance¹ of the Word to things generate, (for He cannot be compared, rather they are incommeasurable,) but regarding the Word's visitation² in the flesh, and the economy which He then sustained, he wished to shew that He was not like those who had gone before Him; so that, as much as He excelled in nature those who were sent afore by Him, by so much also the grace which came from and through Him was better than the ministry through Angelsⁱ. For it is the function of servants, to demand the fruits and no more; but of the Son and Master to forgive the debts and to transfer the vineyard.

¹ p. 263,
 ref. 3. §
 60. 62.
 64. ii.
 § 18.
² επιδη-
 μίαν

^s Here again is a remarkable avoidance of the word *δμοούσιον*. He says that the Son is *ἐτερογενής καὶ ἑτεροούσιος τῶν γεννητῶν, καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας ἴδιος καὶ ὁμοφύης*. vid. pp. 209, 210, notes d. e.

^h Athan. otherwise explains this

text, Incarn. contr. Arian. 4. if it be his. This text is thus taken by Basil. contr. Eun. iv. p. 289. Naz. Orat. 30. 7. &c. &c.

ⁱ He also applies this text to our Lord's economy and ministry, de Sent. D. 11. in Apoll. ii. 15.

8. Certainly what the Apostle proceeds to say shews the excellence of the Son over things generate; *Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should let them slip. For if the word spoken by Angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward; how shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard Him.* But if the Son were in the number of things generate, He was not better than they, nor did disobedience involve increase of punishment because of Him; any more than in the Ministry of Angels there was not, according to each Angel, greater or less guilt in the transgressors, but the Law was one, and one was its vengeance on transgressors. But, whereas the Word is not in the number of generate things, but is Son of the Father, therefore, as He Himself is better and His acts better and transcendent, so also the punishment is worse. Let them contemplate then the grace which is through the Son, and let them acknowledge the witness which He gives even from His works, that He is other than things generated, and alone the very Son in the Father and the Father in Him. And the Law^k was spoken by Angels, and perfected no one, needing the visitation of the Word, as Paul hath said; but that visitation has perfected the work of the Father. And then, from Adam unto Moses death reigned; but the presence of the Word abolished death. And no longer in Adam are we all dying; but in Christ we are all reviving. And then, from Dan to Bersabe was the Law proclaimed, and in Judæa only was God known; but now, unto all the earth has gone forth their voice, and all the earth has been filled with the knowledge of God, and the disciples have made disciples of all the nations, and now is fulfilled what

CHAP.
XIII.
Heb. 2,
1—3.

Ib. 7,
19.
John 17,
4.
Rom. 5,
14.
2 Tim. 1,
10.
1 Cor. 15,
22.
vid. Ps.
76, 1.
and 19, 4.
Is. 11, 9.
Matt. 28,
19.

^k Part of this chapter, as for instance n. 7, 8. is much more finished in point of style than the general course of his Orations. It may be indeed only the natural consequence of his warming with his subject, but this beautiful passage looks very much like an insertion. Some words of it are found in Sent. D. 11. written a few years sooner. He certainly transcribed himself in other

places, as S. Leo, e. g. repeats himself in another controversy. Athan. is so very eloquent and rich a writer whenever he is led into comments upon Scripture, that one almost regrets he had ever to adopt a controversial tone; except indeed that Arianism has given occasion to those comments, and that that tone is of course a lesson of doctrine to us, and therefore instructive.

Disc. I. is written, *They shall be all taught of God.* And then what
 John 6, 45. was revealed, was but a type; but now the truth has been
 Is. 54, 13. manifested. And this again the Apostle himself describes
 Heb. 7, 22. afterwards more clearly, saying, *By so much was Jesus made*
 Ib. 8, 6. *a surety of a better testament; and again, But now hath He*
 Ib. 7, 19. *obtained a more excellent ministry, by how much also He is*
 Ib. 9, 23. *the Mediator of a better covenant, which was established upon*
better promises. And, For the Law made nothing perfect,
but the bringing in of a better hope did. And again he says,
It was therefore necessary that the patterns of things in the
heavens should be purified with these; but the heavenly things
themselves with better sacrifices than these. Both in the
 verse before us then, and throughout, does he ascribe the
 word *better* to the Lord, who is better and other than gener-
 ated things. For better is the sacrifice through Him, better
 the hope in Him; and also the promises through Him, not
 merely as great compared with small, but the one differing
 from the other in nature, because He who conducts this
 economy, is *better* than things generated.

§ 60. 9. Moreover the words *He is become*¹ *surety* denotes the
¹ γέγονεν
 was
 made,
 E.V.
 John 1,
 14.
 pledge in our behalf which He has provided. For as, being
 the *Word*, He *became flesh*, and *become* we ascribe to the
 flesh, for it is generated and created, so do we here the
 expression *He is become*, expounding it according to a second
 sense, viz. because He has become man. And let these
 contentious men know, that they fail in this their perverse
 purpose; let them know that Paul does not signify that
 His substance² has become, knowing, as he did, that He is
 Son and Wisdom and Radiance and Image of the Father;
 but here too he refers the word *become* to the ministry of that
 covenant, in which death which once ruled is abolished.
 Since here also the ministry through Him has become better,
 in that *what the Law could not do in that it was weak*
² p. 244,
 note k.
³ δεκτι-
 κήν vid.
 p. 260,
 note d.
 through the flesh, God sending His own Son in the like-
 ness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh,
 ridding it of the trespass, in which, being continually held
 captive, it admitted not the Divine mind. And having ren-
 dered the flesh capable³ of the Word, He made us walk,
 no longer according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit,
 and say again and again, "But we are not in the flesh

but in the Spirit," and, "For the Son of God came into the world, not to judge the world, but to redeem all men, and that the world might be saved through Him." Formerly the world, as guilty, was under judgment from the Law; but now the Word has taken on Himself the judgment, and having suffered in the body for all, has bestowed salvation to all¹. With a view to this, hath John exclaimed, *The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.* Better is grace than the Law, and truth than the shadow. CHAP. XIII. v. John 3, 17. Ib. 1, 17.

10. *Better* then, as has been said, could not have been brought to pass by any other than the Son, who sits on the right hand of the Father. And what does this denote but the Son's genuineness¹, and that the Godhead of the Father is the same as the Son's²? For in that the Son reigns in His Father's kingdom, is seated upon the same throne as the Father, and is contemplated in the Father's Godhead, therefore is the Word God, and whoso beholds the Son, beholds the Father; and thus there is one God. Sitting then on the right, yet hath He not His Father on the left^m; but whatever is right³ and precious in the Father, that also the Son has, and says, *All things that the Father hath are Mine.* Wherefore also the Son, though sitting on the right, also sees the Father on the right, though it be as become man that He says, *I saw the Lord always before My face, for He is on My right hand, therefore I shall not fall.* This shews moreover that the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son; for the Father being on the right, the Son is on the right; and while the Son sits on the right of the Father, the Father is in the Son. And the Angels indeed minister ascending and descending; but concerning the Son he saith, *And let all the Angels of God worship Him.* And when § 61. ¹ τὸ γνήσιον ² p. 145, note r. ³ δεξιόν Ib. 16, 15. Ps. 16, 9. Heb. 1, 6.

¹ vid. Incarn. passim. Theod. Eranist. iii. pp. 196—198, &c. &c. It was the tendency of all the heresies concerning the Person of Christ to explain away or deny the Atonement. The Arians, after the Platonists, insisted on the pre-existing Priesthood, as if the incarnation and crucifixion were not of its essence. The Apollinarians resolved the Incarnation into a manifestation, Theod. Eran. i. The Nestorians denied the Atonement, Procl. ad Armen. p. 615. And the Eutychians, Leont.

Ep. 28, 5.

^m Nec ideo tamen quasi humanâ formâ circumscripsum esse Deum Patrem arbitrandum est, ut de illo cogitantibus dextrum aut sinistrum latius animo occurrat; aut id ipsum quod sedens Pater dicitur, flexis poplitibus fieri putandum est, ne in illud incidamus sacrilegium, &c. August. de Fid. et Symb. 14 [Short treatises, p. 25 O.T.]. Does this passage of Athan.'s shew that the Anthropomorphites were stirring in Egypt already?

Disc. Angels minister, they say, "I am sent unto thee," and, "The Lord has commanded;" but the Son, though He say in human fashion, "I am sent," and comes to finish the work and to minister, nevertheless says, as being Word and Image, *I am in the Father, and the Father in Me*; and, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*¹; and, *The Father that abideth in Me, He doeth the works*; for what we behold in that Image, are the Father's works.

11. What has been already said ought to prevail with those persons who are fighting against the very truth; however, if, because it is written, *become better*, they refuse to explain *become*, as used of the Son, to be "has been generated and isⁿ;" or again as referring to the better covenant having come to be^o, as we have said, but consider from this expression that the Word is called generate, let them hear the same again in a concise form, since they have forgotten what has been said. If the Son be in the number of the Angels, then let the word *become* apply to Him as to them, and let Him not differ at all from them in nature; but be they either sons with Him, or be He an Angel with them; sit they one and all together on the right hand of the Father, or be the Son standing with them all as a ministering Spirit, sent forth to minister Himself as they are. But if on the other hand Paul distinguishes the Son from things generate, saying, *To which of the Angels said He at any time, Thou art My Son?* and the one frames heaven and earth, but they are made by Him; and He sitteth with the Father, but they stand by ministering, who does not see that he has not used the word *become* of the substance² of the Word, but of the ministration come through Him? For as, being the *Word*, He *became flesh*, so when become man, He became by so much better in His ministry than the ministry which came by the Angels, as Son excels servants and Framer things framed. Let them cease therefore to take the word *become* of the substance of the Son, for He is not one of generated things; and let them acknowledge that it is indicative of His ministry and the economy which came to pass.

12. But how He became better in His ministry, being

ⁿ Of His divine nature, n. 4.—n. 8.

^o Of His human nature, n. 9. and 10.

I.
vid.
John 17,
4.
Mark 10,
45.
John 14,
10. 9.
¹ p. 229,
note g.

§ 62.

² p. 59,
ref. 1.

better in nature than things generate, appears from what has been said before, which, I consider, is sufficient in itself to put them to shame. But if they carry on the contest, it will be proper upon their rash daring to close with them, and to oppose to them those similar expressions which are used concerning the Father Himself. This may serve to prevail with them to refrain their tongue from evil, or may teach them the depth of their folly. Now it is written, *Become my strong rock and house of defence, that Thou mayest save me.* And again, *The Lord became a defence for the oppressed,* and the like which are found in divine Scripture. If then they apply these passages to the Son, which perhaps is nearest to the truth, then let them acknowledge that the sacred writers ask Him, as not being generate, to become to them *a strong rock and house of defence*; and for the future let them understand *become*, and *He made*, and *He created*, of His incarnate presence. For then did He become *a strong rock and house of defence*, when He bore our sins in His own body upon the tree, and said, *Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.*

Ps. 31, 3.
Ib. 9, 9.

Matt. 11,
28.

13. But if they refer these passages to the Father, will they, when it is here also written, “*Become*” and “*He became*,” venture so far as to affirm that God is generate? Yea, they will dare, as they thus argue concerning His Word; for the course of their argument carries them on to conjecture the same things concerning the Father, as they devise concerning His Word. But far be such a notion ever from the thoughts of all the faithful! for neither is the Son in the number of things generated, nor do the words of Scripture in question, *Become*, and *He became*, denote beginning of being, but that succour which was given to the needy. For God is always, and one and the same; but men came to be afterwards through the Word, when the Father Himself willed it; and God is invisible and inaccessible to generated things, and especially to men upon earth. When then men in infirmity invoke Him, when in persecution they ask help, when under injuries they pray, then the Invisible, being a lover of man, shines forth upon them with His beneficence, which He exercises through and in § 63.

Disc. His proper Word. And forthwith the divine manifestation
 I. is made to every one according to his need, and is made to
 the weak health, and to the persecuted a *refuge* and *house*
 Is. 58, 9. *of defence* ; and to the injured He says, *While thou speakest*
I will say, Here I am. What defence then comes to each
 through the Son, that each says that God has come to be
 to himself, since succour comes from God Himself through
 the Word. Moreover the usage of men recognises this,
 and every one will confess its propriety. Often succour
 comes from man to man ; one has undertaken toil for the
 injured, as Abraham for Lot ; and another has opened his
 home to the persecuted, as Abdias to the sons of the pro-
 phets ; and another has entertained a stranger, as Lot the
 Angels ; and another has supplied the needy, as Job those
 who begged of him. As then, should one and the other of
 these benefitted persons say, “ Such a one became an assist-
 ance to me,” and another “ and to me a refuge,” and “ to
 another a supply,” yet in so saying would not be speaking
 of the original becoming or the substance of their benefactors,
 but of the beneficence coming to themselves from them, so
 also when the sacred writers say concerning God, *He became*
and become Thou, they do not denote any original becoming,
 for God is unoriginate and not generate, but the salvation
 which is made to be unto men from Him.

§ 64. 14. This being so understood, it is parallel also respecting
 the Son, that whatever, and however often, is said, such as,
He became and *become*, should ever have the same sense : so
 that as, when we hear the words in question *become better*
than the Angels and *He became*, we should not conceive any
 original becoming of the Word, nor in any way fancy from
 such terms that He is generate ; but should understand
 Paul’s words of His ministry and economy when He became
 man. For when *the Word became flesh and dwelt among us*
 and came to minister and to grant salvation to all, then He
 became to us salvation, and became life, and became pro-
 pitiation ; then His economy in our behalf became much
 better than the Angels, and He became the Way and
 became the Resurrection. And as the words *Become my*
strong rock do not denote that the substance of God
 Himself became, but His lovingkindness, as has been said,

so also here the *having become better than the Angels*, and, *He became*, and, *by so much is Jesus become a better surety*, do not signify that the substance¹ of the Word is generate, (perish the thought!) but the beneficence which towards us came to be through His incarnation; unthankful though the heretics be, and obstinate in behalf of their irreligion.

CHAP.
XIII.

¹ p. 268,
ref. 2.

NOTE on page 214.

On the meaning of the formula πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, in the Nicene Anathema.

NOTE
ON
DISC.
I.

It was observed p. 61, note d. that there were two clauses in the Nicene Anathema which required explanation. One of them, ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας, has been discussed in the Note, pp. 66—72; the other, πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, shall be considered now.

Bishop Bull has suggested a very ingenious interpretation of it, which is not obvious, but which, when stated, has much plausibility, as going to explain, or rather to sanction, certain modes of speech in some early Fathers of venerable authority, which have been urged by heterodox writers, and given up by Catholics of the Roman School, as savouring of Arianism. The foregoing pages have made it abundantly evident that the point of controversy between Catholics and Arians was, not whether our Lord was God, but whether He was Son of God; the solution of the former question being involved in that of the latter. The Arians maintained that the very word "Son" implied a *beginning*, or that our Lord was not Very God; the Catholics said that it implied *connaturality*, or that He was Very God as one with God. Now five early writers, Athenagoras, Tatian, Theophilus, Hippolytus, and Novatian, of whom the authority of Hippolytus is very great, not to speak of Theophilus and Athenagoras, whatever be thought of Tatian and of Novatian, seem to speak of the divine generation as taking place immediately before the creation of the world, that is, as if not eternal, though at the same time they teach that our Lord existed before that generation. In other words they seem to teach that He was the Word from eternity, and became the Son at the beginning of all things; some of them expressly considering Him, first as the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, or Reason, in the Father, or (as may be speciously represented) a mere attribute; next, as the λόγος προφορικὸς, or Word, terms which have been already explained, p. 113, note z. This doctrine, when divested of figure and put into literal statement, might appear nothing more or less than this,—that at the beginning of the world the Son was created after the likeness of the Divine attribute of Reason, as its image or expression, and thereby became the Divine Word; was made the instrument of creation, called the Son from that ineffable favour and adoption which God had bestowed on Him, and in due time sent into the world to manifest God's perfections to mankind;—which, it is scarcely necessary to say, is the doctrine of Arianism.

Thus S. Hippolytus says,

Τῶν δὲ γινομένων ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σύμβουλον καὶ ἐργατὴν ἐγέννα λόγον, ὃν λόγον ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀόρατόν τε ὄντα τῷ κτιζομένῳ κόσμῳ, ὁρατὸν ποιεῖ προτέραν φωνὴν φθεγγόμενος, καὶ φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς γεννῶν, προήκει τῇ κτίσει κύριον. *contr. Noet. 10.*

And S. Theophilus :

*Ἐχων οὖν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον ἐνδιέθετον ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις σπλάγχθοις, ἐγέννησεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας ἐξερευξάμενος πρὸ τῶν ὄλων . . . ὅποτε δὲ ἠθέλησεν ὁ θεὸς ποιῆσαι ὅσα ἐβουλεύσατο, τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐγέννησε προφορικόν, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως. *ad Autol. ii. 10—22.*

Bishop Bull, *Defens. F. N. iii. 5—8*, meets this representation by maintaining that the *γέννησις* which S. Hippolytus and other writers spoke of, was but a metaphorical generation, the real and eternal truth being shadowed out by a succession of events in the Economy of time, such as is the Resurrection (*Acts xiii. 33*), nay, the Nativity; and that of these His going forth to create the worlds was one. And he maintains (*ibid. iii. 9*) that such is the mode of speaking adopted by the Fathers after the Nicene Council as well as before. And then he adds, (which is our present point,) that it is even alluded to and recognised in the Creed of the Council, which anathematizes those who say that "the Son was not before His generation," i. e. who deny that "the Son *was* before His *generation*," which statement accordingly becomes indirectly a Catholic truth.

I am not aware whether any writer has preceded or followed this great authority in this view^a. The more obvious mode of understanding the Arian formula is this, that it is an argument *ex absurdo*, drawn from the force of the word Son, in behalf of the Arian doctrine; it being, as they would say, a truism, that, "whereas He was begotten, He was not *before* He was begotten," and the denial of it a contradiction in terms. This certainly does seem to myself the true force of the formula; so much so, that if Bishop Bull's explanation be admissible, it must, in order to its being so, first be shewn to be reducible to this sense, and to be included under it.

The point at issue between the two interpretations is this; whether the clause *πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν* is intended for a *denial* of the *contrary* proposition, "He was before His generation," as Bishop Bull says; or whether it is what Aristotle calls an enthymematic sentence, *assuming* the falsity, as confessed on all hands, of that contrary pro-

^a Waterland expresses the view here taken, and not Bishop Bull's; *vol. i. p. 114.* Bull's language, on the other hand, is very strong; "Sæpe olim, ut verum ingenuè fatear, animum meum subiit *admiratio*, *quid* effato isto, 'Filius priusquam nasceretur, non erat,' *sibi voluerint* Ariani. De nativitate Christi ex beatissimâ Virgine dictum non esse exponendum constat. . . . Itaque de nativitate Filii loquuntur, quæ hujus universi creationem

anteceffit. *Quis vero, inquam, sensus dicti hujus, 'Filius non erat, sive non existerat, priusquam nasceretur ex Patre ante conditum mundum?' Ego sane nullus dubito, quin hoc pronunciatum Arianorum oppositum fuerit Catholicorum istorum sententiæ, qui docerent, Filium quidem paulo ante conditum mundum inexplicabili quodam modo ex Patre progressum fuisse ad constituendum universa," &c. D. F. N. iii. 9. § 2.*

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ON
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I.

position, as self-contradictory, and directly denying, not it, but "He was from everlasting." Or, in other words, whether it opposes the position of the five writers, or the great Catholic doctrine itself; and whether in consequence the Nicene Fathers are in their anathema indirectly sanctioning that position, or stating that doctrine. Bull considers that both sides *contemplated* the proposition, "He was before His generation,"—and that the Catholics asserted or defended it; some reason shall here be given for the contrary view.

1. Now first, let me repeat, what was just now observed by the way, that the formula in question, when taken as an enthymematic sentence, or *reductio ad absurdum*, exactly expresses the main argument of the Arians, which they brought forward in so many shapes, as feeling that their cause turned upon it, "He is a Son, therefore He had a beginning." Thus Socrates records Arius's words in the beginning of the controversy, (1) "If the Father begat the Son, He who is begotten has a beginning of existence; (2) therefore once the Son was not, ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν; (3) therefore He has His subsistence from nothing, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἔχει τὴν ὑπόστασιν." Socr. i. 5. The first of these propositions exactly answers to the οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι taken enthymematically; and it may be added that when so taken, the three propositions will just answer to the three first formulæ anathematized at Nicæa, two of which are indisputably the same as two of them; viz. ὅτι ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν. ὅτι πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν. ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο. On the other hand, we hear nothing in the controversy of the position which Bull conceives to be opposed by Arius, ("He was before His generation,") that is, supposing the formula in question does not allude to it; unless indeed it is worth while to except the statement reprobated in the Letter of the Arians to Alexander, ὄντα πρότερον, γεννηθέντα εἰς νῦν, which has been explained, p. 97, note m.

2. Next, it should be observed that the other formulæ here, as elsewhere, mentioned, are enthymematic also, or carry their argument with them, and that, an argument resolvable often into the original argument derived from the word "Son." Such are ὁ ὢν τὸν μὴ ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος ἢ τὸν ὄντα; and ἐν τὸ ἀγένητον ἢ δύο. And in like manner as regards the question of the *τρεπτὸν*; "Has He free will," thus Athanasius states the Arian objection, "or has He not? is He good from choice according to free will, and can He, if He will, alter, being of an alterable nature? as wood or stone, has He not His choice free to be moved, and incline hither and thither?" *supr.* § 35. p. 230. That is, they wished the word *τρεπτὸς* to carry with it its own self-evident application to our Lord, with the alternative of an absurdity; and so to prove His created nature.

3. In § 32, *supr.* p. 227, S. Athanasius observes that the formula of the ἀγένητον was the later substitute for the original formulæ of Arius; "when they were no longer allowed to say, 'out of nothing,' and 'He was not before His generation,' they hit upon this word *Ingenerate*, that, by saying among the simple that the Son was generate, they might imply the very same phrases 'out of nothing' and 'He once was not.'" Here he does not in so many words say that

the argument from the ἀγένητον was a *substitute* for the οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, yet surely it is not unfair so to understand him. But it is plain that the ἀγένητον was brought forward merely to express by an appeal to philosophy and earlier Fathers, that to be a Son was to have a beginning and a creation, and not to be God. This therefore will be the sense of the οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι. Nay, when the Arians asked, "Is the ἀγένητον one or two," they actually did assume that it was granted by their opponents that the Father only was ἀγένητος; which it was not, if the latter held, nay, if they had sanctioned at Niceæ, as Bull says, that our Lord ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι; and moreover which they knew and confessed was not granted, if their own formula οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι was directed against this statement.

4. Again, it is plain that the οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, is used by S. Athanasius as the *same* objection with ὁ ὢν τὸν μὴ ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος, &c. E. g. he says, "We might ask them in turn, God who is, has He so become, whereas He was not? or is He also before His generation? whereas He is, did He make Himself, or is He of nothing, &c. § 25. p. 216. Now the ὁ ὢν τὸν μὴ ὄντα, &c. is evidently an *argument*, and that, grounded on the absurdity of saying ὁ ὢν τὸν ὄντα. S. Alexander's Encyclical Letter (vid. Socr. i. 6), compared with Arius's original positions and the Nicene Anathemas as referred to above, is a strong confirmation. In these three documents the formulæ agree together, except one; and that one, which in Arius's language is "he who is begotten has a beginning of existence," is in the Nicene Anathema, οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, but in S. Alexander's circular, ὁ ὢν θεὸς τὸν μὴ ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος πεποίηκεν. The absence of the οὐκ ἦν πρὶν, &c. in S. Alexander is certainly remarkable. Moreover the two formulæ are treated as synonymous by Greg. Naz. Orat. 29. 9. Cyril, Thesaur. 4. p. 29 fin. and by Basil as quoted below. But indeed there is an internal correspondence between them, shewing that they have but one meaning. They are really but the same sentence in the active and in the passive voice.

5. A number of scattered passages in Athanasius lead us to the same conclusion. For instance, if the Arian formula had the sense which is here maintained, of being an argument against our Lord's eternity, the Catholic answer would be, "He could not be *before* His generation because His generation is *eternal*, as being from the Father." Now this is precisely the language Athanasius uses, when it occurs to him to introduce the words in question. Thus in Orat. ii. § 57 [infra p. 363], he says, "The creatures began to come to be (γίνεσθαι); but the Word of God, not having beginning (ἀρχὴν) of being, surely did not begin to be, nor begin to come to be, but was always. And the works have a beginning (ἀρχὴν) in the making, and the beginning precedes things which come to be; but the Word not being of such, rather Himself becomes the Framer of those things which have a beginning. And the being of things generate is measured by their becoming (ἐν τῷ γίνεσθαι), and at some beginning (origin) doth God begin to make them through the Word, that it may be known that they were not before their generation (πρὶν γενέσθαι); but the Word hath His being in no other origin than the Father" (vid.

NOTE
ON
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supr. p. 195, note a) "whom they themselves allow to be unoriginate, so that He too exists unoriginately in the Father, being His offspring not His creature." We shall find that other Fathers say just the same. Again, we have already come to a passage where for "His generation," he substitutes "making," a word which Bull would not say that either the Nicene Council or S. Hippolytus would use; clearly shewing that the Arians were not quoting and denying a Catholic statement in the *ὄνκ ἦν πρὶν*, &c. but laying down one of their own. "Who is there in all mankind, Greek or Barbarian, who ventures to rank among creatures One whom he confesses the while to be God, and says that 'He was not before He was made, πρὶν ποιηθῆν.'" Orat. i. § 10. p. 194. Arius, who is surely the best explainer of his own words, says the same; that is, he interprets "generation" by "making," or confesses that he is bringing forward an arguement, not opposing a dogma; "Before His generation," he says, "or creation, or destination (*ὀρισθῆν*, Rom. i. 4), or founding (vid. Prov. viii. 23), He was not; for He was not ingenerate." Theod. Hist. i. 4. Eusebius of Nicomedia also, in a passage which has already come before us, says distinctly, "*It is plain to any one*, that what has been made was not before its *generation*; but what came to be has an origin of being." de Syn. § 17. supr. p. 99.

6. If there are passages in Athanasius which seem to favour the opposite interpretation, that is, to imply that the Catholics held or allowed, as Bp. Bull considers, that "before His generation, He was," they admit of an explanation. E. g. "How is He not in the number of the creatures, if, as they say, He was not before His generation? for it is proper to the creatures and works, not to be before their generation." Orat. ii. § 22 [infra p. 312]. This might be taken to imply that the Arians said, "He was not," and Catholics "He was." But the real meaning is this, "How is He not a creature, if the *formula be true*, which they use, 'He was not before His generation?' for it may indeed properly be *said* of creatures that 'they were not before their generation.'" And so again when he says, "if the Son was not before His generation, Truth was not always in God" supr. § 20. p. 209; he does not thereby imply that the Son *was* before His generation, but he means, "if it be *true* that, &c." "if the *formula holds*," "if it can be *said* of the Son, 'He was not, &c.'" Accordingly, shortly afterwards, in a passage already cited, he says the same of the Almighty Father in the way of parallel; "God who is, hath He so become, whereas He was not, or *is He too before His generation?*" (§ 25. p. 216) not implying here any generation at all, but urging that the question is *idle and irrelevant*, that the formula is *unmeaning* and does not *apply to*, cannot be *said* of, Father or Son.

7. Such an explanation of these passages, as well as the view here taken of the formula itself, receive abundant confirmation from S. Gregory Nazianzen and S. Hilary. What has been maintained is, that when S. Athanasius says, "if the Son *is* not before His generation, then, &c." he does but mean, "if it can be *said*," "if the words can be *used or applied* in this case." Now the two Fathers just mentioned both decide that it is not true, *either* that the Son *was*

before His generation, or that He was not; in other words, that the question is unmeaning and irrelevant, which is just the interpretation which has been here given to Athanasius. But again, in thus speaking, they thereby assert also that they did *not* hold, that they do *not* allow, that formula which Bull considers the Nicene Fathers defended and sanctioned, as being Catholic and in use both before the Council and after, viz. "He *was* before His generation." Thus S. Gregory in the passage in which he speaks of "did He that is make Him that is not, &c." and "before His generation, &c." as one and the same, expressly says, "In His case, to be begotten is *concurrent* with existence and is from the beginning," and that *in contrast* to the instance of men; who, he says, do fulfil in a manner "He who is, &c." (Levi being in the loins of Abraham,) i. e. fulfil Bull's proposition, "He was before generation." He proceeds, "I say that *the question is irrelevant*, not the answer difficult." And presently after, mentioning some idle inquiries by way of parallel, he adds, "more ill-instructed, be sure, is it to decide whether what was generated *from the beginning* was or was not *before* generation, πρὸ τῆς γεννήσεως." Orat. 29. 9.

8. S. Hilary, on the other hand, is so full on the subject in his de Trin. xii, and so entirely to the point for which I would adduce him, that but a few extracts of what might be made, are either necessary or practicable. He states and argues on the formula expressly as an *objection*; Adijciant hæc *arguta* satis atque *auditu* *placencia*; Si, inquit, natus est, cœpit; et cùm cœpit, non fuit; et cùm non fuit, non patitur ut fuerit. Atque *idecirco* piæ intelligentiæ sermonem esse contendant, Non fuit ante quàm nasceretur, *quia* ut esset, qui non erat, non qui erat, natus est." n. 18. He answers the objection in the same way, "Unigenitus Deus neque non fuit aliquando non filius, neque fuit aliquid ante quam filius, neque quidquam aliquid ipse nisi filius," n. 15. which is in express words to *deny*, "He was before His generation." Again, as Gregory, "Ubi pater auctor est, ibi et nativitas est; et verò ubi auctor æternus est, ibi et nativitatis æternitas est," n. 21. And he substitutes "being always born" for "being before birth;" "Numquid ante tempora æterna esse, id ipsum sit quod est, eum qui erat nasci? quia nasci quod erat, jam non nasci est, sed se ipsum demutare nascendo. . . . Non est itaque id ipsum, natum ante tempora æterna semper esse, et esse antequam nasci." n. 30. And he concludes, in accordance with the above explanation of the passages of Athanasius which I brought as if objections, thus: Cum itaque natum semper esse, nihil aliud sit confitendum esse, quàm natum, id sensui, antequàm nascitur *vel fuisse vel non fuisse*, non subjacet. n. 31.

9. It may seem superfluous to proceed, but as Bishop Bull is an authority not lightly to be set aside, a passage from S. Basil shall be added. Eunomius objects, "God begat the Son either being or not being, &c. . . . to him that is, there needs not generation." He replies that Eunomius, "*because* animals first are not, and then are generated, and he who is born to-day, yesterday did not exist, *transfers* this conception to the subsistence of the Only-begotten;

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and says, *since* He has been generated, He was not before His generation, *πρὸ τῆς γενήσεως*," contr. Eunom. ii. 14. And he solves the objection as the other Fathers, by saying that our Lord is from everlasting, speaking of S. John, in the first words of his Gospel, as *τῇ ἀιδιότητι τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ μονογενοῦς συνάπτων τὴν γέννησιν*. § 15.

These then being the explanations which the contemporary and next following Fathers give of the Arian formula which was anathematized at Nicæa, it must be observed that the line of argument which Bishop Bull is pursuing, does not lead him to assign any direct reasons for the substitution of a different interpretation in their place. He is engaged, not in commenting on the Nicene Anathema, but in proving that the Post Nicene Fathers admitted that view or statement of doctrine which he conceives *also* implied in that anathema; and thus the sense of the anathema, instead of being the subject of proof, is, as he believes, one of the proofs of the point which he is establishing. However, since these other collateral evidences which he adduces, may be taken to be some sort of indirect comment upon the words of the Anathema, the principal of them in point of authority, and that which most concerns us, shall here be noticed: it is a passage from the second Oration of Athanasius.

While commenting on the words, *ἀρχὴ ὁδῶν εἰς τὰ ἔργα* in the text, "The Lord has created Me the beginning of His ways unto the works," S. Athanasius is led to consider the text "first born of every creature," *πρωτότοκος πασῆς κτίσεως*; and he says that He who was *μονογενῆς* from eternity, became by a *συγκατάβασις* at the creation of the world *πρωτότοκος*. This doctrine Br. Bull considers declaratory of a going forth, *προέλευσις*, or figurative *birth* from the Father, at the beginning of all things.

It will be observed that the very point to be proved is this, viz. not that there was a *συγκατάβασις* merely, but that according to Athanasius there was a *γέννησις* or proceeding from the Father, and that the word *πρωτότοκος* marks it. Bull's words are, that "Catholici quidam Doctores, qui post exortam controversiam Arianam vixerunt, . . . illam τοῦ λόγου . . . ex Patre *progressionem* (quam et *συγκατάβασιν*, hoc est, *condescensionem* eorum nonnulli appellârunt), ad condendum hæc universa agnovere; atque ejus etiam *progressionis respectu* ipsum τὸν λόγον à Deo Patre quasi *natum* fuisse et omnis creaturæ *primogenitum* in Scripturis dici confessi sunt." D. F. N. iii. 9. § 1. Now I consider that S. Athanasius does not, as this sentence says, understand by *primogenitus* that our Lord was "*progressionis respectu à Deo Patre quasi natus*." He does not seem to me to speak of a generation or birth of the Son at all, though figurative, but of the birth of *all things*, and that *in* Him.

That Athanasius does not call the *συγκατάβασις* of the Word a birth, as denoted by the term *πρωτότοκος*, is plain from his own avowal in the passage to which Bull refers. "No where in the Scriptures," he says, "is He called *πρωτότοκος τοῦ Θεοῦ*, first born *of God*, nor creature of God, but Only-begotten, Word, Wisdom, have their relation to the Father, and are proper to

Him." ii. 62 [infra p. 369]. Here surely he expressly denies Bull's statement that "first-born" means "à Deo natus," "born of God." Such additions as *παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς*, he says, are reserved for *μονογενῆς* and *λόγος*.

He goes on to say *what* the term *πρωτότοκος* does mean; viz. instead of having any reference to a *προέλευσις* from the Father, it refers solely to the creatures; our Lord is not called *πρωτότοκος*, because His *προέλευσις* is a *type of His eternal generation*, but because by that *προέλευσις* He became the *Prototype of all creation*. He, as it were, stamped His image, His Sonship, upon creation, and became the first-born in the sense of being the Archetypal Son. If this is borne out by the passage, Athanasius, it is plain, does not speak of any *γέννησις* whatever at the era of creation, though figurative; *πρωτότοκος* does but mean *μονογενῆς πρωτεύων ἐν τῇ κτίσει*, or *ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως*, or *πρωτότυπον γέννημα*, or *μόνος γεννητὸς ἐν τοῖς γενητοῖς*; and no warrant is given, however indirect, to the idea that in the Nicene Anathema, the Fathers implied an allowance of the proposition, "He was before His generation."

As the whole passage occurs in the Discourse which immediately follows, it is not necessary to enter formally into the proof of this view of it, when the reader will soon be able to judge of it for himself. But it may be well to add two passages, one from Athenagoras, the other from S. Cyril, not in elucidation of the words of Athanasius, but of the meaning which I would put upon them.

The passage from Athenagoras is quoted by Bull himself, who of course is far from denying the doctrine of our Lord's Archetypal office; and does but wish in addition to find in Athanasius the doctrine of a *γέννησις*. Athenagoras says that the Son is "the first offspring, *πρῶτον γέννημα*, of the Father, not as come to be, *γενόμενον*, (for God being Eternal Mind had from the beginning in Himself the Word, as having Reason eternally, *λογικὸς ὄν*,) but that, while as regards matter heavy and light were mixed together," (the passage is corrupt here,) "He went forth, *προελθὼν*, as an *idea* and *energy*," i. e. as an Agent to create, and a Form and Rule to create by. And then he goes on to quote the very text on which Athanasius is employed when he explains *πρωτότοκος*. "And the Prophetic Spirit confirms this doctrine, saying, The Lord hath created Me a beginning (origin) of His ways, for His works." Leg. 10.

And so S. Cyril, "He is Only-begotten according to nature, as being alone from the Father, God from God, Light kindled from Light; and He is First-born for our sakes, that, *as if to some immortal root* the whole creation might be ingrafted and might bud forth from the Everlasting. For all things were made by Him, and *consist* for ever and are *preserved in Him*." Thesaur. 25. p. 238.

In conclusion it may be suggested whether the same explanation which has here been given of Athanasius's use of *πρωτότοκος* does not avail more exactly to the defence of two of the five writers from the charge of inaccurate doctrine, than that which Bull has preferred.

As to Athenagoras, we have already seen that he does not speak

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of a *γέννησις* at all in his account of creation, but simply calls the Son *πρώτον γέννημα*, i. e. *πρωτότυπον γέννημα*.

Nor does Tatian approach nearer to the doctrine of a *γέννησις*. He says that at the creation the Word *ἔργον πρωτότοκον τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεται· τοῦτον ἴσμεν τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ἀρχήν*. ad Græc. 5. Here the word *ἔργον*, which at first sight promises a difficulty, does in fact explain both himself and Athenagoras. He says that at creation the Word became, *γίνεται*, not a *Son* (figuratively), as Bull would grant to the parties whom he is opposing, but a *work*. It was His great condescension, *συγκατάβασις*, to be accounted the first of the works, as being their *type*; that as they were to be raised to an adoption and called sons, so He for that purpose might stoop to creation, and be called a work. As Tatian uses the word *ἀρχή* in the concluding clause, there is great reason to think that he is alluding to the very text which Athanasius and Athenagoras expressly quote, in which Wisdom is said to be "created a beginning, *ἀρχή*, of ways, unto the works, *εἰς τὰ ἔργα*."

As to Novatian, Bishop Bull himself observes that it is a question whether he need be understood to speak of any generation but That which is eternal; nor does Pamelius otherwise explain him.

DISCOURSE II.

 In the references henceforth made to S. Athanasius's Works in the Notes and margin, the Arabic numerals stand generally for the sections as in the Benedictine Edition; hitherto § has been prefixed to those numerals which are indicative of sections which are to be found in this Volume.

CHAP. XIV.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; FOURTHLY, HEBREWS iii. 2.

Introduction; the *Regula Fidei* counter to an Arian sense of the text; which is not supported by the word "servant," nor by "made" which occurs in it; (how can the Judge be among the "works" which "God will bring into judgment?") nor by "faithful;" and is confuted by the immediate context, which is about Priesthood; and by the foregoing passage, which explains the word "faithful" as meaning trustworthy, as do 1 Pet. iv. fin. and other texts. On the whole *made* may safely be understood either of the divine generation or the human creation.

I. I DID indeed think that enough had been said already §. 1. against the hollow professors ¹ of Arius's madness, whether for their refutation or in the truth's behalf, to insure a cessation and repentance of their evil thoughts and words about the Saviour. They, however, for whatever reason, still do not succumb; but, as swine and dogs wallow ² in their own vomit and their own mire, even invent new expedients ³ for their irreligion. Thus they misunderstand the passage in the Proverbs, *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways for His works* ⁴, and the words of the Apostle, *Who was faithful to Him that made Him*, and straightway ⁵ argue, that the Son of God is a work and a creature. But although they might have learned from what is said above, had they not utterly lost their power of apprehension, that the Son is not from nothing nor in the number of things generate at all, the Truth witnessing ⁶ it, (for, being God, He cannot be a

¹ ὑποκρι-
τὰς, p.
127,
note g.

² κυλιό-
μενοι,
Orat. iii.
16.

³ ἐπινοίας
Prov. 8,
22.

Heb. 3,
2.

⁴ supr.
p. 257.
infra

19—72.

⁵ ἀπλῶς
⁶ vid.
infra,

note on
35.

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II.¹ vid.
supr. p.
276. 6.
² p. 283,
note c.Rom. 11,
32.John 1,
1.John 1,
14.
Acts 2,
36.Prov. 8,
22.³ Heb. 1,
4. vid.
p. 257.
⁴ Phil. 2,
7. p. 233.
Heb. 3,
7. *Christ*
*Jesus, r.t.*⁵ Sent.
D. 11.

work, and it is impious to call Him a creature, and it is of creatures and works that we say, "out of nothing," and "it was not before its generation¹," yet since, as if dreading to desert their own fiction, they are accustomed to allege the aforesaid passages of divine Scripture, which have a good² meaning, but are by them practised on, let us proceed afresh to take up the question of the sense of these, to remind the faithful, and to shew from each of these passages that they have no knowledge at all of Christianity. Were it otherwise, they would not have *shut themselves up in the unbelief* of the present Jews³, but would have inquired and learned^b that, whereas *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*, in consequence, it was when at the good pleasure of the Father the Word became man, that it was said of Him, as by John, *The Word became flesh*; so by Peter, *He hath made Him Lord and Christ*;—as by means of Solomon in the Person of the Lord Himself, *The Lord created Me a beginning of His ways for His works*; so by Paul, *Become so much better than the Angels*³; and again, *He made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant*⁴; and again, *Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Jesus, who was faithful to Him that made Him*⁵. For all these texts have the same force and meaning, a religious one, declarative of the divinity of the Word, even those of them which speak humanly concerning Him, as having become the Son of man.

2. But, though this distinction is sufficient for their refuta-

^a τῶν νῦν Ἰουδαίων, means literally "the Jews of this day," as here and Orat. i. 8. 10. 38. Orat. ii. 1. b. iii. 28. c. But elsewhere this and similar phrases, as distinctly mean the Arians, being used in contrast to the Jews; e. g. τῶν νῦν Ἰουδαίων. In illud Omn. 5. d. Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ τε παλαιοὶ καὶ οἱ νέοι οὗτοι, iii. 52. d. οἱ τότε καὶ οἱ νέοι νῦν, Sent. D. 3. c. τῶν νέων, ibid. 4. init. (vid. also καὶ οἱ τότε Ἰουδαῖοι, i. 8. supr. p. 190. yet vid. οἱ τότε Ἰουδαῖοι, de Syn. 33.) τῶν νῦν Ἰουδαϊζόντων, i. 39. supr. p. 236. ἡ Ἰουδαϊκὴ νέα αἵρεσις, Hist. Arian 19 fin. (vid. also Orat. iii. 28.) Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ τότε . . . Ἀρειανοὶ νῦν Ἰου-

δαϊζόντες. de Decr. 2. supr. p. 4. The Arians are addressed under the name of Jews, ὁ χριστομάχοι καὶ ἀχάριστοι Ἰουδαῖοι, Orat. iii. 55. They are said to be Jews *passim*. Their likeness to the Jews is drawn out, Orat. iii. 27. de Decr. i. supr. pp. 2—4. It is observable that Eusebius makes a point, on the contrary, of calling Marcellus a Judaizer and Jewish, on the ground that he denied that Wisdom was more than an attribute in the Divine Mind, e. g. pp. 42. c. 62, fin. 65. d.

^b ἐρωτῶντες ἐμάνθανον; and so μαθὼν ἐδίδασκεν, Orat. iii. 9. de Decr. 7. supr. p. 13, note a.

tion, still, since from a misconception of the Apostle's words, (to mention them first,) they consider the Word of God to be one of the works, because of its being written, *Who was faithful to Him that made Him*, I have thought it needful to silence this further argument of theirs, taking in hand^c, as before, their statement.

3. If then He be not a Son, let Him be called a work, and let all that is said of works be said of Him, nor let Him and Him alone be called Son, and Word, and Wisdom; neither let God be called Father, but only Framer and Creator of things which by Him come to be; and let the creature be Image and Expression of His framing will, and let Him, as they would have it, be without generative¹ nature, so that there be neither Word, nor Wisdom, no, nor Image, of His proper substance. For if He be not Son², neither is He Image^d. But if there be not a Son, how then say you that God is a Creator? since all things that come to be are through the Word and in Wisdom, and without This nothing can be, whereas you say He hath not That in and through which He makes all things. For if the Divine Substance be

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¹ γεννη-
τικῆς,
p. 284,
note e.
² p. 312,
note m.

^c By λαμβάνοντες παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ λῆμμα, "accepting the proposition they offer," he means that he is engaged in going through certain texts brought against the Catholic view, instead of bringing his own proofs, vid. Orat. i. 37. sup. p. 233. Yet after all it is commonly his way, as here, to start with some general exposition of the Catholic doctrine which the Arian sense of the text in question opposes, and thus to create a prejudice or proof against the latter. vid. Orat. i. 10. 38. 40. init. 53. d. ii. 5. 12. init. 32—34. 35. 44. init. which refers to the whole discussion, 18—43. 73. 77. iii. 18. init. 36. init. 42. 54. 51. init. &c. On the other hand he makes the ecclesiastical sense the rule of interpretation, τούτω [τῷ σκοπῷ, the general drift of Scripture doctrine,] ὡς περ κανόνι χρησάμενοι προσέχωμεν τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς, iii. 28. fin. This illustrates what he means when he says that certain texts have a "good," "pious," "orthodox" sense, i. e. they can be interpreted (in spite, if so be, of appearances) in harmony with the Regula Fidei. vid. infr. p. 341, note i; also notes on 35. and iii. 58.

"image;" or, so that He may be accounted the ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν of the Father, vid. sup. p. 106, note d. The ancient Fathers consider that the Divine Sonship is the very consequence (so to speak) of the necessity that exists, that One who is Infinite Perfection should subsist again in a Perfect Image of Himself, which is the doctrine to which Athan. goes on to allude, and the idea of which (he says) is prior to that of creation. A redundatio in imaginem is synonymous with a generatio Filii. "Naturam et essentiam Deitatis," says Thomassin, "in suo fonte assentiuntur omnes esse plenitudinem totius esse. At hæc necesse est ut statim exundet nativâ fecunditate suâ. Infinitum enim illud Esse, non Esse tantum est, sed Esse totum est; vivere id ipsum est, intelligere, sapere; opulentia suæ, bonitatis, et sapientia rivulus undique spargere; nec rivulus tantum, sed et fontem et plenitudinem ipsam suam diffundere. Hæc enim demum fecunditas Deo digna, Deo par est, ut a Fonte bonitatis, non rivulus sed flumen effluat, nec extra effluat, sed in ipsomet, cum extra nihil sit, quo illa plenitudo capi possit." de Trin. 19. 1.

^d i. e. in any true sense of the word

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not fruitful itself^e, but barren, as they hold, as a light that lightens not, and a dry fountain, are they not ashamed to speak of His possessing framing energy? and whereas they deny what is by nature, do they not blush to place before it what is by will¹? But if He frames things that are external to Him and before were not, by willing them to be, and becomes their Maker, much more will He first be Father of an Offspring from His proper Substance. For if they attribute to God the willing about things which are not, why recognise they not that in God which lies above the will? now it is a something that surpasses will, that He should be by nature, and should be Father of His proper Word. If then that which comes first, which is according to nature, does not exist, as they would have it in their folly, how can that which is second come to be, which is according to will? for the Word is first, and then the creation.

¹ Orat.
iii. 59,
&c.

4. On the contrary the Word exists, whatever they affirm, those irreligious ones; for through Him did creation come to be, and God, as being Maker, plainly hath also His framing Word, not external, but proper to Him;—for this must be repeated. If He has the power of will, and His will is effective², and suffices for the consistence of the things that come to be, and His Word is effective², and a Framer, that Word must surely be the living Will³ of the Father, and an energy in substance⁴, and a real Word, in whom all things both consist and are excellently governed. No one can even doubt, that He who disposes is prior to the disposition and the things disposed. And thus, as I said, God's creating is second to His begetting; for Son implies something proper to Him and truly from that blessed and everlasting Substance; but what is from His will, comes into consistence from without, and is framed through His proper Offspring who is from It.

² ποιητικόν

³ Orat.
iii. 63, c.

⁴ ἐνούσιος, p.
141. r. 2.
infr. 28.

§. 3.
⁵ infr.
p. 328,
note k.

5. In the judgment of reason⁵ then they are guilty of great extravagance who say that the Lord is not Son of God, but a work, and it follows that we all of necessity confess that

^e For καρπογόνος ἡ οὐσία, vid. supr. p. 25, note e. γεννητικός, Orat. iii. 66. iv. 4. fin. ἄγονος, i. 14. fin. and Sent. Dion. 15. 19. ἡ φυσικὴ γονιμότης, Damasc. F. O. i. 8. p. 133. ἄκαρπος, Cyr. Thes. p. 45. Epiph. Hær. 65.

p. 609. b. Vid. the γέννησις and the κτίσις contrasted together, Orat. i. 29. vid. supr. p. 13, note o. p. 153. note c. The doctrine in the text is shortly expressed, infr. Orat. iv. 4 fin. εἰ ἄγονος καὶ ἀνερέργητος.

He is Son. And if He be Son, as indeed He is, and a son is confessed to be, not external to his father, but from him, let them not question about the terms, as I said before, which the sacred writers use of the Word Himself, viz. not “to Him that begat Him,” but *to Him that made Him*; for while it is confessed what His nature is, what word is used in such instances need raise no question¹. For terms do not disparage His Nature; rather that Nature draws² to Itself those terms and changes them. For terms are not prior to substances, but substances are first, and terms second. Wherefore also when the substance is a work or creature, then the words *He made*, and *He became*, and *He created*, are used of it properly³, and designate the work. But when the Substance is an Offspring and Son, then *He made*, and *He became*, and *He created*, no longer properly belong to it, nor designate a work; but *He made* we use without question for “He begat.” Thus fathers often call the sons born of them their servants, yet without denying the genuineness of their nature; and often they affectionately call their own servants children, yet without putting out of sight their purchase of them originally; for they use the one appellation from their authority as being fathers, but in the other they speak from affection. Thus Sara called Abraham lord, though not a servant but a wife; and while to Philemon the master the Apostle joined Onesimus the servant as a brother, Bethsabe, although mother, called her son servant, saying to his father, *Thy servant Solomon*;— afterwards also Nathan the Prophet came in and repeated her words to David, *Solomon thy servant*. Nor did they care for calling the son a servant, for while David heard it, he recognised the “nature,” and while they spoke it, they forgot not the “genuineness,” praying that he might be made his father’s heir, to whom they gave the name of servant; for he to David was son by nature.

¹ p. 283,
note c.
² p. 287,
³ r. 4.

³ *κρυπτός*

¹ Kings
1, 19.

ver. 26.

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6. As then, when we read this, we interpret it fairly, without accounting Solomon a servant because we hear him so called, but a son natural and genuine, so also, if, concerning the Saviour, who is confessed to be in truth the Son, and to be the Word by nature, the sacred writers say, *Who was faithful to Him that made Him*, or if He say of Himself,

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Ps. 116,
16.
1 τῆν ἐκ
τοῦ π.
ἰδιώτητα

The Lord created Me, and, I am Thy servant and the Son of Thine handmaid, and the like, let not any on this account deny that He is proper¹ to the Father and from Him; but, as in the case of Solomon and David, let them have a right idea of the Father and the Son. For if, though they hear Solomon called a servant, they acknowledge him to be a son, are they not deserving of many deaths^f, who, instead of preserving the same explanation in the instance of the Lord, whenever they hear "Offspring," and "Word," and "Wisdom," forcibly misinterpret and deny the generation, natural and genuine, of the Son from the Father; but on hearing words and terms proper to a work, forthwith drop down to the notion of His being by nature a work, and deny the Word; and this, though it is possible, from His having been made man, to refer all these terms to His humanity? And are they not proved to be an abomination also unto the Lord, as having diverse weights with them, and with this estimating those other instances, and with that blaspheming the Lord?

Prov. 20,
23.

7. But perhaps they grant that the word *servant* is used under a certain understanding, but lay stress upon *Who made* as some great support of their heresy. But this stay of theirs also is but a broken reed; for if they are aware of the style of Scripture, they must at once give sentence against² themselves. For as Solomon, though a son, is called a

² p. 6,
note o.
p. 220,
n. 2.

Apol. c.
Ar. 36. e.

^f πολλὰκις ἀπολωλέναι δίκαιοι, vid. infr. §. 28. b. "You ought (ὀφείλεις) to have your impious tongue cut out," the Arian Acacius says to Marcellus, ap. Epiph. Hær. 72, 7. "And although all good men and bad *adjudge* thee to the agony (discruciantam judicent) of all kinds of torture, to the penalty of death, or to the flame, &c." says S. Ambrose, (as it is generally considered,) to a lapsed nun who was said to have killed her child, de laps. Virg. n. 34. "If Eutyches thinks otherwise than the decrees of the Church, he *deserves* (ἔξιος) not only punishment, but the fire." Dioscorus ap. Concil. Chalced. (Hard. t. 2. p. 100.) In time they advanced from *accounting to doing*. The Emperor Justin proposes to cut out the heretic Severus's tongue, Evagr. iv. 4. Supra p. 53, note f. we find an advance from *allegory to fact*; vid. also supr. i. 33. c. infr. iii. 41. d. and

"blasphemiis lapidasti," Theodor. ap. Concil. 6. (Labbe, t. 6. p. 38.) And S. Dionysius, "With these two unconnected words, as with stones, they attempt to hit me (βάλλειν) from a distance." Sent. Dion. 18. Sometimes it was a literalism deduced from the doctrine in dispute; as at the Latrocinium, "Cut in two those who assert two Natures." Concil. Hard. t. 2. p. 81. Palladius relates a case in which a sort of *ordeal* became a *punishment*. Abbot Copres proposed to a Manichee to enter a fire with him. After Copres had come out unharmed, the populace forced the Manichee into it, and then cast him, burnt as he was, out of the city. Hist. Lausiac. 54. S. Gregory mentions the case of a wizard, who had pretended to be a monk and had used magical arts against a nun, being subsequently burned by the Roman populace. Dial. i. 4.

servant, so, to repeat what was said above, although parents call the sons springing from themselves "made" and "created" and "becoming," for all this they do not deny their nature. Thus Ezekias, as is written in the book of Esaias, said in his prayer, *From this day I will make children, who shall declare Thy righteousness, O God of my salvation.* He then said, *I will make*; but the Prophet in that very book and the Fourth of Kings, thus speaks, *And the sons who shall come forth of thee.* He uses then *make* for "beget," and he calls them who were to spring from him, *made*, and no one questions whether the term has reference to a natural offspring. Again, Eve on bearing Cain said, *I have gotten a man from the Lord*²; thus she too used *gotten* for "brought forth." For, first she saw the child, yet next she said, *I have gotten*. Nor would any one consider, because of *I have gotten*, that Cain was purchased from without, instead of being born of her. Again, the Patriarch Jacob said to Joseph, *And now thy two sons, Ephraim and Manasses, which became thine in Egypt, before I came unto thee into Egypt, are mine.* And Scripture says about Job, *And there came to him seven sons and three daughters.* As Moses too has said in the Law, *If sons become to any one, and, If he make a son.* Here again they speak of those who are begotten, as *become* and *made*, knowing that, while they are acknowledged to be sons, we need not make a question of *they became*, or *I have gotten*, or *I made*³. For nature and truth draw the meaning to themselves⁴.

Is. 38,
19. Sept.

2 Kings
20, 18.
Is. 39, 7.

Gen. 4,
1.
2 infr. 44.
note on
הג?

Gen. 48,
5. Sept.
Job 1, 2.
Sept.
Lev. 25,
45. ?
vid. ibid.
v. 21.
§. 5.

³ Serap.
ii. 6. b.
⁴ supr. p.
285. r.

8. This being so^g, when persons ask whether the Lord is a creature or work, it is proper to ask of them this first, whether He is Son and Word and Wisdom. For if this is shewn, the surmise about work and creation falls to the ground at once and is ended. For a work could never be Son and Word; nor could the Son be a work. And again this being the state of the case, the proof is plain to all, that the phrase, *To Him who made Him* does not serve their heresy, but rather condemns it. For it has been shewn that

^g That is, while the style of Scripture justifies us in thus interpreting the word "made," doctrinal truth obliges us to do so. He considers the Regula

Fidei the principle of interpretation, and accordingly he goes on at once to apply it. vid. supr. p. 283, note c. infr. p. 341, note h.

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the expression *He made* is applied in divine Scripture even to children genuine and natural; whence, the Lord being proved to be the Father's Son naturally and genuinely, and Word, and Wisdom, though *He made* be used concerning Him, or *He became*, this is not said of Him as if a work, but the sacred writers make no question about using the expression,—for instance in the case of Solomon, and Ezekias's children. For though the fathers had begotten them from themselves, still it is written, *I have made*, and *I have gotten*, and *He became*. Therefore God's enemies¹, in spite of their repeated allegation of such small terms², ought now, though late in the day, after what has been said, to disown their irreligious thoughts, and think of the Lord as of a true Son, Word, and Wisdom of the Father, not a work, not a creature. For if the Son be a creature, by what word then and by what wisdom was He made Himself³? for all the works were made through the Word and the Wisdom, as it is written, *In wisdom hast Thou made them all*, and *All things were made by Him, and without Him was not any thing made*. But if it be He who is the Word and the Wisdom, by which all things come to be, it follows that He is not in the number of works, nor in short of things generate, but the Offspring of the Father.

§. 6. 9. For consider how grave an error it is, to call God's Word a work. Solomon says in one place in Ecclesiastes, that *God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil*. If then the Word be a work, do you mean that He as well as others will be brought into judgment? and what room is there for judgment, when the Judge is on trial? who will give to the just their blessing, who to the unworthy their punishment, the Lord, as you must suppose, standing on trial with the rest? by what law shall He, the Lawgiver, Himself be judged? These things are proper to the works, to be on trial, to be blessed and to be punished by the Son. Now then fear the Judge, and let Solomon's words convince you. For if God shall bring the works one and all into judgment, but the Son is not in the number of things put on trial, but rather is Himself the Judge of works one and all, is not the proof clearer than the sun, that the Son is not a work but the

¹ θεομά-

χοι

² λαξευδία

p. 296.

r. 3.

Orat. iii.

59. a

Sent. D.

4. c.

³ Orat.

iii. 62

init.

infr. p.

311,

note k.

Ps. 104,

24.

John 1,

3.

Eccles.

12, 14.

Father’s Word, in whom all the works both come to be and come into judgment?

10. Further, if the expression, *Who was faithful*, is a difficulty to them, from the thought that *faithful* is used of Him as of others, as if He exercises faith and so receives the reward of faith, they must proceed at this rate to find fault with Moses, for saying, *God faithful and true*¹, and with St. Paul for writing, *God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able*. But when the sacred writers spoke thus, they were not thinking of God in a human way, but they acknowledged two senses of the word *faithful* in Scripture, first *believing*, then *trustworthy*, of which the former belongs to man, the latter to God. Thus Abraham was faithful, because he believed God’s word; and God faithful, for, as David says in the Psalm, *The Lord is faithful in all His words*, or is trustworthy, and cannot lie. Again, *If any faithful woman have widows*, she is so called for her right faith; but, *It is a faithful saying*, because what He hath spoken, has a claim on our faith, for it is true, and is not otherwise. Accordingly the words, *Who is faithful to Him that made Him*, imply no parallel with others, nor mean that by having faith He became well-pleasing; but that, being Son of the True God, He too is faithful, and ought to be believed in all He says and does, Himself remaining unalterable and not changed^h by in His human economy and fleshly presence.

¹ not in
O. T.
vid. Apoc.
3, 14.
19, 11.
1 Cor.
10, 13.

Ps. 145,
14. Sept.

1 Tim. 5,
16.
Tit. 3, 8.

11. Thus then we may meet these men who are shameless,

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^h ἀτρεπτος καὶ μὴ ἀλλοιούμενος; vid. supr. p. 23. It was the tendency of Arianism to consider that in the Incarnation some such change actually was undergone by the Word, as they had from the first maintained in the abstract was possible; that whereas He was in nature τρεπτός, He was in fact ἀλλοιούμενος. This was implied in the doctrine that his superhuman nature supplied the place of a soul in His manhood. Hence the Semi-arian Sirmian Creed anathematizes those who said, τὸν λόγον τροπήν ὑπομεμενηκότα, vid. supr. p. 119, note o. This doctrine connected them with the Apollinarian and Eutychian Schools, to the former of which Athan. compares them, contr. Apoll. i. 12. while, as opposing the latter, Theodoret entitles his first

Dialogue ἄτρεπτος. Hence, as Athan. here says, ἄτρεπτος μένων, so against Apollinarian he says, ὁ λόγος ἀνθρωπος γέγονε, μένων θεός. ii. 7. vid. also ibid. 3. circ. init. So ὁ μὲν ἦν, διέμεινε· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἦν, προσέλαβεν. Naz. Orat. 29, 19. οὐσία μένουσα ὅπερ ἐστὶ. Chrysost. ap. Theodor. Eran. p. 47. ὁ ἦν ἔμεινε δι’ ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ὁ ἐθέλησε γέγονε δι’ ἡμᾶς, Procl. ad Arm. p. 615. ed. 1630. vid. also Maxim. Opp. t. 2. ed. 1675. ὅπερ ἦν διαμένον καὶ γενόμενος ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν. p. 286. vid. also p. 264. manens id quod erat, factus quod non erat. August. cons. Ev. i. 53 fin. Non omiserat quod erat, sed coeperat esse quod non erat. Hilar. Trin. iii. 16. non amittendo quod suum erat, sed suscipiendo quod nostrum erat. Vigil. contr. Eut. i. p. 498. (B. P. ed. 1624.)

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II.¹ ὁρθῆ
infr. 43.
note.² ἀλογίαν
p. 2,
note e.

and from the single expression *He made*, may shew that they err in thinking that the Word of God is a work. But further, since the drift also of the context is orthodox¹, shewing the time and the relation to which this expression points, I ought to shew from it also how the heretics lack reason²; viz. by considering, as we have done above, the occasion when it was used and for what purpose. Now the Apostle is not discussing things before the creation when he thus speaks, but when *the Word became flesh*; for thus it is written, *Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession Jesus, who was faithful to Him that made Him*. Now when became He *Apostle*, but when He put on our flesh? and when became He *High Priest of our profession*, but when, after offering Himself for us, He raised His Body from the dead, and, as now, Himself brings near and offers to the Father, those who in His faith approach Him, redeeming all, and for all propitiating God? Not then as wishing to signify the Substance of the Word nor His natural generation from the Father, did the Apostle say, *Who was faithful to Him that made Him*,—(perish the thought! for the Word is not made, but makes,) —but as signifying His descent³ to mankind and High-priesthood which did *become*⁴,—as one may easily see from the account given of the Law and of Aaron.

³ καθόδου⁴ p. 268.

12. I mean, Aaron was not born a high-priest, but a man; and in process of time, when God willed, he became a high-priest; yet became so, not simply, nor as betokened Exod. 29, by his ordinary garments, but putting over them the 5. ephod, the breastplate, the robe, which the women wrought at God's command, and going in them into the holy place, he offered the sacrifice for the people; and in them, as it were, mediated between the vision of God and the sacrifices of men. Thus then the Lord also, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*; but when the Father willed that ransoms should be paid for all and to all grace should be given, then truly the Word, as Aaron his robe, so did He take earthly flesh, having Mary for the Mother of His Body as if virgin earth⁵, that, as a

⁵ ἀνεργάστου γῆς is an allusion to Adam's formation from the ground; and so Irenæus, Hær. iii. 21. fin. and Tertullian; "That Virgin Earth,

High Priest, having He as others an offering, He might offer Himself to the Father, and cleanse us all from sins in His own blood, and might rise from the dead. For what happened of old was a shadow of this; and what the Saviour did on His coming, this Aaron shadowed out according to the Law. As then Aaron was the same and did not change by putting on the high-priestly dress^k, but remaining the same was only robed, so that, had any one seen him offering, and had said, "Lo, Aaron has this day become high-priest," he had not implied that he then had been born man, for man he was even before he became high-priest, but that he had been made high-priest in his ministry, on putting on the garments made and prepared for the high-priesthood; in the same way it is possible in the Lord's instance also to understand aright, that He did not become other than Himself on taking the flesh, but, being the same as before, He was robed in it; and the expressions *He became* and *He was made*, must not be understood as if the Word, considered as the Word^l, were made, but that the Word, being Framer of all,

not yet watered by rains, nor impregnated by showers, from which man was formed in the beginning, from which Christ is now born according to the flesh from a Virgin." adv. Jud. 13. vid. de Carn. Christ. 17. Ex terra virgine Adam, Christus ex virgine. Ambros. in Luc. lib. iv. 7. vid. also the parallel drawn out Serm. 147. App. S. August. and in Proclus Orat. 2. pp. 103, 4. ed. 1630. vid. also Chrysost. t. 3. p. 113. ed. Ben. and Theodotus at Ephesus, "O earth unsown, yet bearing a salutary fruit, O Virgin, who surpassedst the very Paradise of Eden, &c." Conc. Eph. p. 4. (Hard. t. i. p. 1643.) And so Proclus again, "She, the flowering and incorruptible Paradise, in whom the Tree of Life, &c." Orat. 6. p. 227. And Basil of Seleucia, "Hail, full of grace, the amarantine Paradise of Purity, in whom the Tree of Life, &c." Orat. in Annunc. p. 215. and p. 212. "Which, think they, is the harder to believe, that a virgin womb should be with child, or the ground should be animated?" &c. And Hesy-chius, "Garden unsown, Paradise of immortality." Bibl. Patr. Auctar. t. 2. pp. 421, 423.

^k This is one of those distinct and luminous protests by anticipation

against Nestorianism, which in consequence may be abused to the purposes of the opposite heresy. Such expressions as περιτιθέμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα, ἐκαλύπτετο, ἐνδυσάμενος σῶμα, were familiar with the Apollinarians, against whom S. Athanasius is, if possible, even more decided. Theodoret objects Hær. v. 11. p. 422. to the word προκάλυμμα, as applied to our Lord's manhood, as implying that He had no soul; vid. also Naz. Ep. 102 fin. (ed. 1840.) In Naz. Ep. 101. p. 90. παραπέτασμα is used to denote an Apollinarian idea. Such expressions were taken to imply that Christ was not in nature *man*, only in some sense *human*; not a substance, but an appearance; yet S. Athan. (if Athan.) contr. Sabell. Greg. 4. has παραπεπετασμένην and κάλυμμα, *ibid.* init. S. Cyril Hieros. καταπέτασμα, Catech. xii. 26. xiii. 32. after Hebr. 10, 20, and Athan. ad Adelph. 5. c. Theodor. παραπέτασμα, Eran. 1. p. 22. and προκάλυμμα, *ibid.* p. 23. and adv. Gent. vi. p. 877. and στολή, Eran. 1. c. S. Leo has caro Christi velamen, Ep. 59. p. 979. vid. also Serm. 22. p. 70. Serm. 25. p. 84.

^l ὁ λόγος ἐστίν. vid. *supr.* p. 240. ref. 4. Orat. ii. 74. c. iii. 38 init. 39. b. 41 init. 45 init. 52. b. iv. 23. f.

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afterwards^m was made High Priest, by putting on a body which was generate and made, and such as He can offer for us; wherefore He is said to be made. If then indeed the Lord did not become manⁿ, that is a point for the Arians

^m The Arians considered that our Lord's Priesthood preceded His Incarnation, and belonged to His Divine Nature, and was in consequence the token of an inferior divinity. The notice of it therefore in this text did but confirm them in their interpretation of the words *made*, &c. For the Arians, vid. Epiph. Hær. 69, 37. Eusebius too had distinctly declared, "Qui videbatur, erat agnus Dei; qui occultabatur, sacerdos Dei." advers. Sabell. i. p. 2. b. vid. also Demost. i. 10. p. 38. iv. 16. p. 193. v. 3. p. 223. contr. Marc. pp. 8 and 9. 66. 74. 95. Even S. Cyril of Jerusalem makes a similar admission, Catech. x. 14. Nay S. Ambrose calls the Word, plenum justitiæ sacerdotalis, de fug. sæc. 3. 14. S. Clement Alex. before them speaks once or twice of the λόγος ἀρχιερέως, e. g. Strom. ii. 9 fin. and Philo still earlier uses similar language, de Profug. p. 466. (whom S. Ambrose follows) de Somniis, p. 597. vid. Thomassin. de Incarn. x. 9. Nestorius on the other hand maintained that the Man Christ Jesus was the Priest, relying on the text which has given rise to this note; Cyril adv. Nest. p. 64. and Augustine and Fulgentius may be taken to countenance him, de Consens. Evang. i. 6. and ad Thrasim. iii. 30. The Catholic doctrine is, that the Divine Word is Priest *in* and *according* to His manhood. vid. the parallel use of πρωτότοκος infr. 62—64. "As He is called Prophet and even Apostle for His humanity," says S. Cyril Alex. "so also Priest." Glaph. ii. p. 58. and so Epiph. loc. cit. Thomassin loc. cit. makes a distinction between a divine Priesthood or Mediatorship, such as the Word may be said to sustain between the Father and all creatures, and an earthly one for the sake of sinners. vid. also Huet. Origenian. ii. 3. §. 4, 5. For the history of the controversy among Protestants as to the Nature to which His Mediatorship belongs, vid. Petav. Incarn. xii. 3. 4. Bayle's Dict. Art. Stancar. notes D, G, K. and Le Blanc, Thes. Theol. p. 691.

ⁿ Athan. here hints at one special instance in which the remark, made supr. p. 189. note b. is fulfilled, that all

heresies run into each other, (one may even say,) logically. No doctrines were apparently more opposed, whether historically or ethically, than the Arian and the Apollinarian or Monophysite; nay, in statement, so far as the former denied that our Lord was God, the latter that He was man. But their agreement lay in this compromise, that, strictly speaking, He was neither God nor man. In this passage Athan. hints that if the Arians gave the titles (such as Priest) which really belong to our Lord's manhood, to His pre-existent nature, what were they doing but removing the evidences of His manhood, and so far denying it? vid. the remarkable passage of the Council of Sardica against Valens and Ursacius quoted supr. p. 123. note u. In the Arian Creed too, to which that note is appended, it is implied that the Son is possible, the very doctrine against which Theodoret writes one of his Antimonophysite Dialogues, called Eranistes. He writes another on the ἄτρεπτον of Christ, a doctrine which was also formally denied by Arius, and is defended by Athan. supra. p. 230. (as observed just above, p. 289, note h.) Even Eusebius, against Marcellus, speaks of our Lord's taking a *body*, almost to the prejudice of the doctrine of His taking a perfect *manhood*; εἰ μὲν ψυχῆς δίκην οἰκῶν ἐν αὐτῷ [τῷ σώματι], contr. Marcell. p. 54. d. even granting, as is the case, that he is professing to state Marcellus's doctrine. He speaks as if Christ's ζωοποιὸς σὰρξ, if the Word retired from it, would be ἄλογος, p. 55. c. which surely implies, though not in the force of the term, that Christ was without a soul. vid. also p. 91. a. Hence it is Gibbon's calumny (ch. 47. note 34.) after La Croze, Hist. Christ. des Indes, p. 11. that the Arians invented the term θεοτόκος, which the Monophysites (as well as the Catholics) strenuously held. vid. Garnier in Mar. Merc. t. 2. p. 299. If the opposites of connected heresies are connected together, then the doctrinal connexion of Arianism and Apollinarianism is shewn in their respective opposition to the heresies of Sabellius and Nestorius. Salig Eutyech. ant.

to battle; but if the *Word became flesh*, what ought to have been said concerning Him when become man, but *Who was faithful to Him that made Him?* for as it is proper for the Word to have it said of Him, *In the beginning was the Word*, so it is proper to man to *become* and to be *made*. Who then, on seeing the Lord as a man walking about, and yet appearing to be God from His works, would not have asked, *Who made Him man?* and who again, on such a question, would not have answered, that the Father made Him man, and sent Him to us as High Priest?

13. And this meaning, and time, and character¹, the Apostle himself, the writer of the words, *Who is faithful to Him that made Him*, will best make plain to us, if we attend to what goes before them. For there is one train of thought², and the passage is all about One and the Same. He writes then in the Epistle to the Hebrews thus; *Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same; that through death He might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage. For verily He took not on Him the nature of Angels; but He took on Him the seed of Abraham. Wherefore in all things it behoved Him to be made like unto His brethren, that He might be a merciful and faithful High Priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people. For in that He Himself hath suffered being tempted, He is able to succour them that are tempted. Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Jesus; who was faithful to Him that made Him.* Who can read this whole passage without condemning the Arians, and admiring the blessed Apostle who has spoken so well? for when was Christ made, when became He Apostle, except when, like us, He took part in flesh and blood? And when became He a merciful and faithful High Priest, except when in all things He was made like unto His brethren? And then was He

¹ πρόσω-
πον.

² ἀκολου-
θία p.
298, r. 1.
Orat. iii.
64.
Heb. 2,
14—18.
3, 2.

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Eut. 10. denies the connexion, but nismi tradux," Thes. Ep. Lacroz. t. 3. with very little show of reason. La p. 276. Croze calls Apollinarianism, "Aria-

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made like, when He became man, having put upon Him our flesh. Wherefore Paul was writing concerning the Word's human economy, when He said, *Who was faithful to Him that made Him*, and not concerning His Substance. Have not therefore any more the madness to say that the Word of God is a work, whereas He is Son by nature Only-begotten; and then had *brethren*, when He took on Him flesh like ours; which moreover, by Himself offering Himself, He was named and became *merciful and faithful*,—merciful, because in mercy to us He offered Himself for us, and faithful, not as sharing faith with us, nor as having faith in any one as we have, but as deserving to receive faith in all He says and does, and as offering a faithful sacrifice, one which remains and does not come to nought. For those which were offered according to the Law, had not this faithfulness, passing away with the day and needing a further cleansing; but the Saviour's sacrifice, taking place once, has perfected the whole, and is become faithful as remaining for ever. And Aaron had successors, and in a word the priesthood under the Law exchanged its first ministers as time and death went on; but the Lord having a high priesthood without transition and without succession, has become a *faithful High Priest*, as continuing for ever; and faithful too by promise, that He may hear¹ and not mislead those who come to Him.

¹ or, answer, vid. infr. iii. 27.

14. This may be also learned from the Epistle of great Peter, who says, *Let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit their souls to a faithful Creator*. For He is faithful

1 Pet. 4, 19.

§. 10. as not changing, but abiding ever, and rendering what He has promised. Now the so-called gods of the Greeks, unworthy the name, are faithful neither in their essence nor in their promises; for the same are not every where, nay, the local deities come to nought in course of time, and undergo a natural dissolution; wherefore the Word cries out against them, that *faith is not strong in them*, but they are *waters that fail*, and *there is no faith in them*. But the God of all, being one really and indeed and true, is faithful, who is ever the same, and says, *See now, that I, even I am He*, and *I change not*; and therefore His Son is *faithful*, being ever the same and unchanging, deceiving neither in His essence nor in His promise;—as again says the Apostle writing to the

vid. Jer. 9, 3, and 15, 18. Deut. 32, 20. Sept. Deut. 32, 39. Mal. 3, 6.

Thessalonians, *Faithful is He who calleth you, who also will do it*; for in doing what He promises, He is faithful to His words. And he thus writes to the Hebrews as to the word's meaning "unchangeable;" *If we believe not, yet He abideth faithful; He cannot deny Himself*. Therefore reasonably the Apostle, discoursing concerning the bodily presence¹ of the Word, says, *an Apostle and faithful to Him that made Him*, shewing us that, even when made man, *Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and to-day, and for ever is unchangeable*. And as the Apostle makes mention in his Epistle of His being made man when mentioning His High Priesthood, so too he kept no long silence about His Godhead, but rather mentions it forthwith, furnishing to us a safeguard on every side, and most of all when he speaks of His humility, that we may forthwith know His loftiness and His majesty which is the Father's. For instance, he says, *Moses as a servant, but Christ as a Son*; and the former *faithful in his house*, and the latter *over the house*, as having Himself built it, and being its Lord and Framers, and as God sanctifying it. For Moses, a man by nature, became faithful, in believing God who spoke to him by His Word; but^o the Word was not as one of things generate in

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XIV.

1 Thess.
5, 24.

1 Tim. 2,
13. ?

1 σωματι-
κήν παρ-
ουσίαν

Heb. 13.

Heb. 3,
5, 6.

^o Here is a protest beforehand against the Monophysite doctrine, but such anticipations of various heresies are too frequent, as we proceed, to require or bear notice. It is well known that the illustration in the Athan. Creed, "As the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ," was taken by the Monophysites to imply that the Divine Nature was made dependent on the flesh, and was influenced and circumscribed by it. Man is partly soul and partly body; he is *of* body and soul, not body and soul; but Christ is wholly God, and wholly man, ὅλος Θεός, ὅλος ἄνθρωπος, infr. Orat. iv. 35. a. He is as simply God as if He were not man, as simply man as if He were not God; unus atque idem est, says S. Leo, et totus hominis filius propter carnem, et totus Dei filius propter unam cum Patre deitatem. Ep. 165, 8. Athan. has anticipated the heresy which denied this doctrine in a very distinct passage written apparently before the rise even of Arianism. "It is the function of the soul," he says, "to contemplate in its thoughts what is within its own body; but not

to operate in things beyond its own body, or to move by its presence what is far from the body. Certainly man at a distance never moves or transposes such things; nor could a man sit at home and think of things in heaven, and thereby move the sun, or turn the heaven round . . . Not thus is the Word of God in man's nature; for He is not implicated in the body, but rather He hath Himself dominion over it, so that He was not in it only but in all things; nay, He was external to the whole universe and in the sole Father." Incarn. V. D. 17. The same passage occurs in Serm. Maj. de Fid. 11. It is remarkable that the Monophysites should have been forced into their circumscription of the Divine Nature, considering that Eutyches their Patriarch began with asserting for reverence-sake that the Incarnate Word was not under the laws of human nature, vid. supr. p. 243, note i. This is another instance of the running of opposite heresies into each other, supr. p. 292, note n. Another remarkable instance will be found infr. iii. 43. the Agnoctæ, a sect of those very Euty-

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¹ θεὸς ἐν
σαρκί, vid.
λόγος ἐν
σ. iii. 54. a.
θ. ἐν σώ-
ματι, ii.
12. c. 15.
a. λ. ἐν
σώμ.

Sent. D.
8 fin.
² p. 313.

§. 11.

a body, nor as creature in creature, but as God in flesh¹, and Framers of all and Builder in that which was built by Him. And men are clothed in flesh in order to be and to subsist; but the Word of God was made man in order to sanctify the flesh, and, though He was Lord, was in the form of a servant; for the whole creature is the Word's servant², which by Him came to be, and was made.

15. Hence it holds that the Apostle's expression, *He made*, does not prove that the Word is made, but that body, which He took like ours; and in consequence He is called our brother, as having become man. But if it has been shewn, that, even though the word *made* be referred to the Very Word, it is used for "begat," what further perverse expedient will they be able to fall upon, now that the present discussion has cleared up the word in every point of view, and shewn that the Son is not a work, but in Substance indeed the Father's offspring, while in the Economy, according to the good pleasure³ of the Father, He was on our behalf made, and consists as man? For this reason then is it said by the Apostle, *Who was faithful to Him that made Him*; and in the Proverbs, even creation is spoken of. For so long as we are confessing that He became man, there is no question about saying, as was observed before, whether "He became," or "He has been made," or "created," or "formed," or "servant," or "son of an handmaid," or "son of man," or "was constituted," or "took His journey," or "bridegroom," or "brother's son," or "brother." All these terms⁴ happen to be proper to man's nature; and such as these do not designate the Substance of the Word, but that He has become man.

³ κατ' ἐν-
δοκίαν
Orat. iii.
64. init.

⁴ λαξεῖδια,
vid. p.
238, r. 2.

chians, who denied or tended to deny our Lord's manhood with a view of preserving His divinity, being characterized by holding that He was *ignorant*.

The Lutheran Ubiquism in like manner has contrived to unite a portion of the opposite heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches.

CHAPTER XV.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; FIFTHLY, ACTS ii. 36.

The *Regula Fidei* must be observed; *made* applies to our Lord's manhood; and to His manifestation; and to His office relative to us; and is relative to the Jews. Parallel instance in Gen. 27, 29, 37. The context contradicts the Arian interpretation.

1. THE same is the meaning of the passage in the Acts which they also allege, that in which Peter says, that *He hath made both Lord and Christ that same Jesus whom ye have crucified*. For here too it is not written, "He made for Himself a Son," or "He made Himself a Word," that they should have such notions. If then it has not escaped their memory, that they speak concerning the Son of God, let them make search whether it is any where written, "God made Himself a Son," or "He created for Himself a Word;" or again, whether it is any where written in plain terms, "The Word is a work or creation;" and then let them proceed to make their case, the insensate men, that here too they may receive their answer. But if they can produce nothing of the kind, and only catch at such stray expressions as *He made* and *He has been made*, it is to be feared lest, from hearing, *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth*, and *He made the sun and the moon*, and *He made the sea*, they should come in time to call the Word the heaven, and the Light which took place on the first day, and the earth, and each particular thing that has been made, so as to end in resembling the Stoics, as they are called, the one drawing out their god into all things¹, the other ranking God's Word with each work in particular; which they have well nigh done already, saying that He is one of His works.

2. But here they must have the same answer as before, and first be told that the Word is a Son, as has been said above

¹ Brucker de Zenon. §.7. n. 14.

² §. 12.

² vid. p. 283, note c.

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and not a work, and that such terms are not to be understood of His Godhead, but the reason and manner of them investigated. To persons who so inquire, the human economy will plainly present itself, which he undertook for our sake. For Peter, after saying, *He hath made Lord and Christ*, straightway added, *this Jesus whom ye crucified*; which makes it plain to any one, even, if so be, to them, provided they attend to the context¹, that not the Substance of the Word, but He according to His manhood is said to have been made. For what was crucified but the body? and how could be signified what was bodily in the Word, except by saying *He made*?

¹ ἀκολου-
θειαν

² ὁρθῶν, p.
297, r. 2.

³ ἀπλῶς

Acts 2,
22.

John 5,
16. 18.

John 10,
38. not
to the
letter.

3. Especially has that Word *He made*, a meaning consistent with orthodoxy²; in that he has not said, as I observed before, "He made Him Word," but *He made Him Lord*, nor that in general terms³, but *towards us*, and *in the midst of us*, as much as to say, "He manifested Him." And this has Peter himself, starting from this master doctrine carefully^a expressed, when he said to them, *Ye men of Israel, hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a man manifested of God towards you by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by Him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves know*. Consequently the term which he uses in the end, *made*, this He has explained in the beginning by *manifested*, for by the signs and wonders which the Lord did, He was manifested to be not merely man, but God in a body and Lord also, the Christ. Such also is the passage in the Gospel according to John, *Therefore the more did the Jews persecute Him, because He not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was His own Father, making Himself equal with God*. For the Lord did not then fashion Himself to be God, nor indeed is a made God conceivable, but He manifested it by the works, saying, *Though ye believe not Me, believe My works, that ye may know that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me*. Thus then the Father has *made* Him Lord and King in the midst of us, and towards us who were once disobedient; and it is plain that He who is now displayed as Lord and King, does not then begin to be King and Lord, but begins to shew His Lordship, and to extend it even over

^a μετὰ παρατηρήσεως. vid. infr. 44. e. 59. b. 71. e. Orat. iii. 52. b.

the disobedient. If then they suppose that the Saviour was not Lord and King, even before He became man and endured the Cross, but then began to be Lord, let them know that they are openly reviving the statements of Samosatene. But if, as we have quoted and declared above, He is Lord and King everlasting, seeing that Abraham worships Him as Lord, and Moses says, *Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven;* Gen. 19, 24. and David in the Psalms, *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou on My right hand;* and, *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy Kingdom;* and, *Thy Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom;* it is plain that even before He became man, He was King and Lord everlasting, being Image and Word of the Father. And the Word being everlasting Lord and King, it is very plain again that Peter said not that the Substance of the Son was made, but spoke of His Lordship over us, which became when He became man, and, redeeming all by the Cross, became Lord of all and King.

4. But if they continue the argument on the ground of its being written, *He made*, not willing that *He made* should be taken in the sense of *He manifested*, either from want of apprehension, or from their Christ-opposing purpose¹, let them attend to another sound exposition of Peter's words. For he who becomes Lord of others, comes into the possession of beings already in existence; but if the Lord is Framer of all and everlasting King, and when He became man, then gained possession of us, here too is a way in which Peter's language evidently does not signify that the Substance of the Word is a work, but the after subjection of all things, and the Saviour's Lordship over all which "became." And this coincides with what we said before²; for as we then introduced the words, *Become my God and defence, and the Lord became a refuge for the oppressed*, and it stood to reason that these expressions do not shew that God is generate, but that His beneficence becomes towards each individual, the same sense hath the expression of Peter also. For the Son of God indeed, being Himself the Word, is Lord of all; but we once were subject from the first to the slavery of corruption and the curse of the Law, then by degrees

CHAP.
XV.
§. 13.

Gen. 19,
24.

Ps. 110,
1.
Ps. 45, 7.

Ps. 145,
13.

¹ προαί-
ρεσις.

² p. 269.
vid. Serm.

Maj. de
Fid. 1.
Ps. 31, 3.

stony
rock,
E. V.

Ps. 9, 9.
defence
§. 14.

Disc. II. fashioning for ourselves things that were not, we served, as says the blessed Apostle, *them which by nature are no Gods,* Gal. 4, 8. and, ignorant of the true God, we preferred things that were not to the truth; but afterwards, as the ancient people, when oppressed in Egypt, groaned, so, when we too had the Law *engrafted* in us, and according to the unutterable sighings of the Spirit made our intercession, *O Lord our God, take possession of us,* then, as *He became for a house of refuge and a God and defence,* so also He became our Lord. Nor did He then begin to be, but we began to have Him for our Lord. For upon this God being good and Father of the Lord, in pity, and desiring to be known by all, makes His own Son put on Him a human body and become man, and be called Jesus, that in this body offering Himself for all, He might deliver all from false worship and corruption, and might Himself become of all Lord and King.

James 1, 21.
Rom. 8, 26.
Is. 26, 13.
Sept.

5. His becoming therefore in this way Lord and King, this it is that Peter means by, *He hath made Him Lord,* and *hath sent Christ*; as much as to say, that the Father in making Him man, (for to be made belongs to man,) did not simply¹ make Him man, but has made Him in order to His being Lord of all men, and to His hallowing all through the Anointing. For though the Word existing in the form of God took a servant's form, yet the assumption of the flesh did not make a servant^b of the Word, who was by nature Lord; but rather, not only was it that emancipation of all humanity which takes place by the Word, but that very Word who was by nature Lord, and was then made man, hath by means of a servant's

^b οὐκ ἐδούλου τὸν λόγον though, as he said supra p. 296. the Word became a servant, as far as He was man. He says the same thing Ep. Æg. 17. So say Naz. Orat. 32. 18. Nyssen. ad Simpl. (t. 2. p. 471.) Cyril. Alex. adv. Theodor. p. 223. Hilar. de Trin. xi. Ambros. 1. Epp. 46, 3. Athan. however seems to modify the statement (vid. also supr. p. 296. &c.) when he says infra 50. "Not that He was servant, but because He took a servant's form." Theodoret also denies it, Eran. ii. fin. And Damasc. F. O. iii. 21. who says, that our Lord "took on Him an ignorant and servile nature," but "that we may not call Him servant,"

though "the flesh is servile, had it not been united to God the Word." The parallel question of *ignorance*, here touched upon, will come under our notice infra, Orat. iii. 42—53. The latter view prevailed after the heresy of the Adoptionists, who seem to have made "servant" synonymous with "adopted son." Petavius Incarn. vii. 9. distinguishes between the essence or (what is called) *actus primus* and the *actus secundus*; thus water may be considered in its *nature* cold, though certain springs are *in fact* always warm. Vid. infr. p. 344, note f, upon the word "creature."

form been made Lord of all and Christ, that is, in order to hallow all by the Spirit. And as God, when *becoming a God and defence*, and saying, *I will be a God to them*, does not then become God more than before, nor then begins to become God, but, what He ever is, that He then becomes to those who need Him, when it pleaseth Him, so Christ also being by nature Lord and King everlasting, does not become Lord more than He was at the time He is sent forth, nor then begins to be Lord and King, but what He is ever, that He then is made according to the flesh; and, having redeemed all, He becomes thereby again Lord of quick and dead. For Him henceforth do all things serve, and this is David’s meaning in the Psalm, *The Lord said unto My Lord, Sit Thou on My right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool*. For it was fitting that the redemption should take place through none other than Him who is the Lord by nature, lest, though created by the Son, we should name another Lord, and fall into the Arian and Greek folly, serving the creature beyond the all-creating God ^c.

Ps. 110,
1.

6. This, at least according to my nothingness ¹, is the meaning of this passage; moreover, a true and a good meaning have these words of Peter as regards the Jews. For the Jews have wandered from the truth, and expect indeed the Christ as coming, but do not reckon that He undergoes a passion ², saying what they understand not; *We know that, when the Christ cometh, He abideth for ever, and how sayest Thou, that He must be lifted up?* Next they suppose Him, not the Word coming in flesh, but a mere ³ man, as were all the kings. The Lord then, admonishing Cleophas and the other, taught them that the Christ must first suffer; and the rest of the Jews that God was come among them, saying, *If He called them gods to whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken, say ye of Him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God?* Peter then, having learned this from the Saviour, in both points set the Jews right, saying, “O Jews, the divine Scriptures announce that Christ cometh, and you consider Him a mere man as one of David’s descendants,

§. 15.
¹ οὐθένειαν.

² p. 303, r. 2.
John 12, 34. not to the letter

³ ψιλόν

John 10, 36.

§. 16.

^c vid. Rom. 1, 25. and so both text and application very frequently, e. g. Ep. Æg. 4. e. 13. c. Vid. supr. p. 191. note d. infr. iii. 16. note.

Disc. II. whereas what is written of Him shews Him to be not such as you say, but rather announces Him as Lord and God, and immortal, and dispenser of life. For Moses has said, *Ye shall see your Life hanging before your eyes*^d. And David in the hundred and ninth Psalm, *The Lord said unto My Lord, Sit Thou on My right hand, till I make Thine enemies Thy footstool*; and in the fifteenth, *Thou shalt not leave My soul in hell, neither shalt Thou suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption*. Now that these passages have not David for their scope he himself witnesses, avowing that He who was coming was His own Lord. Nay you yourselves know that He is dead, and His relics are with you.

7. "That the Christ then must be such as the Scriptures say, you will plainly confess yourselves. For those announcements come from God, and in them falsehood cannot be. If then ye can state that such a one has come before, and can prove Him God from the signs and wonders which He did, ye have reason for maintaining the contest, but if ye are not able to prove His coming, but are expecting Him still, recognise the true season from Daniel, for his words relate to the present time. But if this present season be that which was of old afore-announced, and ye have seen what has taken place among us, be sure that this Jesus, whom ye crucified, this is the expected Christ. For David and all the Prophets are dead, and the sepulchres of all are with you, but that Resurrection which has now taken place, has shewn that the scope¹ of these passages is Jesus. For the crucifixion is denoted by *Ye shall see your Life hanging*, and the wound in the side by the spear answers to *He was led as a sheep to the slaughter*, and the resurrection, nay more, the rising of

^d vid. Iren. Hær. iv. 10. 2. Tertull. in Jud. 11. Cyprian. Testim. iii. 2. n. 20. Lactant. Instit. iv. 18. Cyril Catech. xiii. 19. August. contr. Faust. xvi. 22. which are referred to in loc. Cypr. (O. T.) To which add Leon. Serm. 59. 6. Isidor. Hisp. contr. Jud. i. 35. ii. 6. Origen. in Cels. ii. 75. Epiph. Hær. p. 75 Damasc. F. O. iv. 11. fin. This interpretation is recommended even by the letter, which has לך מנגר, הלואי לך מנגר, ἀπέθαντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου. Sept. pendebit tibi a regione. Gesen. who

also says, "Since things which are à regione of a place, are necessarily a little removed from it, it follows that מנגר signifies at the same time to be at a small distance," referring to the case of Hagar, who was but a bow-shot from her child. Also, though the word here is הלא, yet הלה, which is the same root, is used for hanging on a stake, or crucifixion, e. g. Gen. 20, 19. Deut. 21, 22. Esth. 5, 14; 7, 10.

the ancient dead from out their sepulchres, (for these most of you have seen,) this is, *Thou shalt not leave My soul in hell,* and *He will swallow up death in victory,* and again, *God will wipe away.* For the signs which actually took place, shew that He who was in a body was God, and also the Life and Lord of death. For it became the Christ, when giving life to others, Himself not to be detained by death; but this could not have happened, had He, as you suppose, been a mere¹ man. But in¹ ψιλός truth He is the Son of God, for men are all subject to death.

8. "Let no one therefore doubt, but the whole house of Israel know assuredly that this Jesus, whom ye saw in shape a man, doing signs and such works, as no one ever yet had done, is Himself the Christ and Lord of all. For though made man, and called JESUS, as we said before, He received no loss by that human passion², but rather, in being made² παθεῖ, p. 301, r. 2. man, He is manifested as Lord of quick and dead. For since, as the Apostle said, *in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.* And so, since we men would not acknowledge God through His Word, nor serve the Word of God our natural Master, it pleased God to shew in man His own Lordship, and so to draw all men to Himself. But to do this by a mere man beseeemed not^e; lest, having man for our Lord, we should become worshippers of man³. Therefore the Word Himself became³ infr. iii. 32 fin. flesh, and the Father called His Name Jesus, and so made Him Lord and Christ, as much as to say, 'He made Him to rule and to reign;' that while at the Name of Jesus, whom ye crucified, every knee bows, we may acknowledge as Lord and King both the Son and through Him the Father."

9. The Jews then, most of them^f, hearing this, came to §. 17.

^e In the text the Mediatorial Lordship is made an office of God the Word; still, not as God, but as man. So S. Augustine, of judgment; "He judges by His divine power, not by His human, and yet man himself will judge, as the Lord of glory was crucified." And just before, "He who believes in Me, believes not in that which He sees, lest our hope should be in a creature, but in Him who has taken on Him the creature, in which He

might appear to human eyes." Trin. i. 27. 28. In like manner the Priesthood is the office of God in the form of man, *supr. p. 292, note m.* And so again none but the Eternal Son could be *πρωτότοκος*, yet He is so called when sent as Creator and as incarnate. *infr. 64.*

^f *οἱ πλείστοι.* *vid. πόσαι μυριάδες,* Act. 21. 20. Jenkin on the Christian Religion, vol. 2. ch. 32. Lardner, Jewish and Heathen Test. ch. i. Burton Eccles. Hist. 1st Cent. p. 50—52.

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themselves and forthwith acknowledged the Christ, as it is written in the Acts. But, the Ario-maniacs on the contrary choose to remain Jews, and to contend with Peter; so let us proceed to place before them some parallel phrases; perhaps it may have some effect upon them, to find what the usage is of divine Scripture. Now that Christ is everlasting Lord and King, has become plain by what has gone before, nor is there a man to doubt about it; for being Son of God, He must be like Him¹, and being like, He is certainly both Lord and King, for He says Himself, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*. On the other hand, that Peter's mere words, *He hath made Him both Lord and Christ*, do not imply the Son to be a creature, may be seen from Isaac's blessing, though this illustration is but a faint² one for our subject. Now he said to Jacob, *Become thou lord over thy brother*; and to Esau, *Behold, I have made him thy lord*. Now though the word *made* had implied Jacob's substance and the coming into being³, even then it would not be right in them as much as to imagine the same of the Word of God, for the Son of God is no creature as Jacob was; besides, they might inquire and so rid themselves of that extravagance. But if they do not understand it of his substance nor of his coming into being, though Jacob was by nature creature and work, is not their madness worse than the Devil's⁴, if what they dare not ascribe in consequence of a like phrase even to things by nature generate, that they attach to the Son of God, saying that He is a creature? For Isaac said *Become* and *I have made*, signifying neither the coming into being³ nor the substance of Jacob; (for after thirty years and more from his birth he said this;) but his authority over his brother, which came to pass subsequently.

§. 18.

10. Much more then did Peter say this without meaning that the Substance of the Word was a work; for he knew Him to be God's Son, confessing, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God*; but he meant His Kingdom and Lordship which was formed and came to be according to grace, and was relatively to us. For while saying this, he was not silent about the Son of God's everlasting Godhead which is the Father's⁵; but He had said already, that He had poured the Spirit on us; now to give the Spirit with authority, is not in the power of

¹ p 312,
note m.

² ἀμυδρόν,
decr. 12,
e.
Gen. 27,
29. 37.

³ ἀρχὴν
γενέσεως

⁴ alluding
to the
tempta-
tion.

Mat. 16,
16.

⁵ πατρι-
κῆς

creature or work, but the Spirit is God's Gift^ε. For the creatures are hallowed by the Holy Spirit; but the Son, in that He is not hallowed by the Spirit, but on the contrary Himself the Giver of it to all¹, is therefore no creature, but true Son of the Father. And yet He who gives the Spirit, the Same is said also to be made; that is, to be made among us Lord because of His manhood, while giving the Spirit because He is God's Word. For He ever was and is, as Son, so also Lord and Sovereign of all, being like in all things² to the Father, and having all that is the Father's³, as He Himself has said⁴.

¹ *supr.*
ch. xii.

² ὅμοιος
κατὰ
πάντα.
vid. infr.
p. 311,
note 1.
³ *vid. infr.*

ε θεοῦ δῶρον. And so more distinctly S. Basil, δῶρον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα. de Sp. S. 57. and more frequently the later Latins, as in the Hymn, "Altissimi Donum Dei;" and the earlier, e. g. Hil. de Trin. ii. 29. and August. Trin. xv. 29. who makes it the personal characteristic of the Third Person in the Holy Trinity; "non

dicitur Verbum Dei, nisi Filius, nec Donum Dei, nisi Spiritus Sanctus." Orat.iii.1. And elsewhere, "Exiit, non quomodo natus, sed quomodo datus, et ideo non dicitur Filius." *ibid.* v. 15. making it, as Petavius observes, "His eternal property, ut sic procedat, tanquam donabile, as being Love." Trin. vii. 13. § 20.

note on
John 16,
⁴ *vid.*
15.

CHAPTER XVI.

INTRODUCTORY TO PROVERBS viii. 22. THAT THE SON IS NOT A CREATURE.

Arian formula, a creature but not as one of the creatures; but each creature is unlike all other creatures; and no creature can create. The Word then differs from all creatures in that in which they, though otherwise differing, all agree together, as creatures; viz. in being an efficient cause; in being the one medium or instrumental agent in creation; moreover in being the revealer of the Father; and in being the object of worship.

Disc.
II.
P. ov. 8,
22.

1. Now in the next place let us consider the passage in the Proverbs, *The Lord created Me a beginning of His ways for His works*^a; although in shewing that the Word is no work, it has been also shewn that He is no creature. For it is the same to say work or creature, so that the proof that He is no work is a proof also that He is no creature. Whereas one may marvel at these men, thus devising excuses to be irreligious, and nothing daunted at the refutations which meet them upon every point. For first they set about deceiving the simple by their questions^b, “Did He who is make him that was not or Him that was from Him who was not¹?” and, “Had you a son, before begetting him²?” And when this had been proved worthless, next they invented the question, “Is the Ingenerate one or two³?” Then, when in this they had

¹ supr.
ch. 7.
p. 213.
² ch. 8.
p. 218.
³ ch. 9.
p. 224.

^a We have found this text urged against the Catholic doctrine in the third century to support an Arian doctrine, supr. p. 47, note b. Eusebius Nicomed. in his letter to Paulinus, adduces it against Alexander in the very beginning of the controversy, Theod. Hist. i. 5. p. 752. Athan. says, supr. pp. 20, 21. that after this it was again put forward by the Arians about A.D. 350. It is presently explained at greater length than any other of the

texts he handles, forming the chief subject of the Oration henceforth, after an introduction which extends down to 44.

^b From the methodical manner in which the successive portions of his foregoing Oration are here referred to, it would almost seem as if he were answering in course some Arian work. vid. also supra, pp. 233, 257. infr. Orat. iii. 26. He does not seem to be tracing the controversy historically.

been confuted, straightway they formed another, "Has He free-will and an alterable nature¹?" But being forced to give up this, next they set about saying, *Being made so much better than the Angels*²; and when the truth exposed this pretence, now again, collecting them altogether, they think to recommend their heresy by *work and creature*³. For they mean those very things over again, and are true to their own perverseness, putting into various shapes and turning to and fro the same errors, if so be to deceive some by that variousness. Although then abundant proof has been given above of this their reckless expedient, yet, since they make all places sound with this passage from the Proverbs, and to many who are ignorant of the faith of Christians, seem to say somewhat, it is necessary to examine separately, *He created* as well as *Who was faithful to Him that made Him*⁴; that, as in all others, so in this text also, they may be proved to have got no further than a fantasy.

2. And first let us see the answers, which they returned to Alexander of blessed memory, in the outset, while their heresy was in course of formation. They wrote thus: "He is a creature, but not as one of the creatures; a work, but not as one of the works; an offspring, but not as one of the offsprings^c." Let every one consider the profligacy and craft of this heresy; for knowing the bitterness of its own malignity, it makes an effort to trick itself out with fair words, and says, what indeed it means, that He is a creature, yet thinks to be able to skreen itself by adding, "but not as one of the creatures." However, in thus writing, they rather convict themselves of irreligion; for if, in your opinion, He is simply a creature, why add the pretence^d, "but not as one of the creatures?" And if He is simply a work, how "not as one of the works?" In which we may see the poison^e of the heresy. For by saying, "offspring, but not as one of the offsprings," they reckon many sons, and one of these they pronounce to be the Lord; so that according to them He is no more Only-begotten, but one out of many brethren, and is called^d offspring and son.

CHAP.
XVI.

¹ ch. 10.

p. 230.

² ch. 13.

p. 257.

³ ch. 14.

and 15.

pp. 281,

297.

⁴ Heb. 3,

2.

⁵ ch. 14.

Heb. 3,

2.

⁴ ch. 14.

§. 19.

^b ἰποκρί-

νεσις,

p. 127,

note 9.

⁶ p. 177.

^c vid. Arius's letter, supr. p. 97. This was the sophism by means of which Valens succeeded with the Fathers of Arminium. vid. S. Jerome in Lucife-

rian. 18. vid. also in Eusebius, supr. p. 62, note f.

^d ἰδὲν χρηματίζεῖν. The question between Catholics and Arians was

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II.
ἡ ἀποκρί-
σεις

3. What use then is this pretence¹ of saying that He is a creature and not a creature? for though ye shall say, Not as "one of the creatures," I will prove this sophism of yours to be a poor one. For still ye pronounce Him to be one of the creatures; and whatever a man might say of the other creatures, such ye hold concerning the Son, ye truly *fools and blind*. For is any one of the creatures just what another is^e, that ye should predicate this of the Son as some prerogative^f? And all the visible creation was made in six days:—in the first, the light which He called day; in the second the firmament; in the third, gathering together the waters, He bared the dry land, and brought out the various fruits that are in it; and in the fourth, He made the sun and the moon and all the host of the stars; and on the fifth, He created the race of living things in the sea, and of birds in the air; and on the sixth, He made the quadrupeds on the earth, and at length man. And *the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made*; and neither the light is as the night, nor the sun as the moon; nor the irrational as rational man; nor the Angels as the Thrones, nor the Thrones as the Authorities, yet they are all creatures, but each of the things made according to its kind exists §. 20. and remains in its own substance, as it was made. Let the

Matt. 23.
19.

Rom. 1,
20.

whether our Lord was a true Son, or only called Son. "Since they whisper something about Word and Wisdom as only names of the Son, &c." *ὀνόματα μόνον*, supr. p. 25. where vid. note f. also p. 218, note a. And so "the title of Image is not a token of a similar substance, but His name only," supr. p. 210. and so infr. 38. where *τοῖς ὀνόμασι* is synonymous with *κατ' ἐπινοίαν*, as Sent. D. 22. f. a. Vid. also 39. b. Orat. iii. 11. c. 18. d. "not named Son, but ever Son," iv. 24. fin. Ep. Æg. 16. e. "We call Him so, and mean truly what we say; they say it, but do not confess it." Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 33. 4. vid. also *νόθοις ἕσπερ ὀνόμασι*, Cyril. de Trin. ii. p. 418. Non hæc nuda nomina, Ambros. de Fid. i. 17. Yet, since the Sabellians equally failed here, also considering the Sonship as only a notion or title, vid. Orat. iv. 2. c. d. (where in contrast, "The Father is Father, and the Son Son," vid. supr.

p. 211, note f.) 12. d. 23. a. 25. e. the word "real" was used as against *them*, and in opposition to *ἀνυπόστατος λόγος*, by the Arians, and in consequence failed as a test of orthodox teaching; e.g. by Arius, supr. p. 97. by Euseb. in Marc. pp. 19, d. 35, b. 161, c. by Asterius, infr. 37. by Palladius and Secundus in the Council of Aquileia ap. Ambros. Opp. t. 2. p. 791. (ed. Bened.) by Maximinus ap. August. contr. Max. i. 6.

^e And so S. Ambrose, Quæ enim creatura non sicut alia creatura non est? Homo non ut Angelus, terra non ut cælum. de Fid. i. n. 130. and a similar passage in Nyss. contr. Eun. iii. p. 132, 3.

^f *ἐξάλπερον*. vid. infr. Orat. iii. 3. init. iv. 28. init. Euseb. Ecl. Theol. pp. 47. b. 73. b. 89. b. 124. a. 129. c. Theodor. Hist. p. 732. Nyss. contr. Eunom. iii. p. 133. a. Epiph. Hær. 76. p. 970. Cyril. Thes. p. 160.

Word then be excepted from the works, and as Creator be restored to the Father, and be confessed to be Son by nature; or if simply He be a creature, then let Him be assigned the same condition as the rest one with another, and let them as well as He be said every one of them to be "a creature, but not as one of the creatures, offspring or work, but not as one of the works or offsprings." For ye say that an offspring is the same as a work, writing "generated or made ε." For though the Son excel the rest on a comparison, still a creature He is nevertheless, as they are; since in those which are by nature creatures one may find some excelling others. Star, for instance, differs from star in glory¹, and the rest have all of them their mutual differences when compared together; yet it follows not for all this that some are lords, and others servants to the superior, nor that some are efficient causes², others by them come into being, but all have a nature which comes to be and is created, confessing in their own selves their Framer:—as David says in the Psalms, *The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handy work*; and as Zorobabel the wise says, *All the earth calleth upon the Truth, and the heaven blessed it: all works shake and tremble at it.*

¹ supr.
p. 263.² p. 310,
note h.

Ps. 19, 1.

1 Esdr.
4, 36.

4. But if the whole earth hymns the Framer and the Truth, and blesses, and fears it, and its Framer is the Word, and He Himself says, *I am the Truth*, it follows that the Word is not a creature, but alone proper to the Father, in whom all things are disposed, and He is celebrated by all, as Framer; for *I was by Him disposing*; and *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.* And the word *hitherto* shews His eternal existence in the Father as the Word; for it is proper to the Word to work the Father's works and not to be external to Him. But if what the Father worketh, that the Son worketh also³, and what the Son createth, that is the

John 14,
6.Prov. 8,
30.
Sept.John 5,
17.

§. 21.

³ Orat.
iii. 11.
note.

ε γεννηθέντα ἢ ποιηθέντα; as if they were synonymous; in opposition to which the Nicene Creed says, *γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα*. In like manner Arius in his letter to Eusebius uses the words, *πρὶν γεννηθῆναι ἢ τοὺς κτισθῆναι, ἢ ὀρισθῆναι, ἢ θεμελιωθῆναι*, Theodor. Hist. p. 750. And to Alexander, *ἀχρόνως γεννηθεὶς καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων κτισθεὶς καὶ θεμελιωθεὶς*, de Syn. 16. And Eusebius to

Paulinus, *κτιστὸν καὶ θεμελιωτὸν καὶ γεννητὸν*. Theod. p. 752. The different words profess to be Scriptural, and to explain each other; "created" being in Prov. 8, 22. "made" in the passages considered in the last two chapters, "appointed" or "declared" in Rom. i. 4 and "founded" or "established" in Prov. 8, 23. which is discussed infr. 72. &c. vid. also 52.

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creation of the Father, and yet the Son be the Father's work or creature, then either He will work His own self, and will be His own creator, (since what the Father worketh is the Son's work also,) which is absurd and impossible; or, in that He creates and worketh the things of the Father, He Himself is not a work nor a creature; for else being Himself an efficient cause^h, He may cause that to be in the case of things caused, which He Himself has become, or rather He may have no power to cause at all.

5. For how, if, as you hold, He is come of nothing, is He able to frame things that are nothing into being? or if He, a creature, withal frames a creature, the same will be conceivable in the case of every creature, viz. the power to frame others. And if this pleases you, what is the need of the Word, seeing that things inferior can be brought to be by things superior? or at all events, every thing that is brought to be could have heard in the beginning God's words, *Become* and *be made*, and so would have been framed. But this is not so written, nor could it be. For none of things which are brought to be is an efficient cause^h, but all things were made through the Word: who would not have wrought all things, were He Himself in the number of the creatures. For neither would the Angels be able to frame, since they too are creatures, though Valentinus, and Marcion, and Basilidas think so, and you are their copyists; nor will the sun, as being a creature, ever make what is not into what is; nor will man fashion man, nor stone devise stone, nor wood give growth to wood. But God is He who fashions man in the womb, and fixes the mountains, and increases wood; whereas man, as being capable of science, puts together and arranges that material, and works things that are, as he has learned; and is satisfied if they are but brought to be, and being conscious of what his nature is, if he needs aught, knows to ask it of God¹. If then God

§. 22.
¹ p. 17.

^h ποιητικὸν ἄτιον, also, p. 309, r. 1. and infr. 27. and Orat. iii. 14. and contr. Gent. 9 init. No creature can create, vid. e. g. about Angels, August. de Civ. Dei xii. 24. de Trin. iii. 13—18. Damasc. F. O. ii. 3. Cyril in Julian, ii. p. 62. "Our reason rejects the idea that the Creator should be a creature,

for creation is by the Creator." Hil. Trin. xii. 5. πῶς δύναται τὸ κτιζόμενον κτίσειν; ἢ πῶς ὁ κτίζων κτίζεται; Athan. ad Afros. 4 fin. Vid. also Serap. i. 24, 6. iii. 4, e. The Gnostics who attributed creation to Angels are alluded to infr. Orat. iii. 12. Epiph. Hær. 52. 53. 163, &c. Theodor. Hær. i. 1 and 3.

also wrought and compounded out of materials, this indeed is a gentile thought, according to which God is an artificer and not a Maker, but yet even in that case let the Word work the materials, at the bidding and in the service of Godⁱ. But if He calls into existence things which existed not by His proper Word, then the Word is not in the number of things non-existing and called; or we have to seek another Word^k, through whom He too was called; for by the Word the things which were not came to be.

6. And if through Him He creates and makes, He is not Himself of things created and made; but rather He is the Word of the Creator God, and is known from the Father's works which He Himself worketh, to be *in the Father and the Father in Him*, and *He that hath seen Him hath seen the Father*, because the Son's Substance is proper^l to the Father, and He in all points like Him^l. How then does He create through Him, unless it be His Word and His Wisdom? and how can He be Word and Wisdom, unless He be the

vid. John
14, 9. 10.

^l τὸ ἴδιον
τῆς οὐ-
σίας

ⁱ προσταττόμενος καὶ ὑπουργῶν. It is not quite clear that Athan. accepts these words in his own person, as has been assumed *supr.* p. 15, note d. p. 118, note n. *Vid. de Decr.* 7. and *infr.* 24. and 31, a. which, as far as they go, are against the use of the word. Also S. Basil objects to ὑπουργος *contr. Eunom.* ii. 21. and S. Cyril in *Joan.* p. 48. though S. Basil speaks of τὸν προστάττοντα κύριον, p. 246, note a. and S. Cyril of the Son's ὑποταγή, *Thesaur.* p. 255. *Vid.* "ministering, ὑπηρετοῦντα, to the Father of all." *Just. Tryph.* p. 72. "The Word became minister, ὑπρέτης, of the Creator." *Origen Hom. in Joan.* p. 61. also *Constit. Ap.* viii. 12. but *Pseudo-Athan.* objects to ὑπηρετῶν, *de Comm. Essent.* 30. and *Athan.* apparently, *infr.* 28. Again, "Whom did He order, præcept?" *Iren Hær.* iii. 8. n. 3. "The Father bids, ἐντέλλεται, (allusion to *Ps.* 33, 9. *vid. infr.* 31.) the Word accomplishes. . . He who commands, κελεύων, is the Father, Ἡὸ who obeys, ὑπακούων, the Son. . . . The Father willed, ἠθέλησεν, the Son did it." *Hippol. contr. Noet.* 14. on which *vid. Fabricius's note.* S. Hilary speaks of the Son as "subditus per obedientiæ obsequelam." *de Syn.* 51. *Vid. pp.* 323, 4. notes a, b, c. In the last of the three the principle is

laid down of what is right and wrong in the use of these expressions.

^k "If the Wisdom which is in the Father is other than the Lord, Wisdom came into being in Wisdom; and if God's Word is Wisdom, the Word too has come into being in a Word; and if God's Word is the Son, the Son too has been made in the Son." *Ep. Æg.* 14. *vid. also supr.* p. 13. and *Orat. iii.* 2. 64. And so S. Austin, "If the Word of God was Himself made, by what other Word was He made? If you say, that it is the Word of the Word, by whom that Word is made, this say I is the only Son of God. But if you say the Word of the Word, grant that He is not made by whom all things are made; for He could not be made by means of Himself, by whom are made all things." in *Joan. Tract. i.* 11. *Vid.* a parallel argument with reference to the Holy Spirit. *Serap. i.* 25. b.

^l τὴν κατὰ πάντα ὁμοίότητα: *vid.* parallel instances, *supr.* p. 115, e. to which add, ὁμοιος κατὰ πάντα, *Orat. i.* 40. κατὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι, *Ep. Æg.* 17, c. τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμοιος, *Orat. ii.* 17. *Orat. iii.* 20, a. "not ὁμοιος, as the Church preaches, but ὡς αὐτοὶ θέλουσι," (*vid. Hist. Treat. tr.* p. 266, note d.) also *supra* p. 155, note g.

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proper offspring of His Substance^m, and did not come to be, as others, out of nothing? And whereas all things are from nothing, and are creatures, and the Son, as they say, is one of the creatures too, and of things which once were not, how does He alone reveal the Father, and none else but He know the Father? For could He, a work, possibly know the Father, then must the Father be also known by all according to the proportion of the measures¹ of each: for all of them are works as He is. But if it be impossible for things generate either to see or to know, for the sight and the knowledge of Him surpasses all, (since God Himself says, *No one shall see My face and live,*) yet the Son has declared, *No one knoweth the Father save the Son,* therefore the Word is different from things generate, in that He alone knows and alone sees the Father, as He says, *Not that any one hath seen the Father, save He that is from the Father,* and *no one knoweth the Father save the Son,* though Arius think otherwise. How then did He alone know, except that He alone was proper to Him? and how proper, if He were a creature, and not a true son from Him? (For one must not mind saying often the same thing for religion-sake.) Therefore it is irreligious to think that the Son is one of all things; and blasphemous and unmeaning to call Him "a creature, but not as one of the creatures, and a work, but not as one of the works, an offspring, but not as one of the offsprings;" for how not as one of these, if, as they say, He was not before His generation²? for it is proper to the creatures and works not to be before their generation, and to subsist out of nothing, even though they excel other creatures in glory; for this difference of one with another will be found in all creatures, which appears in those which are visible³.

¹ vid. p. 95.

vid. Ex. 33, 20. Matt. 11, 27.

John 6, 46. not to the letter.

² vid. supr. 1. a. and p. 276.³ Greek text dislocated.

^m As Sonship is implied in "Image," (supr. p. 233, note d.) so it is implied in "Word" and "Wisdom." For instance, "Especially is it absurd to name the Word, yet deny Him to be Son, for, if the Word be not from God, reasonably might they deny Him to be Son; but if He is from God, how see they not that what exists from any thing is son of him from whom it is?" Orat. iv. 15. Again, *ἀεὶ θεὸς ἦν καὶ υἱὸς ἐστὶ, λόγος ὦν.* Orat. iii. 29 init. *υἱὸς τῆς ἡ δὲ λόγος;*

de Decr. 17. And still more pointedly, *εἰ μὴ υἱὸς, οὐδὲ λόγος,* Orat. iv. 24 fin. vid. also supr. p. 221, note e. And so "Image" is implied in Sonship; "being Son of God He must be like Him," supr. 17. And so "Image" is implied in "Word;" *ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ εἰκόνι, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ,* infr. 82, d. also 34, c. On the contrary, the very root of heretical error was the denial that these titles implied each other, vid. supr. p. 27, note i. p. 41, note e.

7. Moreover if, as the heretics hold, the Son were creature or work, but not as one of the creatures, because of His excelling them in glory, it were natural that Scripture should describe and display Him by a comparison in His favour with the other works; for instance, that it should say that He is greater than Archangels, and more honourable than the Thrones, and both brighter than sun and moon, and greater than the heavens. But it does not in fact thus describe Him; but the Father shews Him to be His own proper and only Son, saying, *Thou art My Son*, and *This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*. Accordingly the Angels ministered unto Him, as being one beyond themselves; and they worship Him, not as being greater in glory, but as being some one beyond all the creatures, and beyond themselves, and alone the Father's proper Son according to substance¹. For if He was worshipped as excelling them in glory, each of things subservient ought to worship what excels itself. But this is not the case²; for creature does not worship creature, but servant Lord, and creature God. Thus Peter the Apostle hinders Cornelius who would worship him, saying, *I myself also am a man*. And an Angel, when John would worship him in the Apocalypse, hinders him, saying, *See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the Prophets, and of them that keep the sayings of this book: worship God*. Therefore to God alone appertains worship, and this the very Angels know, that though they excel other beings in glory, yet they are all creatures and not to be worshippedⁿ,

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§. 23.

Ps. 2, 7.
Mat. 3,
17.

¹ vid.
p. 16.

² vid.
Orat. iii.
12.

Acts 10,
26.

Rev. 22,
9.

ⁿ "Worship" is a very wide term, and has obviously more senses than one. Thus we read in one passage of Scripture that "all the congregation . . . worshipped the Lord, and the king" [David]. S. Augustine, as S. Athanasius overleaf, makes the characteristic of divine worship to consist in sacrifice. "No one would venture to say that sacrifice was due to any but God. Many are the things taken from divine worship and transferred to human honours, either through excessive humility, or mischievous adulation; yet without giving us the notion that those to which they were transferred were not men. And these are said to be honoured and venerated; or were worshipped, if much is heaped upon them, but who ever thought that sacrifice was

to be offered, except to Him whom the sacrificer knew or thought or pretended to be God?" August. de Civ. Dei, x. 4. "Whereas you have called so many dead men gods, why are ye indignant with us, who do but honour, not deify, the martyrs, as being God's martyrs and loving servants? . . . That they even offered libations to the dead, ye certainly know, who venture on the use of them by night contrary to the laws . . . But we, O men, assign neither sacrifices nor even libations to the martyrs, but we honour them as men divine and divinely beloved." Theodor. contr. Gent. viii. pp. 903—910. It is observable that incense was burnt before the Imperial Statues, vid. Orat. iii. 5, note. Nebuchadnezzar offered an oblation to Daniel, after the interpretation of his dream.

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8. On the other hand, the Lord is worshipped even by the Angels; for it is written, *Let all the Angels of God worship Him*; and by all the Gentiles, as Esaias says, *The labour of Egypt and merchandize of Ethiopia and of the Sabceans, men of stature, shall come over unto Thee, and they shall be Thine*; and then, *they shall fall down unto Thee, and shall make supplication unto Thee, saying, Surely God is in Thee, and there is none else, there is no God.* And He accepts His disciples'

John 13, worship, and certifies them who He is, saying, *Call ye Me*
13. *not Lord and Master? and ye say well, for so I am.* And when
al. t. rec. Thomas said to Him, *My Lord and my God*, He allows
John 20, his words, or rather accepts him instead of hindering him.
28.

For He is, as the other Prophets declare, and David says in the Psalm, *the Lord of hosts, the Lord of Sabaoth*, which is interpreted, *the Lord of Armies*, and God True and Almighty,

§. 24. though the Arians burst^o at the tidings. But he had not been thus worshipped, nor been thus spoken of, were He a creature merely. But now since He is not a creature, but the proper offspring of the Substance of that God who is worshipped, and His Son by nature, therefore He is worshipped and is believed to be God, and is Lord of armies, and in authority, and Almighty, as the Father is; for He has said Himself, *All things, that the Father hath, are Mine.* For it is proper to the Son, to have the things of the Father, and to be such that the Father is seen in Him, and that through Him all things were made, and that the salvation of all comes to pass and consists in Him.

John 16,
15.

^o διαβήγγυνώσιν ἑαυτοὺς, also ad Adolph. 8. and vid. supr. p. 29, note 1. vid. also διαβήγγυνώονται, de Syn. 54. καὶ διαβήγαοίεν, Marcell. ap. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. p. 116. also p. 40. τρι-

ζωσι τοὺς ὀδόντας, de Fug. 26. init. τριζέτωσαν, ad Adolph. 8. Hist. Ar. 68. fin. and literally 72. α. κόπτουσιν ἑαυτοὺς. In illud Omnia, 5.

CHAPTER XVII.

INTRODUCTION TO PROVERBS viii. 22. CONTINUED.

Absurdity of supposing a Son or Word created in order to the creation of other creatures; as to the creation being unable to bear God's immediate hand, God condescends to the lowest. Moreover, if the Son a creature, He too could not bear God's hand, and an infinite series of media will be necessary. Objected, that, as Moses who led out the Israelites was a man, so our Lord; but Moses was not the Agent in creation:—again, that unity is found in created ministrations, but all such ministrations are defective and dependent:—again, that He learned to create, yet could God's Wisdom need teaching? and why should He learn, if the Father worketh hitherto? If the Son was created to create us, He is for our sake, not we for His.

1. AND here it were well to ask them also this question ^a, for a still clearer refutation of their heresy;—Wherefore, when all things are creatures, and all are brought into consistence from nothing, and the Son Himself, according to you, is creature and work, and once was not, wherefore has He made *all things through Him* alone, and without Him was made not ^{John 1,} *one thing?* or why is it, when *all things* are spoken of, that ^{3.} no one thinks the Son is signified in the number, but only things generate; whereas when Scripture speaks of the Word, it does not understand Him as being in the number of *all*, but places Him with the Father, as Him in whom providence and salvation for *all* are wrought and effected by the Father, though all things surely might at the same command have come to be, at which He was brought into being by God alone? For God is not wearied by commanding ^{1,} nor is His ¹ strength unequal to the making of all things, that He should ^{p. 12.} alone create the only Son ^b, and need His ministry ² and aid ² ^{supr.} ^{p. 12.} ² ^{ὑποου-} ^{γαυῖ,} ^{as} ^{p. 12.}

^a These sections, 34—36. are very similar to de Decr. 7, 8. supr. pp. 12—14. yet not in wording or order, as is the case with other passages.

^b *μόνος μόνον*, also infr. 30. This phrase is synonymous with “not as one of the creatures,” vid. *μόνος ἐπὶ μόνου*, supr. p. 12. also p. 62. note f. vid. *μόνος*, p. 116. note g. though that term

is somewhat otherwise explained by S. Greg. Naz. *μόνος οὐχ ὡς τὰ σώματα*, Orat. 25, 16. Eunomius understood by *μονογενῆς*, not *μόνος γεννηθῆς* but *παρὰ μόνου*. It should be observed, however, that this is a sense in which some of the Greek Fathers understand the term, thus contrasting generation with procession. vid. Petav. Trin. vii. 11. §. 3.

Disc. II.
 1 p. 320,
 r. 7.
 p. 324,
 note c.
 Rom. 9,
 19.

for the framing of the rest. For He lets nothing stand over, which He wills to be done; but He willed only¹, and all things subsisted, and no one *hath resisted His will*. Why then were not all things brought into being by God alone at that same command, at which the Son came into being? Or let them tell us, why did all things through Him come to be, who was Himself but generate?

2. How void of reason! however, they say concerning Him, that "God willing to create generate nature, when He saw
 2 ἀκράτου that it could not endure the untempered² hand of the Father, and to be created by Him, makes and creates first and alone one only, and calls Him Son and Word, that, through Him as a medium, all things might thereupon be brought to be^c." This they not only have said, but they have dared to put it into writing, namely, Eusebius, Arius, and Asterius who sacrificed³. Is not this a full proof of that irreligion, with which they have drugged themselves with much madness, till they blush not to be intoxicate against the truth? For if they shall assign the toil of making all things as the reason why God made the Son only, the whole creation will cry out against them as saying unworthy things of God; and Esaias too who has said in Scripture, *The Everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary: there is no searching of His understanding*.

3. And if God made the Son alone, as not deigning to make the rest, but committed them to the Son as an assistant, this on the other hand is unworthy of God, for in Him there is no pride⁴. Nay the Lord reproves the thought, when He says, *Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father which is in heaven. And again, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment? Behold the fowls of the air, for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them; are ye not much better than they? Which of you by taking thought, can add one cubit unto his stature? And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how*

4 τύφος,
 as p. 12.
 Mat. 10,
 Mat. 6,
 25—30.

^c Vid. de Decr. §. 8. supr. p. 13. also p. 523. Basil contr. Eunom. ii. 21. Cyril. Thesaur. pp. 150, 241. de Trin. vid. also infra 29. Orat. iv. 11, 12.

they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: and yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore if God so clothe the grass of the field which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall He not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? If then it be not unworthy of God to exercise His providence, even down to things so small, a hair of the head, and a sparrow, and the grass of the field, also it was not unworthy of Him to make them. For what things are the subjects of His providence, of those He is Maker through His proper Word. Nay a worse absurdity lies before the men who thus speak; for they distinguish¹ between the creatures and the framing; and consider the latter the work of the Father, the creatures the work of the Son; whereas either all things must be brought to be by the Father with the Son, or if all that is generate comes to be through the Son, we must not call Him one of the generated things.

¹ διαίρου-
σιν, as
supr p.
12. fin.

4. Next, their folly may be exposed thus:—if even the Word be of generated nature, how, whereas this nature is too feeble to be God's own handywork², He alone of all could endure to be made by the ingenerate and unmitigated³ Substance of God, as ye say? for it follows either that, if He could endure it, all could endure it, or, it being endurable by none, it was not endurable by the Word, for you say that He is one of generate things. And again, if because generate nature could not endure to be God's own handywork, there arose need of a mediator^d, it must follow, that, the Word being generate and a creature, there is need of medium in His framing also, since He too is of that generate nature which endures not to be made of God, but needs a medium. But if some being as a medium be found for Him, then again a fresh mediator is needed for that second, and thus tracing back and following out, we shall invent a vast crowd of accumulating mediators; and thus it will be impossible that the creation should subsist, as ever wanting a mediator, and that medium not coming into being without another mediator; for all of them

§. 26.

² αὐτορυ-
γίαν, and
so αὐ-
τορυγείῳ,
supr p.
12—14.

³ ἀκραί-
φνεστά-
της, most
pure, or
absolute.

^d Vid. p. 13. vid. also a similar argument in Epiphanius, Hær. 76. p. 951. but the arguments of Ath. in these Orations are so generally adopted by the succeeding Fathers, that it is impossible and needless to enumerate the instances of agreement.

Disc.
II.

will be of that generate nature which endures not to be made of God alone, as ye say. How abundant is that folly, which obliges them to hold that what has already come into being, admits not of coming! Or perhaps they opine that they have not even come to be, as still seeking their mediator; for, on the ground of their so irreligious and futile notion¹, what is would not have subsistence, for want of the medium.

¹ and so
de Decr.
8. c.

§. 27.

5. But again they allege this:—"Behold, through Moses too did He lead the people from Egypt, and through him He gave the Law, yet he was a man; so that it is possible for like to be brought into being by like." They should veil their face when they say this, to save their much shame. For Moses was not sent to frame the world, nor to call into being things which were not, or to fashion men like himself, but only to be the minister of words to the people, and to King Pharaoh. And this is a very different thing, for to minister is of things generate as of servants, but to frame and to create is of God alone, and of His proper Word and His Wisdom. Wherefore, in the matter of framing, we shall find none but God's Word; for *all things are made in Wisdom, and without the Word was made not one thing*. But as regards ministrations there are, not one only, but many out of their whole number, whomever the Lord will send. For there are many Archangels, many Thrones, and Authorities, and Dominions, thousands of thousands, and myriads of myriads, standing before Him², ministering and ready to be sent. And many Prophets, and twelve Apostles, and Paul. And Moses himself was not alone, but Aaron with him, and next other seventy were filled with the Holy Ghost. And Moses was succeeded by Jesus the Son of Nave, and he by the Judges, and they by, not one, but by a number of Kings. If then the Son were a creature and one of things generate, there must have been many such sons, that God might have many such ministers, just as there is a multitude of those others. But if this is not to be seen, but the creatures are many, but the Word one, any one will collect from this, that the Son differs from all, and is not on a level with the creatures, but is proper³ to the Father. Hence there are not many Words, but one only Word of the one Father, and one Image of the one God⁴.

² p. 268.
and
Ambros.
de Fid.
iii. 106.

³ ἰδιότης

⁴ p. 331,
note p.

6. "But behold," they say, "there is but one sun¹ and one earth." Let them maintain, senseless as they are, that there is one water and one fire, and then they may be told that every thing that is brought to be, is one in its own substance², but for the ministry and service committed to it, by itself it is not adequate nor sufficient alone. For God said, *Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven, to give light upon the earth, and to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years.* And then he says, *And God made two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: He made the stars also. And God set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and over the night.* Behold there are many lights, and not the sun only, nor the moon only, but each is one in substance, and yet the service of all is one in common; and what each lacks, is supplied by the other, and the office of lighting is performed by all³. Thus the sun has authority³ p 349. to shine throughout the day and no more; and the moon through the night; and the stars together with them accomplish the seasons and years, and become for signs, each according to the need that calls for it. Thus too the earth is not for all things, but for the fruits only, and to be a ground to tread on for the living things that inhabit it. And the firmament is to divide between waters and waters, and to be a place to set the stars in. So also fire and water, with other things, have been brought into being to be the constituent parts of bodies; and in short no one thing is alone, but all things that are made, as if members of each other, make up as it were one body, namely, the world. If then they thus conceive of the Son, let all men throw stones⁴ at them, considering the Word to be a part of this universe, and a part insufficient without the rest for the service committed to Him. But if this be manifestly irreligious, let them acknowledge that the Word is not in the number of things generate, but the sole and proper Word of the Father and their Framer.

7. "But," say they, "though He is a creature and of things generate; yet as from a master and artificer has He learned⁵ to frame, and thus ministered⁶ to God who taught Him." For thus the Sophist Asterius, having learned to deny the Lord,

CHAP.
XVII.

¹ vid.
Euseb.
Demon.
iv. 5 fin.
² supr.
p. 308.
Gen. 1,
14—18.

§. 28.

³ p. 53,
note f.
p. 286.
note f.

⁵ Cyril.
in Joan.
p. 47, c.
⁶ ὑπηρέ-
τησε, vid.
supr. p.
311,
note i.

Disc. has dared to write, not observing the absurdity¹ which follows.

II.

¹ ἀλογίαν,
p. 325,
note e.

For if framing be a thing to be taught, let them beware lest they say that God Himself be a Framer not by nature but by science, so as to admit of His losing the power. Besides, if the Wisdom of God attained to frame by teaching, how is He still Wisdom, when He needs to learn? and what was He before He learned? For it was not Wisdom, if it needed teaching; it was surely but some empty thing, and not

² οὐσιωδῆς
σοφία.
vid. Orat.

iv. 1.

³ προκοπή)
p. 16,
note i.

Wisdom in substance², but from advancement³ it had the name of Wisdom, and will be only so long Wisdom as it can keep what it has learned. For what has accrued not by any nature, but from learning, admits of being one time unlearned.

But to speak thus of the Word of God, is not the part of §. 29. Christians, but of Greeks. For if the power of framing

⁴ supr.
p. 217.

accrues to any one from teaching, these insensate men are ascribing jealousy and weakness⁴ to God;—jealousy, in that He has not taught many how to frame, so that there may be around Him, as Archangels and Angels many, so framers many; and weakness, in that He could not make by Himself,

⁵ συνερ-
γοῦν, ἰπ-
σουργοῦν.
vid. p. 12.

but needed a fellow-worker, or under-worker⁵; and that, though it has been already shewn that generate nature admits of being made by God alone, since they consider the Son to be of such a nature and so made. But God is deficient in nothing: perish the thought! for He has said

Is. 1, 11.

Himself, *I am full*. Nor did the Word become Framer of all from teaching; but being the Image and Wisdom of the Father, He does the things of the Father. Nor hath He made the Son for the making of things generate; for behold, though the Son exists, still⁶ the Father is seen to work, as the Lord Himself says, *My Father worketh hitherto and I work*.

⁶ πάλιν,
vid. p.
203,
note d.
Serap.
ii. 2. fin.
John 5,
17.

If however, as you say, the Son came into being for the purpose of making the things after Him, and yet the Father is seen to work even after the Son, you must hold even in this light the making of such a Son to be superfluous. Besides, why, when He would create us, does He seek for a mediator at all, as if His will did not suffice to constitute whatever

Ps. 115,
3.
Rom. 9,
19.
⁷ p. 316,
r. 1.

seemed good to Him? Yet the Scriptures say, *He hath done whatsoever pleased Him*, and *Who hath resisted His will?* And if His mere will⁷ is sufficient for the framing of all things, you make the office of a mediator superfluous; for your

instance of Moses, and the sun and the moon has been shewn not to hold.

CHAP.
XVII.

8. And here again is an argument to silence you. You say that God, willing the creation of generate nature, and deliberating concerning it, designs and creates the Son, that through Him He may frame us; now, if so, consider how great an irreligion¹ you have dared to utter. First, the Son appears rather to have been for us brought to be, than we for Him; for we were not created for Him, but He is made for us²; so that He owes thanks to us, not we to Him, as the woman to the man. *For the man, says Scripture, was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man.* Therefore, as *the man is the image and glory of God, and the woman the glory of the man*, so we are made God's image and to His glory; but the Son is our image, and exists for our glory. And we were brought into being that we might be; but God's Word was made, as you must hold, not that He might be³, but as an instrument⁴ for our need, so that not we from Him, but He is constituted from our need. Are not men who even conceive such thoughts, more than insensate? For if for us the Word was made, He has not precedence⁵ of us with God; for He did not take counsel about us having Him within Him, but having us in Himself, counselled, as they say, concerning His own Word. But if so, perchance the Father had not even a will for the Son at all; for not as having a will for Him, did He create Him, but with a will for us, He formed Him for our sake; for He designed Him after designing us; so that, according to these irreligious men, henceforth the Son, who was made as an instrument, is superfluous, now that they are made for whom He was created.

¹ p. 1,
note a.
p. 361,
note b.
§. 30.

² vid.
Orat. iv.
11.
¹ Cor. 11,
9.
v. 7.

³ cf. infr.
ch. 20.
⁴ ὄργανον,
supr.
p. 217,
note d.

⁵ πρῶτος
ἡμῶν,
p. 370,
note n.

9. But if the Son alone was made by God alone, because He could endure it, but we, because we could not, were made by the Word, why does He not first take counsel about the Word, who could endure His making, instead of taking counsel about us? or why does He not make more of Him who was strong, than of us who were weak? or why making Him first, does He not counsel⁶ about Him first? or why counselling about us first, does He not make us first, His will⁷ being sufficient for the constitution of all things? But He creates Him

⁶ βουλεύε-
ται.
⁷ βούλη-
μα, p.
320, r. 7.

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II.

first, yet counsels first about us; and He wills us before the Mediator; and when He wills to create us, and counsels about us, He calls us creatures; but Him, whom He frames for us, He calls Son and proper Heir. But we, for whose sake He made Him, ought rather to be called sons; or certainly He, who is His Son, is rather the object of His previous thoughts and of His will, for whom He makes all us. Such the sickness, such the vomit^e of the heretics.

^e ἔμετοι καὶ ναυταί; ναυταί, sea-sickness; as to ἔμετοι (for which vid. supr. p. 98, §. 16. fin. p. 232, r. 3. &c.), the word, according to Cressol de Theatr. Rhet. iii. 11. has a technical meaning, when used of disputation or oratory, and denotes *extempore* delivery as contrasted with compositions on which pains have been bestowed. And this agrees with what Athan. frequently observes about the Arians, as saying what came uppermost to serve their purpose with no care of consistency. Thus S. Greg. Nyss. says of Eunomius, "All such things are poured forth,

ἐπημέσθη, by this writer without reflection (διαβολάς)," in Eunom. ix. p. 250 d. And in a parallel case Synesius, "He does not cherish the word within, who is forced to pour forth daily (ἐμεῖν)." Dion. p. 56, ed. 1612. And Epictetus, in a somewhat similar sense, "There is great danger of pouring forth straightway, what one has not digested." Enchirid. 46. vid. also Dissert. iii. 21. A different allusion of course is contained in the word ἐξέραμα, c. g. p. 281. which is taken from 2 Pet. 2, 22.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INTRODUCTION TO PROVERBS viii. 22. CONTINUED.

Contrast between the Father's operations immediately and naturally in the Son, instrumentally by the creatures; Scripture terms illustrative of this. Explanation of these illustrations; which should be interpreted by the doctrine of the Church; perverse sense put on them by the Arians, refuted. Mystery of Divine Generation. Contrast between God's Word and man's word drawn out at length. Asterius betrayed into holding two Ingenerates; his inconsistency. Baptism how by the Son as well as by the Father. On the Baptism of heretics. Why Arian worse than other heresies.

1. BUT the sentiment of Truth¹ in this matter must not be hidden, but must have high utterance. For the Word of God was not made for us, but rather we for Him, and *in Him all things were created*. Nor for that we were weak, was He strong and made by the Father alone, that He might frame us by means of Him as an instrument; perish the thought! it is not so. For though it had seemed good to God not to make things generate, still had the Word been no less with God, and the Father in Him. At the same time, things generate could not without the Word be brought to be; hence they were made through Him,—and reasonably. For since the Word is the Son of God by nature proper to His substance, and is from Him, and in Him², as He said Himself, the creatures could not have come to be, except through Him. For as the light enlightens all things by its radiance, and without its radiance nothing would be illuminated, so also the Father, as by a hand^a, in the Word wrought all things, and

§. 31.
¹ p. 32^h,
note l.
Col. 1,
16.

² vid.
supr.
p. 140,
note n.

^a ὡς διὰ χειρός. vid. supr. p. 12. note z. And so in Orat. iv. 26, a. de Incarn. contr. Arian. 12, a. κραταῖα χεῖρ τοῦ πατρὸς. Method. de Creat. ap. Phot. cod. 235. p. 937. Iren. Hær. iv. 20. n. 1. v. 1 fin. and 5 n. 2. and 6. n. 1. Clement. Protrept. p. 93. (ed. Potter.) Tertull. contr. Hermog. 45. Cypr. Testim. ii. 4. Euseb. in Psalm.

cviii. 27. Clement. Recogn. viii. 43. Clement. Hom. xvi. 12. Cyril. Alex. frequently, e.g. in Joan. pp. 876, 7. Thesaur. p. 154. Pseudo-Basil. χεῖρ δημιουργικῆ, contr. Eunom. v. p. 297. Job. ap. Phot. 222. p. 582. and August. in Joann. 48. 7. though he prefers another use of the word.

Disc. without Him makes nothing. For instance, God said, as
 11. Moses relates, *Let there be light*, and *Let the waters be*
 Gen. 1, gathered together, and *let the dry land appear*, and *Let us make*
 3, 9, 26. Ps. 33, 9. *man*; as also Holy David in the Psalm, *He spake and it*
 was done; *He commanded and it stood fast*. And He spoke^b,
 1 επουρ- not that, as in the case of men, some under-worker¹ might
 γός. hear, and learning the will of Him who spoke might go away
 and do it; for this is what is proper to creatures, but it is
 unseemly so to think or speak of the Word. For the Word
 of God is Framer and Maker, and He is the Father's Will^c.
 Hence it is that divine Scripture says not that one heard and
 answered, as to the manner or nature of the things which He
 wished made; but God only said, *Let it become*, and he adds,
And it became; for what He thought good and counselled,
 that forthwith the Word began to do and to finish.

2. For when God commands others, whether the Angels, or
 converses with Moses, or promises Abraham, then the hearer
 answers; and the one says, *Whereby shall I know?* and the
 Gen. 15, other, *Send some one else*; and again, *If they ask me, what is*
 8. Ex. 4, *His Name, what shall I say to them?* and the Angel said to
 13. Ex. 3, 13. Zacharias, *Thus saith the Lord*; and he asked the Lord, *O Lord*
 Zech. i. *of hosts, how long wilt Thou not have mercy on Jerusalem?*
 17. and waits to hear good words and comfortable. For each of
 v. 12. these has the Mediator² Word, and the Wisdom of God which
 makes known the will of the Father. But when that Word
 Himself works and creates, then there is no questioning and
 answer, for the Father is in Him and the Word in the Father;

² vid. p.
 292,
 note m.
 p. 303,
 note e.

^b Vid. de Decr. 9. supr. p. 15. contr. Gent. 46. Iren. Hær. iii. 8. n. 3. Origen contr. Cels. ii. 9. Tertull. adv. Prax. 12. fin. Patres Antioch. ap. Routh t. 2. p. 468. Prosper in Psalm. 148. (149.) Basil. de Sp. S. n. 20. Hilar. Trin. iv. 16. Vid. supr. p. 118, note n. p. 311. note i. "That the Father speaks and the Son hears, or contrariwise, that the Son speaks and the Father hears, are expressions for the sameness of nature and the agreement of Father and Son." Didym. de Sp. S. 36. "The Father's bidding is not other than His Word; so that 'I have not spoken of Myself' He perhaps meant to be equivalent to 'I was not born from Myself.' For if the Word of the Father speaks, He pronounces

Himself, for He is the Father's Word, &c." August. de Trin. i. 26. On this mystery vid. Petav. Trin. vi. 4.

^c βουλή. And so βούλησις presently; and ζῶσα βουλή, supr. 2. and Orat. iii. 63. fin. and so Cyril. Thes. p. 54. who uses it expressly, (as it is always used by implication,) in contrast to the κατὰ βούλησιν of the Arians, though Athan. uses κατὰ τὸ βούλημα, e. g. Orat. iii. 31. where vid. note; αὐτὸς τοῦ πατρὸς θέλημα. Nyss. contr. Eunom. xii. p. 345. The principle to be observed in the use of such words is this; that we must ever speak of the Father's will, command, &c. and the Son's fulfilment, assent, &c. as one act. Vid. notes on Orat. iii. 11 and 15. infr.

but it suffices to will, and the work is done; so that the word *He said* is a token of the will for our sake, and *It was so*, denotes the work which is done through the Word and the Wisdom, in which Wisdom also is the Will of the Father. And *God said* is explained in the *Word*, for, he says, *Thou hast made all things in Wisdom*; and *By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made*; and *There is one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him*.

Ps. 104,
24.
Ps. 33, 6.
1 Cor. 8,
6.

§. 32.

3. It is plain from this that the Arians are not fighting with us about their heresy; but while they pretend us, their real fight is against the Godhead Itself. For if the voice were ours which says, *This is My Son*, small were our complaint of them; but if it is the Father's voice, and the disciples heard it, and the Son too says of Himself, *Before all the mountains He begat Me*, are they not fighting against God, as the giants^d in story, having their tongue, as the Psalmist says, a sharp sword for irreligion? For they neither feared the voice of the Father, nor revered the Saviour's words, nor trusted the Saints¹, one of whom writes, *Who being the Brightness of His glory and the Expression of His subsistence, and Christ the power of God and the Wisdom of God*; and another says in the Psalm, *With Thee is the well of life, and in Thy Light shall we see light, and Thou hast made all things in Wisdom*; and the Prophets say, *And the Word of the Lord came to me*; and John, *In the beginning was the Word*; and Luke, *As they delivered them unto us which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word*; and as David again says, *He sent His Word and healed them*. All these passages proscribe in every light the Arian heresy, and signify the eternity of the Word, and that He is not foreign but proper to the Father's Substance. For when saw any one light without radiance? or who dares to say that the expression can be different from the subsistence? or has not a man lost his mind^e himself who even entertains the thought that God was ever without Reason and without Wisdom?

vid. Mat.
17, 5.

Prov. 8,
25. Sept.

Ps. 57, 5.

¹ or
sacred
writers,
ἀγίων,
Heb. 1,
3.

1 Cor. 1,
24.

Ps. 36, 9.
Ps. 101,
24.

Jer. 2, 1.
John 1,
1.

Luke 1,
2.

Ps. 107,
20.

^d τοὺς μυθεομένους γίγαντας, vid. supr. p. 58, note m. Also ὡς τοὺς γίγαντας, Orat. iii. 42. In Hist. Arian. 74. he calls Constantius a γίγας. The same idea is implied in the word θεομάχος so frequently applied to Ari-

anism, as in this sentence. Vid. supr. p. 6, note n.

^e Vid. p. 2, note e. also Gent. 40 fin. where what is here, as commonly, applied to the Arians, is, before the rise of Arianism, applied to unbelievers.

Disc.
II.

ἁμυδρῶς
p. 304,
r. 2.
Wisd. 13,
5.

4. For such illustrations and such images has Scripture proposed, that, considering the inability of human nature to comprehend God, we might be able to form ideas even from these however poorly and dimly¹, as far as is attainable^f. And as the creation contains abundant matter for the knowledge of the being of a God and a Providence, (*for by the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionably the Maker of them is seen,*) and we learn from them without asking for voices, but hearing the Scriptures we believe, and surveying the very order and the harmony of all things, we acknowledge that He is Maker and Lord and God of all, and apprehend His marvellous providence and governance over all things; so in like manner about the Son's Godhead, what has been above said is sufficient, and it becomes superfluous, or rather it is very mad to dispute about it, or to ask in an heretical way, How can the Son be from eternity? or how can He be from the Father's Substance, yet not a part? since what is said to be of another, is a part of him; and what is divided, §. 33. is not whole. These are the evil sophistries of the heterodox; yet, though we have already shewn their shallowness, the exact sense of these passages themselves and the force of these illustrations will serve to shew the baseless nature of their loathsome² tenet.

² μαροῦ

³ τὸν
λόγον

5. For we see that reason³ is ever, and is from him and proper to his substance, whose reason it is, and does not admit a before and an after. So again we see that the radiance from the sun is proper to it, and the sun's substance is not divided or impaired; but its substance is whole and its radiance perfect and whole^g, yet without impairing the

^f Vid. supr. p. 25, note c. p. 140, note n. p. 219, note b. p. 330, note m. Also supr. p. 20. Elsewhere after ad-ducing the illustration of the sun and its light, he adds, "From things familiar and ordinary we may use some poor illustration and represent intellectually what is in our mind, since it were presumptuous to intrude upon the incomprehensible Nature." In illud Omnia 3. fin. Vid. also 6. And S. Austin, after an illustration from the nature of the human mind, proceeds, "Far other are these three and that Trinity. When a man hath discovered something in them and stated it, let him not at once suppose that he has

discovered what is above them, &c." Confess. xiii. 11. And again, Ne hunc imaginem ita comparet Trinitati, ut omni modo existimet similem. Trin. xv. 39. And S. Basil says, "Let no one urge against what I say, that the illustrations do not in all respects answer to the matters in question. For it is not possible to apply with exactness what is little and low to things divine and eternal, except so far as to refute, &c." contr. Eunom. ii. 17.

^g The Second Person in the Holy Trinity is not a quality, or attribute, or relation, but the One Eternal Substance; not a part of the First Person, but whole or entire God; nor does the

substance of light, but as a true offspring from it. We understand in like manner that the Son is begotten not from without but from the Father, and while the Father remains whole, the Expression of His Subsistence is ever, and preserves the Father's likeness and unvarying Image, so that he who sees Him, sees in Him the Subsistence too, of which He is the Expression. And from the operation¹ of the Expression we understand the true Godhead of the Subsistence, as the Saviour Himself teaches when He says, *The Father who dwelleth in Me, He doeth the works which I do; and I and the Father are one, and I in the Father and the Father in Me.*

¹ ἐνεργείας

John 14, 10.
John 10, 30.

Therefore let this Christ-opposing heresy attempt first to divide² the examples found in things generate, and say, "Once the sun was without his radiance," or, "Radiance is not proper to the substance of light," or "It is indeed proper, but it is a part of light by division;" and then let it divide² Reason, and pronounce that it is foreign to mind, or that once it was not, or that it is not proper to its substance, or that it is by division a part of mind. And so of His Expression and the Light and the Power, let it be violent with these as in the case of Reason and Radiance; and instead let it imagine what it will³. But if such extravagance be im-

² διελεεῖν, vid. p. 317, r. 1.

³ Hist. Treat. tr. p. 266, note d.

⁴ In illud Omn. 6. init.

possible for them, are they not greatly beside themselves, presumptuously intruding into what is higher than things generate and their own nature, and essaying impossibilities⁴?

6. For if in the case of these generate and irrational things offsprings are found which are not parts of the substances from which they are, nor subsist with passion, nor impair the substances of their originals, are they not mad again in seeking and conjecturing parts and passions in the instance of the immaterial and true God, and ascribing divisions to Him who is beyond passion and change, thereby to perplex the ears of the simple⁵ and to pervert them from the Truth? for who hears of a son but conceives of that which is proper

§. 34.

⁵ ἀκοῖς ἀκεραι-στέρων.

Hist. Treat. tr. p. 299, notes f. and g.

generation impair the Father's Substance, which is antecedently to it, whole and entire God. Thus there are two Persons, in Each Other ineffably, Each being wholly one and the same Divine Substance, yet not being merely separate aspects of the Same, Each being God as absolutely as if there were no other Divine Person but Himself.

Such a statement indeed is not only a contradiction in the terms used, but in our ideas, yet not therefore a contradiction in fact; unless indeed any one will say that human words can express in one formula, or human thought embrace in one idea, the unknown and infinite God. Basil. contr. Eun. i. 10. Vid. infr. p. 333, note u.

Disc.
II.

¹ p. 12,
note y.
p. 76,
note i.
p. 191,
r. 1.

to the father's substance? who heard, in his first catechising¹, that God has a Son and has made all things by His proper Word, but understood it in that sense in which we now mean it? who on the rise of this odious heresy of the Arians, was not at once startled at what he heard, as strange^h, and a second sowing besides that Word which had been sown from the beginning? For what is sown in every soul from the beginning is that God has a Son, the Word, the Wisdom, the Power, that is, His Image and Radiance; from which it at once follows that He is always; that He is from the Father; that He is like; that He is the eternal offspring of His substance; and there is no idea involved in these of creature or work. But when the man who is an enemy, while men slept, made a second sowingⁱ, of "He is a creature," and "There was once when He was not," and "How can it be?" thenceforth the wicked heresy of Christ's enemies rose as tares, and forthwith, as bereft of every orthodox thought, as robbers, they go about^k and venture to say, "How can the Son always exist with the Father? for men come of men and are sons, after a time; and the father is thirty years old, when the son begins to be, being begotten; and in short of every son of man, it is true that he

¹ p. 276.

was not before his generation²." And again they whisper, "How can the Son be Word, or the Word be God's Image? for the word of men is composed of syllables³, and only signifies the speaker's will, and then is over⁴ and is lost."

³ Orat.
iv. 1.

⁴ πῆπαν-
ται, Orat.
iv. 2.

§. 35.

vid.
1 Tim.

6, 10.

7. They then afresh, as if forgetting the proofs which have been already urged against them, *pierce themselves through* with these bonds of irreligion, and thus argue. But the word of truth^l

^h He here makes the test of the truth of explicit doctrinal statements to lie in their not shocking, or their answering to the religious sense of the Christian.

ⁱ Vid. *supr.* p. 5, note k. Tertullian uses the image in a similar but higher sense when he applies it to Eve's temptation, and goes on to contrast it with Christ's birth from a Virgin. In virginem adhuc Evam irrepererat verbum ædificatorium mortis; in Virginem æque introducendum erat Dei Verbum exstructorium vitæ . . . Ut in doloribus pareret, verbum diaboli semen illi fuit; contra Maria, &c. de Carn. Christ. 17. S. Leo, as Athan. makes "seed" in the parable apply peculiarly to *faith* in dis-

inction to *obedience*. Serm. 69. 5 init.

^k περιεργάζονται, Edd. Col. Ben. and Patav. This seems an error of the press for περιέρχονται. The Latin translates "circumire cæperunt." Vid. *supr.* p. 22, note g. p. 178, note c. also περιέρχονται, *infr.* 63 init. ἐνεπομπεύσατε καὶ τεθρυλήκατε, 82. ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιιόντες, Orat. iii. 54 init. ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιιόντες θρυλοῦσι, Apol. contr. Ar. 11 init. περιτρέχουσι, de Fug. 2. περιφέρουσι, *infr.* 43, περιτροχάζειν, Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 730. περιεργία, &c. is used Orat. iii. 1, a. 43 init.

^l ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος ἐλέγχει. This and the like are usual forms of speech with Athan. and others. Thus ὡς ὁ τῆς

confutes them as follows:—if they were disputing concerning any man, then let them exercise reason in this human way, both concerning His Word and His Son; but if of God who created man, no longer let them entertain human thoughts, but others which are above human nature. For such as is the parent, such of necessity is the offspring; and such as is the Word's Father, such must be also His Word. Now man, begotten in time, in time¹ also Himself¹ begets the child; and whereas from nothing he came to be, therefore his word^m also is over² and continues not. But God is not as man, as Scripture has said; but is existing³ and is ever; therefore also His Word is existing⁴ and is everlastingly with the Father, as radiance from light. And man's word is composed of syllables⁵, and neither lives nor operates any thing, but is only significant of the speaker's intention, and does but go forth and go by, no more to appear, since it was not at all before it was spoken; wherefore the word of man neither lives nor operates anything, nor in short is man. And this happens to it, as I said before, because man who begets it, has his nature out of nothing. But God's Word is not merely pronounced⁶, as one may say, nor a sound of accents, nor by His Son is meant His command⁷; but as radiance from light, so is He perfect offspring from perfect⁸. Hence He is God also, as being God's Image; for *the Word was God*, says Scripture. And man's words avail not for operation; hence man works not by means of words but of hands, for they have being, and man's word subsists not. But the *Word of God*,

CHAP.
XVIII.

p. 211.

² παύεται, p. 328, r. 4.
³ ὄν ἐστι, vid. de Decr.

p. 17, r. 3.

⁴ vid. Serap.

i. 23, a.

⁵ p. 328, r. 3.

⁶ προφορικός

⁷ p. 324, note b.

⁸ vid.

p. 108, note 1.

p. 331, note p.

John 1, 1.

Heb. 4, 12, 13.

ἀλ. ἀπῆται λ. Ap. contr. Ar. 36. where it is contrasted to ὡς ἦθελον, (vid. Hist. Treat. tr. p. 266, note d.) also Serap. ii. 2. Epiphanius; ὁ τῆς ἀλ. λ. ἀντιπίπτει αὐτῶ, p. 830. Eusebius; ὁ τῆς ἀλ. λ. βοᾷ. Eccl. Theol. i. p. 62. d. ἀντιφθέγγεται αὐτῶ μέγα βοήσας, ὁ τῆς ἀλ. λ. ibid. iii. p. 164. b. And Council of Sardica; κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀλ. λ. ap. Athan. Apol. contr. Ar. 46. where it seems equivalent to "fairness" or "impartiality." Asterius; οἱ τῆς ἀλ. ἀποφαινόνται λογισμοί. infr. 37. Orat. i. 32. de Syn. 18. cir. fin. and so Athan. τοῖς ἀλ. λογισμοῖς. Sent. D. 19, c. And so also, ἡ ἀλ. διήλεγε, supr. 18. c. ἡ φύσις καὶ ἡ ἀλ. "draw the meaning to themselves," supr. 5. init. τοῦ λόγου δεικνύντος, 3. init. ἐδείκνυεν ὁ λόγος,

13 fin. τῆς ἀλ. δεξιάσης, infr. 65. init. 60. d. ἐλέγχονται παρὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, 63. c. ἡ ἀλήθεια δείκνυσσι, 70. init. τῆς ἀλ. μαρτυρησάσης, 1. init. τὸ τῆς ἀλ. φρόνημα μεγαληγορεῖν πρεπεῖ, 31. init. de Decr. 17 fin. In some of these instances the words ἀλήθεια, λόγος, &c. are almost synonymous with the Regula Fidei; vid. παρὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, infr. 36. a. and Origen. de Princ. Præf. I and 2.

^m For this contrast between the Divine Word and the human which is Its shadow. vid. also Orat. iv. 1. cir. fin. Iren. Hær. ii. 13, n. 8. Origen. in Joan. i. p. 25, e. Euseb. Demonstr. v. 5. p. 230. Cyril. Cat. xi. 10. Basil. Hom. xvi. 3. Nyssen contr. Eunom. xii. p. 350. Orat. Cat. i. p. 478. Damasc. F. O. i. 6. August. in Psalm 44, 5.

Disc. 11. as the Apostle says, *is living and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in His sight; but all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of Him with whom we have to do.* He is then Framer of all, and without Him was made not one thing, nor can any thing be made without Him.

John 1,
3.

§. 36. 8. Nor must we ask why the Word of God is not such as our word, considering God is not such as we, as has been before said; nor again is it right to seek how the word is from God, or how He is God's radiance, or how God begets, and what is the manner of His begettingⁿ. For a man must be beside himself to venture on such points; since a thing ineffable and proper to God's nature, and known to Him alone and to the Son, this he demands to be explained in words. It is all one as if they sought where God is, and how God is, and of what nature the Father is. But as to ask such questions is irreligious, and argues an ignorance of God, so it is not holy to venture such questions concerning the generation of the Son of God, nor to measure God and His Wisdom by our own nature and infirmity. Nor is a person at liberty on that account to swerve in his thoughts from the truth, nor, if any one is perplexed in such inquiries, ought he to disbelieve what is written. For it is better in perplexity to be silent and believe, than to disbelieve on account of the perplexity: for he who is perplexed may in some way obtain mercy^o,

ⁿ Eusebius has some forcible remarks on this subject in his *Eccl. Theol.*, though he converts them to an heretical purpose. As, he says, we do not know how God can create out of nothing, so we are utterly ignorant of the Divine Generation. We do not understand innumerable things which lie close to us; how the soul is joined to the body, how it enters and leaves it, what its nature, what the nature of Angels. It is written, He who believes, not he who knows, has eternal life. Divine generation is as distinct from human, as God from man. The sun's radiance itself is but an earthly image, and gives us no true idea of that which is above all images. *Eccl. Theol.* i. 12. So has

S. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 29. 8. Vid. also Hippol. in *Noet.* 16. Cyril. *Cat.* xi. 11. and 19. and Origen, according to Moshheim, *Ante Const.* p. 619. And instances in *Petav. de Trin.* v. 6. §. 2. and 3.

^o "They who do not pertinaciously defend their opinion, false and perverse though it be, especially when it does not spring from the audacity of their own presumption, but has come to them from parents seduced and lapsed into error, while they seek the truth with cautious solicitude, and are prepared to correct themselves when they have found it, are by no means to be ranked among heretics." August. *Ep.* 43. *init. vid. also de Bapt. contr. Don.* iv. 23.

because, though he has questioned, he has yet kept quiet; but when a man is led by his perplexity into forming for himself doctrines which beseem not, and utters what is unworthy of God, such daring incurs a sentence without mercy. For in such perplexities divine Scripture is able to afford him some relief, so as to take rightly what is written, and to dwell upon our word as an illustration; that as it is proper to us and is from us, and not a work¹ external to us, so also God's Word¹ *ἔργον* is proper to Him and from Him, and is not a work²; and yet² *ποιήματα* is not like the word of man, or else we must suppose God to be man.

9. For observe, many and various are men's words which pass away day by day; because those that come before others continue not, but vanish. Now this happens because their authors³ are men, and have seasons which pass away, and ideas which are successive; and what strikes them first and second, that they utter; so that they have many words, and yet after them all nothing at all remaining; for the speaker ceases, and his word forthwith perishes. But God's Word is one and the same, and, as it is written, *The Word of God endureth for ever*, not changed, not before or after other, but existing the same always. For it was fitting, whereas God is One, that His Image should be One also, and His Word One, and One His Wisdom^p. Wherefore I am in wonder how, whereas God is One, these men introduce, after their private notions⁴, many images and wisdoms and words^q, and say that the Father's proper and natural Word is other than the Son, by whom He even made the Son^r, and that

³ *πατέρες*

vide Ps.
119, 89.

§. 37.

⁴ *ἐπινοίας*

^p Vid. supr. 35. Orat. iv. 1. also presently, "He is likeness and image of the sole and true God, being Himself sole also," 49. *μόνος ἐν μόνοις*, Orat. iii. 21. *ὅλος ὅλου εἰκόων*. Sarap. i. 16, a. "The Offspring of the Ingenerate," says St. Hilary, "is One from One, True from True, Living from Living, Perfect from Perfect, Power of Power, Wisdom of Wisdom, Glory of Glory." de Trin. ii. 8. *τέλειος τέλειον γεγέννηκεν, πνεῦμα πνεῦμα*. Epiph. Hær. p. 495. "As Light from Light, and Life from Life, and Good from Good; so from Eternal Eternal. Nyss. contr. Eunom. i. p. 164. App.

^q *πολλοὶ λόγοι*, vid. supr. p. 26, note

g. infr. 39 init. and *οὐδ' ἐκ πολλῶν εἶς*, Sent. D. 25. a. also Ep. *Æg.* 14. c. Origen in Joan. tom. ii. 3. Euseb. Demonstr. v. 5. p. 229 fin. contr. Marc. p. 4 fin. contr. Sabell. init. August. in Joan. Tract i. 8. also vid. Philo's use of *λόγοι* for Angels as commented on by Burton, Bampton Lect. p. 556. The heathens called Mercury by the name of *λόγος*. Vid. Benedictine note f. in Justin. Ap. i. 21.

^r This was the point in which Arians and Sabellians agreed, vid. infr. Orat. iv. init. also p. 336, note b. and supr. p. 41, note e. p. 311, note k. also Sent. D. 25. Ep. *Æg.* 14 fin. Epiph. Hær. 72. p. 835, b.

Disc. II. He who is really Son is but notionally¹ called Word^s, as vine,
 1 κατ' and way, and door, and tree of life; and that He is called
 ἐπίνοιαν Wisdom also only in name, the proper and true Wisdom of
 2 ἀγεννη- the Father, which co-exist ingenerately² with Him, being other
 τως, vid. than the Son, by which He even made the Son, and named
 Euseb. Him Wisdom as partaking of it.
 Eccl. 10. This they have not confined to words, but Arius has said
 Theol. p. in his Thalia, and the Sophist Asterius has written, what we
 106. d. have stated above, as follows: "Blessed Paul said not that he
 preached Christ, the Power of God or the Wisdom of God,
 but without the addition of the article, *God's power* and
God's wisdom, thus preaching that the proper Power of God
 Himself which is natural³ to Him, and co-existent in Him
 ingenerately, is something besides, generative indeed of
 Christ, and creative of the whole world, concerning which
 he teaches in his Epistle to the Romans thus,—*The invisible*
things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly
seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His
eternal Power and Godhead. For as no one would say that
 the Godhead there mentioned was Christ, but the Father
 Himself, so, as I think, *His eternal Power and Godhead* also
 is not the Only Begotten Son, but the Father who begat
 Him⁴. And he teaches that there is another power and
 wisdom of God, manifested through Christ." And shortly
 after the same Asterius says, "However His eternal power
 and wisdom, which truth argues⁵ to be unoriginate and
 ingenerate, the same must surely be one. For there are
 many wisdoms which are one by one created by Him, of
 whom Christ is the first-born and only-begotten; all how-
 ever equally depend on their Possessor. And all the powers
 are rightly called His who created and uses them:—as the
 Prophet says that the locust, which came to be a divine
 punishment of human sins, was called by God Himself not
 only a power, but a great power; and blessed David in most
 of the Psalms invites, not the Angels alone, but the Powers
 to praise God."

1 Cor.
1, 24.

³ ἔμφυτον

Rom. 1,
20.

⁴ p. 196,
note c.

⁵ p. 326,
note l.

§. 38.

11. Now are they not worthy of all hatred for merely uttering
 this? for if, as they hold, He is Son, not because He is begotten

^s that is, they allowed Him to be but "notionally Word." Vid. p. 307,
 "really Son," and argued that He was d.

of the Father and proper to His Substance, but that He is called Word only because of things rational¹, and Wisdom because of things gifted with wisdom, and Power because of things gifted with power, surely He must be named a Son because of those who are made sons: and perhaps because there are things existing, He has the gift of existence[†], that is, in our notions only^u. And then after all what is He? for He is none of these Himself, if they are but His names²: and He has but a² p. 307, note d. semblance of being, and is decorated with these names from us. Rather this is some recklessness³ of the devil⁴, or worse,³ ἀπόνοια in contrast to ἐπίνοια. ⁴ p. 9, note s. if they are not unwilling that they should truly subsist themselves, but think that God's Word is but in name. Is not this portentous, to say that Wisdom co-exists with the Father, yet not to say that this is the Christ, but that there are many created powers and wisdoms, of which one is the Lord whom they go on to compare to the caterpillar and locust? and are they not profligate, who, when they hear us

CHAP. XVIII.
¹ λογικῶν,
vid. Ep.
Æg. 13
fin.

[†] Of course this line of thought consistently followed, leads to a kind of Pantheism; for what is the Supreme Being, according to it, but an ideal standard of perfection, the sum total of all that we see excellent in the world in the highest degree, a creation of our minds, without real objective existence? The true view of our Lord's titles, on the other hand, is that He is That properly and in perfection, of which in measure and degree the creatures partake from and in Him. Vid. *supr.* p. 29, note k.
^u κατ' ἐπίνοιαν, in idea or notion. This is a phrase of very frequent occurrence, both in Athan. and other writers. We have found it already just above, and p. 96, note e. p. 193, r. 1. also Orat. iv. 2, 3. de Sent. D. 2. Ep. Æg. 12, 13, 14. It denotes our idea or conception of a thing in contrast to the thing itself. Thus, the sun is to a savage a bright circle in the sky; a man is a "rational animal," according to a certain process of abstraction; a herb may be medicine upon one division, food in another; virtue may be called a mean; and faith is to one man an argumentative conclusion, to another a moral peculiarity, good or bad. In like manner, the Almighty is in reality most simple and uncompounded, without parts, passions, attributes, or properties; yet we speak of Him as good or holy, or as angry or pleased, denoting some particular aspect in

which our infirmity views, in which also it can view, what is infinite and incomprehensible. That is, He is κατ' ἐπίνοιαν holy or merciful, being in reality a Unity which is all mercifulness and also all holiness, not in the way of qualities but as one indivisible perfection; which is too great for us to conceive as It is. And for the very reason that we cannot conceive It simply, we are bound to use thankfully these conceptions, which are our best possible; since some conceptions, however imperfect, are better than none. They stand for realities which they do not reach, and must be accepted for what they do not adequately represent. But when the mind comes to recognise this existing inadequacy, and to distrust itself, it is tempted to rush into the opposite extreme, and to conclude that because it cannot understand fully, it does not realize any thing, or that its ἐπίνοιαι are but ὄνματα. Hence some writers have at least seemed to say that the Divine Being was but called just, good, and true, (vid. Davison's protest in Note at end of Discourses on Prophecy,) and in like manner the Arians said that our Lord was but called the Son and the Word, not properly, but from some kind of analogy, as being the archetype and representative of all those who are adopted into God's family and gifted with wisdom.

Disc.
II.

say that the Word co-exists with the Father, forthwith murmur out, "Are you not speaking of two Ingenerates?" yet in speaking themselves of "His Ingenerate Wisdom," do not see that they have already incurred themselves the charge which they so rashly urge against us^x? Moreover, what folly is there in that thought of theirs, that the Ingenerate Wisdom co-existing with God is God Himself! for what co-exists does not co-exist with itself, but with some one else, as the Evangelists say of the Lord, that He was together with His disciples; for He was not together with Himself, but with His disciples;—unless indeed they would say that God is of a compound nature, having wisdom a constituent or complement of His Substance, ingenerate as well as Himself^y, which moreover they pretend to be the framer of the world, that so they may deprive the Son of the framing of it. For there is nothing they would not maintain, sooner than hold true doctrine concerning the Lord.

§. 39. 12. For where at all have they found in divine Scripture, or from whom have they heard, that there is another Word and another Wisdom¹ besides this Son, that they should frame to themselves such a doctrine? True, indeed, it is written, *Are not My words like fire, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?* and in the Proverbs, *I will make known My words unto you*; but these are precepts and commands, which God has spoken to the sacred writers through His proper and only true Word, concerning which the Psalmist said, *I have refrained my feet from every evil way, that I may keep*

¹ vid. 40.
init.Jer. 23,
29.
Prov. 1,
23.Ps. 119,
101.

^x The Anomœan in Max. Dial. i. a. urges against the Catholic that, if the Son exists in the Father, God is compound. Athan. here retorts that Asterius speaks of Wisdom as a really existing thing in the Divine Mind. Vid. next note.

^y On this subject vid. Orat. iv. n. 2. Nothing is more remarkable than the confident tone in which Athan. accuses Arians as here, and Sabellians in Orat. iv. 2. of considering the Divine Nature as compound, as if the Catholics were in no respect open to such a charge. Nor are they; though in avoiding it, they are led to enunciate the most profound and ineffable mystery. Vid. supr. p. 326, note g. The Father is the One Simple Entire Divine Being, and so is the Son;

They do in no sense share divinity between Them; Each is *ἕλος Θεός*. This is not ditheism or tritheism, for They are the same God; nor is it Sabellianism, for They are eternally distinct and substantive Persons; but it is a depth and height beyond our intellect, how what is Two in so full a sense can also in so full a sense be One, or how the Divine Nature does not come under number. vid. notes on Orat. iii. 27 and 36. Thus, "being uncompounded in nature," says Athan. "He is Father of One Only Son." supr. p. 19. In truth the distinction into Persons, as Petavius remarks, "avails especially towards the unity and simplicity of God." Vid. de Deo. ii. 4, 8.

Thy words. Such words accordingly the Saviour signifies to be distinct from Himself, when He says in His own person, *The words which I have spoken unto you.* For certainly such words are not offsprings or sons, nor are there so many words that frame the world, nor so many images of the One God, nor so many who have become men for us, nor as if from many such there were one who has become flesh, as John says; but as being the only Word of God are those good tidings spoken of Him by John, *The Word was made flesh, and all things were made by Him.* John 1, 14. ver. 3.

13. Wherefore of Him alone, our Lord Jesus Christ, and of His oneness with the Father, are written and set forth the testimonies, both of the Father signifying that the Son is One, and of the sacred writers, aware of this and saying that the Word is One, and that He is Only-Begotten. And His works also are set forth; for all things, visible and invisible, have been brought to be through Him, and *without Him was made not one thing*². But concerning another or any one else they have not a thought, nor frame to themselves words or wisdoms, of which neither name nor deed are signified by Scripture, but are named by these only. For it is their invention and Christ-opposing surmise¹, and they wrest the true sense^a of the name of the Word and the John 1, 3. ¹ ὑπόνοια. vid. p. 333, r. 3.

² Vid. (in addition to what is said supr. p. 208, note a.) Simon. Hist. Crit. Comment. pp. 7, 32, 52. Lampe in loc. Joann. Fabric. in Apocryph. N. T. t. 1. p. 384. Petav. de Trin. ii. 6. §. 6. Ed. Ben. in Ambros. de Fid. iii. 6. Wetstein in loc. Wolf. Cur. Phil. in loc. The verse was not ended as we at present read it, especially in the East, till the time of S. Chrysostom, according to Simon, vid. in Joann. Hom. v. init. though as we have seen supra, S. Epiphanius had spoken strongly against the ancient reading. S. Ambrose loc. cit. refers it to the Arians, Lampe refers it to the Valentinians on the strength of Iren. Hær. i. 8, n. 5. Theophilus in loc. (if the Comment on the Gospels is his) understands by οὐδὲν "an idol," referring to 1 Cor. viii. 4. Augustine, even at so late a date, adopts the old reading, vid. de Gen. ad lit. v. 29—31. It was the reading of the Vulgate, even at the time it was ruled by the Council of Trent to be authentic, and of the

Roman Missal. The verse is made to end after "in Him," (thus, οὐδ' ἐν ᾧ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ) by Epiph. Ancor. 75. Hil. in Psalms 148, 4. Ambros. de Fid. iii. 6. Nyssen in Eunom. i. p. 84. app. which favours the Arians. The counterpart of the ancient reading, which is very awkward, ("What was made in Him was life,") is found in August. loc. cit. and Ambrose in Psalm 36, 35, but he also notices "What was made, was in Him," de Fid. loc. cit. It is remarkable that St. Ambrose attributes the present punctuation to the Alexandrians in loc. Psalm. in spite of Athan.'s and Alexander's, (Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 733.) nay Cyril's (in loc. Joann.) adoption of the ancient.

^a καταχρῶνται. vid. supr. p. 10, note s. and so καταχρηστικῶς, Cyril. Cat. xi. 4. Epiph. Hær. 69, p. 743. 71, p. 831. Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 40. Concil. Labb. t. 2. p. 67. and abusivè, ibid. p. 210.

Disc. II. Wisdom, and framing to themselves others, they deny the true Word of God, and the real and only Wisdom of the Father, and thereby, miserable men, rival the Manichees. For they too, when they behold the works of God, deny Him the only and true God, and frame to themselves another, whom they can show neither by work nor in any testimony drawn from the divine oracles. Therefore, if §. 40. neither in the divine oracles is found another wisdom besides this Son, nor from the fathers¹ have we heard of any such, yet they have confessed and written of the Wisdom co-existing with the Father ingenerately, proper to Him, and the Framers of the world, this must be the Son who even according to them is eternally co-existent with the Father. For He is Ps. 104, Framers of all, as it is written, *In Wisdom hast Thou made them all.* 24.

¹ p. 12, note γ.

Ps. 104, 24.

vid. John 11, 15.

² παιδας

14. Nay, Asterius himself, as if forgetting what he wrote before, afterwards, in Caiaphas's fashion, involuntarily, when urging the Greeks, instead of naming many wisdoms, or the caterpillar, confesses but one, in these words;—"God the Word is one, but many are the things rational; and one is the substance and nature of Wisdom, but many are the things wise and beautiful." And soon afterwards he says again:—"Who are they whom they honour with the title of God's children²? for they will not say that they two are words, nor maintain that there are many wisdoms. For it is not possible, whereas the Word is one, and Wisdom has been set forth as one, to dispense to the multitude of children the Substance of the Word, and to bestow on them the appellation of Wisdom." It is not then at all wonderful, that the Arians should battle with the truth, when they have collisions with their own principles and conflict with each other, at one time saying that there are many wisdoms, at another maintaining one; at one time classing wisdom with the caterpillar, at another saying that it co-exists with the Father and is proper to Him; now that the Father alone is ingenerate, and then again that His Wisdom and His Power are ingenerate also. And they battle with us for saying that the Word of God is ever, yet forget their own doctrines, and say themselves that Wisdom co-exists with God ingenerately^b. So dizzied² are they in all these

² σκοτο-
δινῶσι,
Orat. iii.
42. iiii.

^b Asterius held, 1. that there was an Son was created by and called after that Attribute; 2. that the that Attribute; or 1. that Wisdom was

matters, denying the true Wisdom, and inventing one which is not, as the Manichees who made to themselves another God, after denying Him that is.

15. But let the other heresies and the Manichees also know §. 41. that the Father of the Christ is One, and is Lord and Maker of the creation through His proper Word. And let the Ariomaniaes know in particular, that the Word of God is One, being the only Son proper and genuine from His Substance, and having with His Father the oneness of Godhead indivisible, as we have said many times, being taught it by the Saviour Himself. Since, were it not so, wherefore through Him does the Father create, and in Him reveal Himself to whom He will, and illuminate them? or why too in the baptismal consecration is the Son named together with the Father? For if they say that the Father is not all-sufficient, then their answer is irreligious^c; but if He be, for this alone is holy to say, what is the need of the Son for framing the worlds, or for the holy laver? And what fellowship is there between creature and Creator? or why is a thing made classed with the Maker in the consecration of all of us? or why, as you hold, is faith in one Creator and in one creature delivered to us? for if it was that we might be joined to the Godhead, what need of the creature? but if that we might be united to the Son a creature, superfluous, according to you, is this naming of the Son in Baptism, for God who made Him a Son, is able to make us sons also. Besides, if the Son be a creature, the nature of rational creatures being one, no

ingenerate and eternal, 2. that there were created wisdoms, words, powers many, of which the Son was one. In the two propositions thus stated there is no incongruity; yet Athanasius seems right in his criticism, because Eusebius, and therefore probably Asterius, whom he is defending against Marcellus, (whose heresy was of a Sabellian character,) brings it again and again as a charge against the latter that he held an eternal and ingenerate λόγος, (vid. contr. Marc. pp. 5 int. 35, c. 106, d. 119, c. vid. infr. note on Orat. iv. 3.) which is identical with the former of the two propositions. That is, the zealous maintenance of their peculiar tenet about the Son, which is the second, involved them in an opposition to the

Sabellian tenet, which is the first, which in reality they also held.

^c He says that it is contrary to all our notions of religion that Almighty God cannot create, enlighten, address, and unite Himself to His creatures immediately. This seems to be implied in saying that the Son was created for creation, illumination, &c.; whereas in the Catholic view the Son is but that Divine Person who in the Economy of grace is creator, enlightener, &c. God is represented all-perfect, but acting according to a certain divine order. This is explained just below. Here the remark is in point about the right and wrong sense of the words "commanding," "obeying," &c. *supra*, p. 324, note c.

Disc.
II.

help will come to creatures from a creature¹, since all² need grace from God.

¹ p. 303,
note e.
² all. vid.
supr.
p. 32,
note q.
³ ἀκολου-
θία, p.
293, r. 2.

16. We said a few words just now on the fitness that all things should be made by Him; but since the course³ of the discussion has led us also to mention holy Baptism, it is necessary to state, as I think and believe, that the Son is named with the Father, not as if the Father were not all-sufficient, not without meaning, and by accident; but, since He is God's Word and proper Wisdom, and being His Radiance, is ever with the Father, therefore it is impossible, if the Father bestows grace, that He should not give it in the Son, for the Son is in the Father as the radiance in the light. For, not as if in need, but as a Father in His own Wisdom hath God founded the earth, and made all things in the Word which is from Him, and in the Son confirms the Holy Laver. For where the Father is, there is the Son, and where the light, there the radiance; and as what the Father worketh, He worketh through the Son⁴, and the Lord Himself says, "What I see the Father do, that do I also;" so also when baptism is given, whom the Father baptizes, him the Son baptizes; and whom the Son baptizes, he is consecrated in the Holy Ghost⁵. And again as when the sun shines, one might say that the radiance illuminates, for the light is one and indivisible, nor can be detached, so where the Father is or is named, there plainly is the Son also; and is the Father named in Baptism? then must the Son be named with Him^d.

⁴ vid.
notes on
Orat. iii.
1—15.
e. g. on
11 and
15.
⁵ Orat.
iii. 15.
note.

§. 42.
⁶ ἁγίους,
p. 325,
r. 1.

Therefore, when He made His promise to the sacred writers⁶,

^d Vid. supr. p. 326, note g. and notes on iii. 3—6. "When the Father is mentioned, His Word is with Him, and the Spirit who is in the Son. And if the Son be named, in the Son is the Father, and the Spirit is not external to the Word." ad Serap. i. 14. and supr. p. 98, note n. "I have named the Father," says S. Dionysius, "and before I mention the Son, I have already signified Him in the Father; I have mentioned the Son, and though I have not yet named the Father, He had been fully comprehended in the Son, &c." Sent. D. 17. vid. Hil. Trin. vii. 31. Passages like these are distinct from such as the one quoted from Athan. supr. p. 65, note m. where it is said that

in "Father" is *implied* "Son," i. e. argumentatively as a correlative. vid. p. 33, note r. The latter accordingly Eusebius does not scruple to admit in Sabell. i. ap. Sirm. t. i. p. 8, a. "Pater statim, ut dictus fuit pater, requirit ista vox filium, &c.;" for here no περιχώρησις is implied, which is the doctrine of the text, and is *not* the doctrine of an Arian who considered the Son an instrument. Yet Petavius observes as to the very word περιχ. that one of its first senses in ecclesiastical writers was this which Arians would not disclaim; its use to express the Catholic doctrine here spoken of was later. vid. de Trin. iv. 16.

He thus spoke; *I and the Father will come, and make Our abode in him; and again, that, as I and Thou are One, so they may be one with Us.* And the grace given is one, given from the Father in the Son, as Paul writes in every Epistle, *Grace unto you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.* For the light must be with the ray, and the radiance must be contemplated together with its own light.

CHAP. XVIII.
vid.
John 14, 23, and John 17, 21.
Rom. 1, 7.

17. Whence the Jews, as denying the Son as well as they, have not the Father either; for, as having left the *Fountain of Wisdom*, as Baruch reproaches them¹, they put from them the Wisdom springing from it, our Lord Jesus Christ, (for *Christ*, says the Apostle, is *God's power and God's wisdom*,) when they said, *We have no king but Cesar.* The Jews then have the penal award of their denial; for their city as well as their reasoning came to nought. And these too hazard the fulness of the mystery, I mean Baptism; for if the consecration² is given to us into the Name of Father and Son, and they do not confess a true Father, because they deny what is from Him and like His Substance, and deny also the true Son, and name another of their own framing as created out of nothing, is not the rite administered by them altogether empty and unprofitable, making a show, but in reality being no help towards religion? For the Arians do not baptize into Father and Son, but into Creator and creature, and into Maker and work³. And as a creature is other than the Son, so the Baptism, which is supposed⁴ to be given by them, is other than the truth, though they pretend to name the Name of the Father and the Son, because of the words of Scripture. For not he who simply says, "O Lord," gives Baptism; but he who with the Name has also the right faith^e. On this account therefore our Saviour also did not simply command to baptize, but first says, *Teach*; and then "Baptize into the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost;" that the right faith might follow upon learning, and together with faith might come the consecration² of Baptism.

Bar. 3, 12.
pp. 20, 207.
1 Cor. 1, 24.
John 19, 15.

² τελεῖωσις, initiation

³ pp. 56, 229.
⁴ νομιζόμενον, so-called, p. 193.
also Orat. iii. 57. twice

^e The *prima facie* sense of this passage is certainly unfavourable to the validity of heretical baptism; vid. the subject considered at length in Note G. on Tertullian, O. T. vol. 1. p. 280. also Coust. Pont. Rom. Ep.

p. 227. Voss. de Bapt. Disp. 19 and 20. Forbes Instruct. Theol. x. 2. 3, and 12. Hooker's Eccl. Pol. v. 62. §. 5—11. On Arian Baptism in particular, vid. Jablonski's Diss. Opusc. t. iv. p. 113.

Disc.
II.
§. 43.
1 τὴν π.
ὕγλαινοῦ-
σαν,
Hist.
Treat.
p. 302,
note t.
2 βαντι-
ζόμενον,
Bingh.
Antiqu.
xi. 11.
§. 5.
3 Montanists

18. There are many other heresies too, which use the words only, but without orthodoxy, as I have said, nor the sound faith¹, and in consequence the water which they administer is unprofitable, as deficient in a religious meaning, so that he who is sprinkled² by them is rather polluted^f by irreligion than redeemed. So Gentiles also, though the name of God is on their lips, incur the charge of Atheism^g, because they know not the real and very God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. So Manichees and Phrygians³, and the disciples of Samosatene, though using the Names, nevertheless are heretics, and the Arians follow in the same course, though they read the words of Scripture, and use the Names, yet they too mock those who receive the rite from them, being more irreligious than the other heresies, and advancing beyond them, and making them seem innocent by their own recklessness of speech. For these other heresies lie against the truth in some certain respect, either erring concerning the Lord's Body, as if He did not take flesh of Mary, or as if He altogether did not die, or become man, but only appeared, and was not truly, and seemed to have a body when He had not, and seemed to have the shape of man, as visions in a dream; but the Arians are without disguise irreligious against the Father Himself. For hearing from the Scriptures that His Godhead is represented in the Son as in an image, they blaspheme, saying, that it is a creature, and every where concerning that Image, they carry about⁴ with them the base word⁵, "He was not," as mud in a wallet⁶, and

4 περι-
φέρουσι,
p. 328,
note k.
5 λεξεί-
διον, p.
206, r. 4.
6 instead
of pro-
visions.

^f S. Cyprian speaks of those who prophanâ aquâ polluuntur, Ep. 76 fin. (ed. Ben.) and of the hæreticorum sordida tinctio, Ep. 71 cir. init. S. Optatus speaks of the "various and false baptisms, in which the stained cannot wash a man, the filthy cannot cleanse." ad Parmen. i. 12. Iambus in the Council of Carthage speaks of persons baptized without the Church as "non dicam lotos, sed sordidatos." ap. Cyr. p. 707.

^g ἀθεότητος. vid. supr. p. 3, note f. p. 184, note k. "Atheist," or rather "godless," was the title given by pagans to those who denied, and by the Fathers to those who professed, polytheism. Thus Julian says that Christians preferred "atheism to god-

liness." Vid. Suicer Thes. in voc. It was a popular imputation upon Christians, as it had been before on philosophers and poets, some of whom better deserved it. On the word as a term of reproach vid. Voet. Disput.^o 9. t. 1. pp. 115, &c. 195. It is used of heathens, contr. Gent. 46 init. Orat. iii. 67 fin. and by Eusebius, Eccl. Theol. p. 73, c. who also applies it to Sabellius, ibid. pp. 63, c. 107, b. to Marcellus, p. 80, c. to phantasiasts, pp. 64, c. 65, d. 70. to Valentinus, p. 114, c. Athan. applies it to Asterius (apparently), Orat. iii. 64, b, including Valentinus and the heathen; Basil to Eunomius. Athan. however contrasts it apparently with polytheism, Orat. iii. 15 and 64, b.

spit it forth as serpents^h their venom. Then, whereas their doctrine is nauseous to all men, forthwith, as a support against its fall, they prop up the heresy with human patronage¹, that the simple, at the sight or even by the fear may overlook the mischief of their perversity.

19. Right indeed is it to pity their dupes; well is it to weep over them, for that they sacrifice their own interest for that immediate phantasy which pleasures furnish, and forfeit their future hope. In thinking to be baptized into the name of one who exists not, they will receive nothing; and ranking themselves with a creature, from the creation they will have no help, and believing in one unlike² and foreign to the Father in substance, to the Father they will not be joined, not having His proper Son by nature, who is from Him, who is in the Father, and in whom the Father is, as He Himself has said; but being led astray by them, the wretched men henceforth remain destitute and stripped of the Godhead. For this phantasy of earthly goods will not follow them upon their death; nor when they see the Lord whom they have denied, sitting on His Father's throne, and judging quick and dead, will they be able to call to their help any one of those who have now deceived them; for they shall see them also at the judgment-seat, repenting for their deeds of sin and irreligion.

¹ p. 193,
r. 5.

² Orat.
iii. 4.
note

^h ὡς ὄφεις τὸν ἴον. also Ep. Æg. 19. Hist. Ar. 66. and so Arians, are dogs (with allusion to 2 Pet. ii. 22.), de Decr. 4. Hist. Ar. 29. lions, Hist. Ar. 11. wolves, Ap. c. Arian. 49. hares, de Fug. 10. chameleons, de Decr. init. hydras, Orat. iii. 58 fin. eels, Ep. Æg. 7 fin. cuttlefish, Orat. iii. 59. gnats, de Decr. 14 init. Orat. iii. 59 init. beetles, Orat. iii. fin. leeches, Hist. Ar. 65 init. de Fug. 4. In many of these instances the allusion is to Scripture. On names given to heretics in general, vid. the Alphabetum bestialitatis hereticæ ex Patrum Symbolis, in the Calvinismus bestiarum religio attributed to Raynaudus and printed in the Apopompæus of his works. Vid. on the principle of such applications infr. Orat. iii. 18.

ⁱ καλῶς ἀναγινώσκειν. . . . ὀρθῆν ἔχον τὴν διάνοιαν, i. e. the text admits of an interpretation consistent with the analogy of faith, and so μετ' εὐσεβείας just below. Vid. supr. p. 283, note c. infr. p. 343, note c. Such phrases are frequent in Athan. e. g. τὴν διάνοιαν εὐσεβῆ καὶ λίαν ὀρθῆν, de Decr. 13. καλῶς καὶ ὀρθῶς, Orat. iv. 31, e. γέγραπται μάλα ἀναγκαίως, de Decr. 14 εἰκότως, Orat. ii. 44, e. iii. 53, a. τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν, Orat. i. 44 init. τὸν σκοπὸν τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικόν, Orat. iii. 53, a. ἡ διάνοια ἔχει τὴν αἰτίαν εὐλογον, iii. 7 fin. Vid. also Orat. i. 37 init. 46. ii. 1, a, c. 9 init. 12, b. 53, d. iii. 1, c. 18, a. 19, b. 35, c. 37, b. iv. 30, a.

CHAPTER XIX.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; SIXTHLY, PROVERBS viii. 22.

Proverbs are of a figurative nature, and must be interpreted as such. We must interpret them, and in particular this passage, by the *Regula Fidei*. "He created Me" not equivalent to "I am a creature." Wisdom a creature so far forth as Its human body. Again, if He is a creature, it is as "a beginning of ways," an office which, though not an attribute, is a consequence, of a higher and divine nature. And it is "for the works," which implied the works existed, and therefore much more He, before He was created. Also "the Lord" not the Father "created" Him, which implies the creation was that of a servant.

§. 44. 1. WE have gone through thus much before the passage in the Proverbs, resisting the insensate fables which their hearts have invented, that they may know that the Son of God ought not to be called a creature, and may learn rightly to read what admits in truth of a sound¹ explanation. For it is written, *The Lord created Me a beginning of His ways, for His works*; since, however, these are proverbs and it is expressed in the way of proverbs, we must not expound them nakedly in their first sense, but we must inquire into the person, and thus religiously put the sense on it. For what is said in proverbs, is not said plainly but is put forth latently^b, as the Lord Himself has taught us in the Gospel according to

¹ ὁρθῶς,
p. 341,
note i.
Prov. 8,
22.

^a Athanasius follows the Sept. in translating the Hebrew קָרָא by ἐκτίσσει *created*, as it is also translated in Gen. 14, 19, 22. Such too is the sense given in the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic versions, and by the great majority of primitive writers. On the other hand, Aquila translates ἐκτίσται, and so read Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 20 fin. Nyssen contr. Eunom. i. p. 34. Jerome in Is. 26, 13. and the Vulgate translates possedit. קָרָא is translated "gotten," Gen. 4, 1. after the Sept. and Vulg. in the sense of generation, vid. also Deut. 32, 6; The Hebrew sense is

appealed to by Eusebius, Eccles. Theol. iii. 2, 3. S. Epiphanius, Hær. 69, 25. and S. Jerome in Isai. 26, 13. Vid. Petav. Trin. ii. 1. Huet. Origenian. ii. 2, 23. C. B. Michael. in loc. Prov.

^b This passage of Athan. has been used by S. Cyril. Thesaur. p. 155, d. vid. also Epiph. Hær. 69, 21. Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 20. Didym. de Trin. iii. 3. p. 334, (ed. 1769.) Nyss. contr. Eunom. p. 83. App. vid. infr. 73 and 77. but it would be an endless labour to refer to such parallel passages in later Fathers.

John, saying, *These things have I spoken unto you in proverbs, but the time cometh when I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs, but openly.* Therefore it is necessary to unfold the sense^c of what is said, and to seek it as something hidden, and not nakedly to expound as if the meaning were spoken *plainly*, lest by a false interpretation we wander from the truth.

2. If then what is written be about Angel, or any other of things generate, as concerning one of us who are works, let it be said, *created Me.* But if it be the Wisdom of God, in whom all things generate have been framed, that speaks concerning Itself, what ought we to understand but that *He created*, means nothing contrary to “He begat?” Nor, as forgetting that He was Creator and Framer, or ignorant of the difference between the Creator and the creatures, does It number Itself among the creatures; but It signifies a certain sense, as in proverbs, not *plainly*, but latent; which It inspired the sacred writers to use in prophecy, while soon after It doth Itself give the meaning of *He created* in other but parallel expressions, saying, *Wisdom hath made Herself a house.* Now it is plain that our body is Wisdom’s house^d, which It took on Itself to become man; hence consistently does John say, *The Word was made flesh*; and by Solomon Wisdom says of Itself with cautious exactness¹, not “I am a creature,” but only *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways for His works*^e, yet not “created Me that I might have being,” nor “because I have a creature’s beginning and generation.”

3. For in this passage, not as signifying the Substance of His

CHAP.
XIX.
John 16,
25.

Prov. 8,
22.

vid.
supra.
Prov. 9,
1.

John 1,
14.
1 p. 298,
note a.
Prov. 8,
22.

§. 45.

^c Here, as in so many other places, he is explaining what is obscure or latent in Scripture by means of the Regula Fidei. “Since the canon of Scripture is perfect,” says Vincentius, “and more than sufficient for itself in all respects, what need of joining to it the ecclesiastical sense? because from the very depth of Holy Scripture all men will not take it in one and the same sense, &c. Commonit. 2. Vid. especially the first sentence of the following paragraph, τί δεῖ νοεῖν κ.τ.λ. vid. supr. p. 341, note i.

^d ut intra intemerata viscera ædificante sibi Sapientiã domum, Verbum

caro fieret. Leon. Ep. 31, 2. Didym. de Trin. iii. 3. p. 337. (ed. 1769.) August. Civ. D. xvii. 20. Cyril. in Joann. p. 384, 5. Max. Dial. iii. p. 1029. (ap. Theodor. ed. Schutz.) vid. supr. p. 196, note d. Hence S. Clement. Alex. ὁ λόγος ἑαυτοῦ γεννᾷ. Strom. v. 3.

^e The passage is in like manner interpreted of our Lord’s human nature by Epiph. Hær. 69, 20—25. Basil. Ep. viii. 8. Naz. Orat. 30, 2. Nyss. contr. Eunom. i. p. 34. et al. Cyril. Thesaur. p. 154. Hilar. de Trin. xii. 36—49. Ambros. de Fid. i. 15. August. de Fid. et Symb. 6.

Disc.
II.
1 γνησται

Godhead, nor His own everlasting and genuine¹ generation from the Father, has the Word spoken by Solomon, but on the other hand His manhood and economy towards us. And, as I said before, He has not said "I am a creature," or "I became a creature," but only *He created*^f. For the creatures, having a created substance, are generate, and are said to be created, and in short the creature is created: but this mere term *He created* does not necessarily signify the substance or the generation, but indicates something else as

^f He seems here to say that it is both true that "The Lord created," and yet that the Son was not created. Creatures alone are created, and He was not a creature. Rather something belonging or relating to Him, something short of His substance or nature, was created. However, it is a question in controversy whether even His Manhood can be called a creature, though many of the Fathers, (including Athan. in several places.) seem so to call it. The difficulty may be viewed thus; that our Lord, even in His human nature is the natural, not the adopted, Son of God, (to deny which is the error of the Adoptionists,) whereas no creature can be His natural and true Son; and again that His human nature is worshipped, which would be idolatry if it were a creature. The question is discussed in Petav. de Incarn. vii. 6. who determines that the human nature, though in itself a created substance, yet viewed as deified in the Word, does not in fact exist as a creature. Vasquez, however, considers that our Lord may be called creature, viewed as man, in 3 Thom. Disp. 66. and Raynaud Opp. t. 2. p. 84. expressing his opinion strongly. And Berti de Theol. Disc. xxvii. 5. who adds, however, with Suarez after S. Thomas (in 3 Thom. Disput. 34. Opp. t. 16. p. 489.) that it is better to abstain from the use of the term. Of the Fathers, S. Jerome notices the doubt, and decides it in favour of the term; "Since," he says, "Wisdom in the Proverbs of Solomon speaks of Herself as created a beginning of the ways of God, and many through fear lest they should be obliged to call Christ a creature, deny the whole mystery of Christ, and say that not Christ, but the world's wisdom is meant by this Wisdom, we freely declare, that there is no hazard in calling Him creature, whom we confess with all the confidence

of our hope to be "worm," and "man," and "crucified," and "curse." In Eph. ii. 10. He is supported by Athan. infr. 46. Ep. Æg. 17. Expos. F. 3. ad Serap. ii. 8. fin. Naz. Orat. 30, 2. fin. 38, 13. Nyss. in Cant. Hom. 13. t. i. p. 663. init. Cyr. Hom. Pasch. 17, p. 233. Max. Mart. t. 2. p. 265. Damasc. F. O. iii. 3. Hil. de Trin. xii. 48. Ambros. Psalm. 118. Serm. 5. 25. August. Ep. 187, n. 8. Leon. Serm. 77, 2. Greg. Mor. v. 63. The principal authority on the other side is S. Epiphanius, who ends his argument with the words, "The Holy Church of God worships not a creature, but the Son who is begotten, Father in Son, &c." Hær. 69, 36. And S. Proclus too speaks of the child of the Virgin as being "Him who is worshipped, not the creature," Orat. v. fin. On the whole it would appear, (1.) that if "creature," like "Son," be a *personal* term, He is not a creature; but if it be a word of *nature*, He is a creature; (2.) that our Lord is a creature in respect to the flesh (vid. infr. 47.); (3.) that since the flesh is infinitely beneath His divinity, it is neither natural nor safe to call Him a creature, (according to St. Thomas's example, "non dicimus, quod Æthiops est albus, sed quod est albus secundum dentes") and (4.) that, if the flesh is worshipped, still it is worshipped as in the Person of the Son, not by a separate act of worship. "A creature worship not we," says Athan. "perish the thought . . . but the Lord of creation made flesh, the Word of God; for though the flesh in itself be a part of creation, yet it has become God's body . . . who so senseless as to say to the Lord, Remove out of the body, that I may worship Thee?" ad Adelph. 3. Epiph. has imitated this passage, Ancor. 51. introducing the illustration of a king and his robe, &c.

coming to pass in Him¹ of whom it speaks, and not simply that He who is said to be created, is at once in His Nature and Substance a creature². And this difference divine Scripture recognises, saying concerning the creatures, *The earth is full of Thy creation, and the creation itself groaneth together and travaileth together*; and in the Apocalypse he says, *And the third part of the creatures in the sea died which had life*; as also Paul says, *Every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be refused if it be received with thanksgiving*; and in the book of Wisdom it is written, *Having ordained man through Thy wisdom, that he should have dominion over the creatures which Thou hast made*. And these, being creatures, are also said to be created, as we may further hear from our Lord, who says, *He who created them, made them male and female*; and from Moses in his Song, who writes, *Ask now of the days that are past, which were before thee since the day that God created man upon the earth, and from the one side of heaven unto the other*.

CHAP.
XIX.

1 *περὶ
ἐκείνον*

Ps. 104,
24. Sept.
Rom. 8,
22.

Rev. 8,
9.
1 Tim. 4,
4.

Wisd. 9,
2.

Mat. 19,
4. ὁ ποιή-
σας, γ. τ.
Deut. 4,
32.

Ἐ τὸ λεγόμενον κτίσθαι τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ κτίσμα. also infr. 60, b. Without meaning that the respective terms are synonymous, is it not plain that in a later phraseology this would have been, "not simply that He is in His Person a creature," or "that His Person is created?" vid. Note, p. 147—176. Athan.'s use of the phrase *οὐσία τοῦ λογίου* has already been noticed, supr. p. 244, note k. and passages from this Oration are given in another connexion in the translation of his Hist. Tracts p. 300. note m. The term is synonymous with the Divine Nature as existing in the Person of the Word. In the passage in the text the *οὐσία* of the Word is contrasted to the *οὐσία* of creatures; and it is observable that it is implied that our Lord has not taken on Him a created *οὐσία*. "He said not," Athan. remarks, "I became a creature, for the creatures have a created substance;" he adds that "He created" signifies, *not* substance, but something taking place in Him *περὶ ἐκείνον*, i. e. some adjunct or accident, (e. g. pp. 38, 9. notes y and z.) or as he says supr. p. 291. envelopement or dress. In like manner he presently p. 346. speaks of the creation of the Word like the new creation of the soul, which is not in substance but in qualities, &c. And infr. p. 353. he contrasts the *οὐσία* and the *ἀνθρώπινον* of the Word; as in

Orat. i. 41. *οὐσία* and *ἡ ἀνθρωπότης*; and *φύσις* and *σὰρξ*, iii. 34. init. and *λόγος* and *σὰρξ*, 33. init. And He speaks of the Son "taking on Him the *economy*," infr. 76, d. and of the *ὑπόστασις τοῦ λόγου* being one with ὁ *ἄνθρωπος*, iv. 25, c. It is observed p. 291, note k. how this line of teaching might be wrested to the purposes of the Apollinarian and Eutychian heresies; and, considering Athan.'s most emphatic protests against their errors in his later works, as well as his strong statements in Orat. iii. there is no hazard in this admission. We thus understand how Eutyches came to deny the "two natures." He said that such a doctrine was a new one; this is not true, for, not to mention other Fathers, Athan. infr. Orat. iv. fin. speaks of our Lord's "invisible nature and visible," (vid. also contr. Apoll. ii. 11, a. infr. 70. iii. 43, c.) and his ordinary use of *ἄνθρωπος* for the manhood might quite as plausibly be perverted on the other hand into a defence of Nestorianism; but still the above peculiarities in his style may be taken to *account for* the heresy, though they do not excuse the heretic. Vid. also the Ed. Ben. on S. Hilary, præf. p. xliii. who uses *natura* absolutely for our Lord's Divinity, as contrasted to the *dispensatio*, and divides His titles into *naturalia* and *assumpta*.

Disc. 11.
Col. 1,
15—17. And Paul in his Epistle to the Colossians, *Who is the Image of the Invisible God, the First born of every creature, for in Him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are on earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created through Him, and for Him, and He is before all.*

§. 46. 4. That to be called creatures, then, and to be created belongs to things which have by nature a created substance, these passages are sufficient to remind us, though Scripture is full of the like; on the other hand that the single word *He created* does not simply denote the substance and mode of generation¹, David shews in the Psalm, *This shall be written for another generation, and the people that is created shall praise the Lord*; and again, *Create in me a clean heart, O God*; and Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians says, *having abolished the law of commandments contained in ordinances, for to create in Himself of two one new man*; and again, *Put ye on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness*². For neither David spoke of any people created in substance, nor prayed to have another heart than that he had, but meant renovation according to God and renewal; nor did Paul signify any two created in substance in the Lord, nor again did he counsel us to put on any other man; but he called the life according to virtue the *man after God*, and by the *created* in Christ he meant the two people who are renewed in Him. Such too is the language of the book of Jeremiah; *The Lord hath created a new salvation for a plantation, in which salvation men shall walk to and fro*^h; and in thus speaking, he does not mean any substance of a creature, but prophesies of the renewal of salvation among men, which has taken place³ in Christ for us.

5. Such then being the difference between "the creatures" and the single word *He created*, if you find any where in divine Scripture the Lord called "creature," produce it and make the most of it; but if it is no where written that He is

¹ γένεσιν
Ps. 102,
18. Sept.
Ps. 51,
12.
Eph. 2,
15.
Eph. 4,
22.
² vid.
Cyr.
Thes.
p. 156.
Jer. 31,
22.
³ γενομέ-
νην.
p. 268.
twice.
p. 347.
r. 1.
p. 353.
r. 1.

^h vid. also Expos. F. 3. where he notices that this is the version of the Septuagint, Aquila's being "The Lord hath created a new thing in the woman." Our own "a new thing in the earth, a woman shall compass a man," is with the Hebrew, as is the Vulgate. Athan. has preserved Aquila's version in three other places, in Psalm xxx. 12. lix. 5. lxxv. 18.

a creature, only He Himself says about Himself in the Proverbs, *The Lord hath created Me*, shame upon you both on the ground of the distinction aforesaid and for that the diction is like that of proverbs; and accordingly let *He created* be understood, not of His being a creature, but of that human nature which became¹ His, for to this belongs creation. Indeed is it not evidently unfair in you, when David and Paul say *He created*, then indeed not to understand it of the substance and the generation, but the renewal; yet, when the Lord says *He created*, to number His substance with the creatures? and again when Scripture says, *Wisdom hath built her an house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars*, to understand *house* allegorically, but to take *He created* as it stands, and to fasten on it the idea of creature? and neither His being Framers of all has had any weight with you, nor have you feared His being the sole and proper Offspring of the Father, but recklessly, as if you had enlisted against Him, do ye fight, and think less of Him than of men.

6. For the very passage proves that it is only an invention of your own to call the Lord creature. For the Lord, knowing His own Substance to be the Only-begotten Wisdom and Offspring of the Father, and other than things generate and natural creatures, says in love to man, *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways*, as if to say, "My Father hath prepared for Me a body, and has created Me for men in behalf of their salvation." For, as when John says, *The Word was made flesh*, we do not conceive the whole Word Himself to be flesh², but to have put on flesh and become man, on hearing, *Christ hath become a curse for us*, and *He hath made Him sin for us who knew no sin*, we do not simply conceive this, that whole Christ has become curse and sin, but that He has taken on Him the curse which lay against us, (as the Apostle has said, *Has redeemed us from the curse*, and *has carried*, as Esaias has said, *our sins*, and as Peter has written, *has borne them in the body on the wood*;) so, if it is said in the Proverbs *He created*, we must not conceive that the whole Word is in nature a creature, but that He put on the created body¹ and that God created Him for our

¹ γενόμε-
νον p.
346, r.
3.

Prov. 9,
1.

§. 47.

John 1,
14.

² p. 295,
note o.
Gal. 3,
13.
² Cor.
5, 21.

Gal. 3,
13.
1s. 53, 4.
1 Pet.
2, 24.

¹ Here he says that, though our as to the flesh, it is not right to call Lord's flesh is created or He is created Him a creature. This is very much

Disc. II. sakes, preparing for Him the created body, as it is written, for us, that in Him we might be capable of being renewed and made gods ¹.

¹ θεοποίη-
θῆναι

7. What then has deceived you, O senseless, to call the Creator a creature? or whence did you purchase for you this new thought, to make a boast of? For the Proverbs say *He created*, but they call not the Son creature, but Offspring; and, according to the distinction in Scripture aforesaid of *He created* and "creature," they acknowledge, what is by nature proper to the Son, that He is the Only-begotten Wisdom and Framer of the creatures, and when they say *He created*, they say it not in respect of His Substance, but signify that He was becoming a beginning of many ways; so that *He created* is in contrast to *Offspring*, and His being called the *Beginning of ways*^k to His being the Only-begotten Word.

² πομπεῦ-
ετες, infr.
82.

§. 48. For if He is Offspring, how call ye Him creature? for no one says that He begets what He creates, nor calls His proper offspring creatures; and again, if He is Only-begotten, how becomes He *beginning of the ways*? for of necessity, if He was created a beginning of all things, He is no longer alone, as having those who were made after Him.

³ ἀρχῆ
τέκνων,
Gen. 49,
3. Sept.

8. For Reuben, when he became a beginning³ of the children, was not only-begotten, but in time indeed first, but in nature and relationship one among those who came after him. Therefore if the Word also is a *beginning of the ways*, He must be such as the ways are, and the ways must be such as the Word, though in point of time He be created first of them. For the beginning⁴

⁴ ἀρχή

what S. Thomas says, as referred to in p. 344, note f. in the words of the Schools, that *Æthiops, albus secundum dentes, not est albus*. But why may not our Lord be so called upon the principle of the *communicatio Idiomatum*, (infra note on iii. 31.) as He is said to be, born of a Virgin, to have suffered, &c.? The reason is this:—birth, passion, &c. confessedly belong to His human nature, without adding "according to the flesh;" but "creature" not implying humanity, might appear a simple attribute of His Person, if used without limitation. Thus, as S. Thomas adds, though we may not absolutely say *Æthiops iste albus*, we may say "crispus est," or in like manner, "he is

bald." Since *crispus*, or bald, can but refer to the hair. Still more does this remark apply in the case of "Sonship," which is a personal attribute altogether; as is proved, says Petav. de Incarn. vii. 6 fin. by the instance of Adam, who was in all respects a man like Seth, yet not a son. Accordingly, we may not call our Lord, even according to the manhood, an adopted Son.

^k ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν, and so in Justin's Tryph. 61. The Bened. Ed. in loc. refers to a similar application of the word to our Lord in Tatian contr. Gent. 5. Athenag. Ap. 10. Iren. Hær. iv. 20. n. 3. Origen. in Joan. tom. 1. 39. Tertull. adv. Prax. 6. and Ambros. de Fid. iii. 7.

or initiative of a city is such as the other parts of the city are, and the members too being joined to it, make the city whole and one, as the many members of one body; nor does one part of it make, and another come to be, and is subject to the former, but all the city equally has its government and constitution from its maker. If then the Lord is in such sense created as a *beginning* of all things, it would follow that He and all other things together make up the unity of the creation, and He neither differs from all others, though He become the *beginning* of all, nor is He Lord of them, though older in point of time; but He has the same manner of framing and the same Lord as the rest.

9. Nay, if He be a creature, as you hold, how can He be created sole and first at all, so as to be beginning of all? when it is plain from what has been said, that among the creatures not any is of a constant¹ nature and of prior formation, but each has its generation with all the rest, however it may excel others in glory. For as to the separate stars or the great lights, not this appeared first, and that second, but in one day and by the same command, they were all called into being². And such was the generation of the quadrupeds, and of birds, and fishes, and cattle, and plants; such too was that of the human race after God's Image; for though Adam only was formed out of the earth, yet in him were the means of the succession of the whole race. And from the visible creation, we clearly discern that His invisible things also, *being understood by the things that are made*, are not independent of each other; for it was not first one and then another, but all at once were constituted after their kind. For the Apostle did not number individually, so as to say "whether Angel, or Throne, or Dominion, or Authority," but he mentions together all according to their kind, *whether Angels, or Archangels, or Principalities*: for in this way is the generation of the creatures. If then, as I have said, the Word were creature, He must have been brought into being, not first of them, but with all the other Powers, though in glory He excel the rest ever so much. For so we find it to be in their case, that at once they came to be, with neither first nor second, and they differ from each other in glory, some on the right of the throne, some all around, and some on the

¹ ἔμμονον,
p. 18,
note p.

² pp. 263,
319.

§. 49.

Rom. 1,
20.

vid. Col.
1, 16.

Disc.
11.pp. 267,
318.

left, but one and all praising and standing in service before the Lord¹.

Ps. 89. 7.
Bar. 3.
35.

10. Therefore if the Word be creature, He would not be first or beginning of the rest; yet if He be before all, as indeed He is, and is Himself alone First and Son, it does not follow that He is beginning of all things as to His Substance¹, for what is the beginning of all is in the number of all. And if He is not such a beginning, then neither is He a creature, but it is very plain that He differs in substance and nature from the creatures, and is other than they, and is Likeness and Image of the sole and true God, being Himself sole also. Hence He is not classed with creatures in Scripture, but David rebukes those who dare even to think of Him as such, saying, *Who among the gods is like unto the Lord?* and *Who is like unto the Lord among the sons of God?* and Barnuch, *This is our God, and another shall not be reckoned with Him.* For the One creates, and the rest are created; and the One is the proper Word and Wisdom of the Father's Substance, and through this Word things which came to be, which before existed not, were made. Your famous assertion then, that the Son is a creature, is not true, but is your fantasy only; nay Solomon convicts you of having these many times misinterpreted him. For He has not called Him creature, but God's Offspring and Wisdom, saying, *God in Wisdom hath established the earth, and Wisdom hath built her an house.*

§. 50.

vid.
Prov.
3, 19.
9, 1.

11. And the very passage in question proves your irreligious spirit; for it is written, *The Lord created Me a beginning of His ways for His works.* Therefore if He is before all things, yet says *He created Me* (not "that I might make the works," but) *for the works*, unless *He created* relates to something later than Himself, He will seem later than the works, finding them on His creation already in existence before Him,

¹ He says that, though none could be "a beginning" of creation, who was a creature, yet still that such a title belongs not to His essence. It is the name of an office which the Eternal Word alone can fill. His Divine Sonship is both superior and necessary to that office of a "Beginning." Hence it is both true (as he says) that "if the Word is a creature, He is not a beginning;" and yet that that "beginning" is "in

the number of the creatures." Though He becomes the "beginning," He is not "a beginning as to His substance," vid. *supr.* p. 251, note f. And *infr.* p. 367, where he says "He who is before all, cannot be a beginning of all, but is other than all," which implies that the beginning of all is not other than all. vid. p. 292, note m. on the Priesthood, and p. 303, note e.

for the sake of which He is also brought into being. And if so, how is He before all things notwithstanding? and how were all things made through Him and consist in Him? for behold, you say that the works consisted before Him, for which He is created and sent. But it is not so; perish the thought! false is the supposition of the heretics. For the Word of God is not creature but Creator; and says in the manner of proverbs, *He created Me* when He put on created flesh.

12. And something besides may be understood from the passage itself; for, being Son and having God for His Father, for He is His proper Offspring, yet here He names the Father Lord; not that He was servant, but because He took a servant's form. For it became Him, on the one hand being the Word from the Father, to call God Father: for this is proper to son towards father; on the other, having come to finish the work, and taken a servant's form, to name the Father Lord. And this difference He Himself has taught by an apt distinction, saying in the Gospels, *I thank Thee, O Father,* and then, *Lord of heaven and earth.* For He calls God His Father, but of the creatures He names Him Lord; as shewing clearly from these words, that, when He put on the creature¹, then it was He called the Father Lord. For in the prayer of David the Holy Spirit marks the same distinction, saying in the Psalms, *Give Thy strength unto Thy Child, and help the Son of Thine handmaid.* For the natural and true child of God is one, and the sons of the handmaid, that is, of the nature of things generate, are other. Wherefore the One, as Son, has the Father's² might; but the rest are in need of salvation. (But if, because He was called child³, they idly raise a point, let them know that both Isaac was named Abraham's child, and the son of the Shunamite was called young child.) Reasonably then, we being servants, when He became as we, He too calls the Father Lord, as we do; and this He did from love to man, that we too, being servants by nature, and receiving the Spirit of the Son, might have confidence to call Him by grace Father, who is by nature our Lord. But as we, in calling the Lord Father, do not deny that servitude which is by nature, (for we are His works, and it is *He that hath made us, and not we ourselves,*) so when

Matt.
11, 25.

¹ τὸ κτιστόν, i. e. σῶμα, p. 347. fin. Ps. 86, 16.

² πατρικόν §. 51. ³ παῖς, i. e. servant

Ps. 100,
2.

Disc.
II.
John 1,
l. 3.
Col. 1,
16.

the Son, on taking the servant's form, says, *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways*, let them not deny the eternity of His Godhead, and that *in the beginning was the Word*, and *all things were made by Him*, and *in Him all things were created*.

CHAPTER XX.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; SIXTHLY, PROVERBS viii. 22. CONTINUED.

Our Lord is said to be created "for the works," i. e. with a particular purpose, which no mere creatures are ever said to be. Parallel of Isai. 49, 5. &c. When His manhood is spoken of, a reason for it is added; not so when His Divine Nature; Texts in proof.

1. FOR the passage in the Proverbs, as I have said before, signifies, not the Substance, but the manhood of the Word; for if He says that He was created *for the works*, He shews His intention of signifying, not His Substance, but the Economy which took place ¹ *for His works*, which comes second to being. For things which are in formation and creation are made specially that they may be and exist ^a, and next they have to do, whatever the Word bids them, as may be seen in the case of all things. For Adam was created, not that he might work, but that first he might be man; for it was after this that he received the command to work. And Noe was created, not because of the ark, but that first he might exist and be a man; for after this he received commandment to prepare the ark. And the like will be found in every case on inquiring into it;—thus the great Moses first was made a man, and next was entrusted with the government of the people. Therefore here too we must suppose the like; for thou seest, that the Word is not created in order to be, but, *In the beginning was the Word*, and He is afterwards sent *for the works* and the economy towards them. For before the works were made, the Son was ever, nor was there yet need that He should be created; but when the works were created and need arose afterwards of the Economy for their restoration, then it was that the Word took upon Himself

^a He says in effect, "Before the generation of the works, they were not; but Christ on the contrary;" (not, "was before His generation," as Bull's hypothesis, *supr.* p. 272, would require, but) "is from everlasting," *vid.* p. 363, note a.

¹ γενομέ
νην, P.
347, r. 1.

Disc. II. this condescension¹ and assimilation to the works; which He has shewn us by the word *He created*. And through the Prophet Esaias willing to signify the like, He says again: *And now thus saith the Lord, who formed Me from the womb to be His servant, to gather together Jacob unto Him and Israel, I shall be brought together and be glorified before the Lord.*

§. 52. 2. See here too, He is formed, not that He may have being, but in order to gather together the tribes, which were in existence before He was formed. For as in the former passage stands *He created*, so in this *He formed*; and as there *for the works*, so here *to gather together*; so that in every point of view it appears that *He created* and *He formed* are said after *the Word was*. For as before His forming the tribes existed, for whose sake He was formed, so does it appear that the works exist, for which He was created. And when *in the beginning was the Word*, not yet were the works, as I have said before; but when the works were made and the need required, then *He created* was said; and as if some son, when the servants were lost, and in the hands of the enemy by their own carelessness, and need was urgent, were sent by his father to succour and recover them, and on setting out were to put over him the like dress² with them, and should fashion himself as they, lest the capturers, recognising him^b as the master, should take to flight and prevent his descending to those who were hidden under the earth by them; and then were any one to inquire of him, why he did so, were to make answer, "My Father thus formed and prepared me for his works," while in thus speaking, he neither implies that he is a servant nor one of the works, nor speaks of the beginning of his generation³, but of the subsequent charge given him over the works,—in the same way the Lord also, having put over Him our flesh, and *being found in fashion as a man*, if He were questioned by those who saw Him thus and marvelled, would say, *The Lord created*

Disc. II.
1 συγκαταβήναι
Isai. 49,
5. Sept.

² p. 291.

³ ἀρχὴν τῆς γενέσεως,
p. 304,
r. 3.

^b Vid. the well-known passage in S. Ignatius, ad Eph. 19, where the devil is said to have been ignorant of the Virginity of Mary, and the Nativity and the Death of Christ; Orig. Hom. 6. in Luc. Basil (if Basil.) Hom. in

t. 2. App. p. 598. ed. Ben. and Jerome in Matt. 1, 18. who quote it. vid. also Leon. Serm. 22, 3. August. Trin. ix. 21. Clement. Eclog. Proph. p. 1002. ed. Potter.

Me the beginning of His ways for His works, and He formed Me to gather together Israel. CHAP. XX.

3. This again the Spirit foretels in the Psalms, saying, *supr. 20. Thou didst set Him over the works of Thine hands; which Heb. 2, elsewhere the Lord signified of Himself, I am set as King 7. Ps. 2, 6. by Him upon His holy hill of Zion. And as, when He Sept. shone¹ in the body upon Zion, He had not His beginning of existence or of reign, but being God's Word and everlasting King, He vouchsafed that His kingdom should shine in a human way in Zion, that redeeming them and us from the sin which reigned in them, He might bring them under His Father's Kingdom, so, on being set for the works, He is not set for things which did not yet exist, but for such as already were and needed restoration. He created then §. 53. and He formed and He set, having the same meaning, do not denote the beginning of His being, or of His substance as created, but His beneficent renovation which came to pass² for us. Accordingly, though He thus speaks, yet He taught also that He Himself existed before this, when He said, *Before Abraham was made, I am; and when He prepared the heavens, I was present with Him; and I was with Him disposing things.* And as He Himself was before Abraham was made, and Israel was made after Abraham, and plainly He exists first and is formed afterwards, and His forming signifies not His beginning of being but His taking manhood, wherein also He collects together the tribes of Israel; so, as *being always with the Father*, He Himself is Framer of the creation, and His works are evidently later than Himself, and *He created* signifies, not His beginning of being, but the economy which took place for the works, which He effected in the flesh. For it became Him, being other than the works, nay rather their Framer, to take upon Himself their renovation³, that, whereas He is created for us, all things may be now created in Him. For when He said *He created*, He forthwith added the reason, naming the works, that His creation for the works might signify His becoming man for their renovation.*

4. And this is usual with divine Scripture^c; for when it sig-

^c ἔθος ἐστὶ τῆ θείᾳ γραφῆ. and so ἐχούσης, *ibid.* 30, d. *Orat.* iii. 18, b. And τῆς γραφῆς ἔθος

¹ ἐπέλαμψε. *vid.* of the Holy Spirit *Serap.* i. 20, c.

² γενόμενον, *p.* 353, r. 1. *John* 8, 58. *Prov.* 8, 27. 30. *Sept.*

³ *p.* 251, note f. *infra* 75, ^a

Disc. II. —
 1. vid. Naz. Orat. 30. 2. ἀπολε-
 λυμένη

John 1, 1. Naz. ibid. John 1, 14. Phil. 2, 6—8.

§. 54.

4 ἀπολε-
 λυμένος,
 infr. 62. John 14, 6. 9. 10. 10, 30. 8, 12.

Rom. 1, 1. 2.

nifies the fleshly generation of the Son, it adds also the cause¹ for which He became man; but when He speaks or His servants declare any thing of His Godhead, all is said in simple diction, and with an absolute² sense, and without reason being added. For He is the Father's Radiance; and as the Father is, but not for any reason, neither must we seek the reason of that Radiance. Thus it is written, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*; and the wherefore it assigns not³; but when *the Word was made flesh*, then it adds the reason why, saying, *And dwelt among us*. And again the Apostle saying, *Who being in the form of God*, has not introduced the reason, till *He took on Him the form of a servant*; for then he continues, *He humbled Himself unto death, even the death of the cross*; for it was for this that He both became flesh and took the form of a servant. And the Lord Himself has spoken many things in proverbs; but when giving us notices about Himself, He has spoken absolutely⁴; *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, and *I and the Father are one*, and *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*, and *I am the Light of the world*, and *I am the Truth*; not setting down in every case the reason, nor the wherefore, lest He should seem second to those things for which He was made. For that reason would needs take precedence of Him, without which not even He Himself had been brought into being. Paul, for instance, *separated an Apostle for the Gospel, which the Lord had promised afore by the Prophets*, was thereby made subordinate to the Gospel, of which he was made minister, and John, being chosen to prepare the Lord's way, was made subordinate to the Lord; but the Lord, not being made subordinate to any reason why He should be Word, save only that He is the Father's Offspring and Only-begotten Wisdom, when He becomes man, then assigns the reason, wherefore He is about to take flesh.

5. For the need of man preceded His becoming man, apart from which He had not put on flesh^d. And what the need

^d It is the general teaching of the Fathers that our Lord would not have been incarnate had not man sinned. "Our cause was the occasion of His descent, and our transgression called forth the Word's love of man. Of His

incarnation we became the ground." Athan. de Incarn. V. D. 4. vid. Thomassin. at great length de Incarn. ii. 5—11. also Petav. de Incarn. ii. 17, 7—12. Vasquez. in 3 Thom. Disp. x. 4 and 5.

was for which He became man, He Himself thus signifies, *I came down from heaven, not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me. And this is the will of Him which hath sent Me, that of all which He hath given Me, I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day. And this is the will of My Father, that every one which seeth the Son and believeth on Him may have everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day. And again; I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on Me, should not abide in darkness. And again He says; To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. And John has written; For this was manifested the Son of God, that He might destroy the works of the devil. To give a witness then, and for our sakes to undergo death, to raise man up and loose the works of the devil^e, the Saviour came, and this is the reason of His incarnate presence¹. For otherwise a*

CHAP.
XX.
John 6,
38—40.

John 12,
46.

John 18,
37.

1 John 3,
8.
§. 55.

¹ἐνσάρκω
παρου-
σίας

^e Two ends of our Lord's Incarnation are here mentioned; that He might die for us, and that He might renew us, answering nearly to those specified in Rom. 4, 25. "who was delivered for our offences and raised again for our justification." The general object of His coming, including both of these, is treated of in Incarn. 4—20. or rather in the whole Tract, and in the two books against Apollinaris. It is difficult to make accurate references under the former head, (vid. infr. note on 65 and 67.) without including the latter. "Since all men had to pay the debt of death, on which account especially He came on earth, therefore after giving proofs of His Divinity from His works, next He offered a sacrifice for all, &c." the passage then runs on into the other fruit of His death. *ibid.* 20. Vid. *supr.* p. 291. where he speaks of our Lord offering both Himself and us to God, and "offering our flesh," p. 294. and p. 23. Also *infr.* Orat. iv. 6. "When He is said to hunger, to weep and weary and to cry Eloi, which are human affections, He receives them from us and offers to His Father, interceding for us, that in Him they may be annulled." And so Theodoret, "Whereas He had an immortal nature, He willed according to equity to put a stop to death's power, taking on Him first from those who were

exposed to death a first-fruit; and preserving this immaculate and guiltless of sin, He surrenders it for death to seize upon as well as others, and satiate its insatiableness; and then on the ground of its want of equity against that first-fruit, He put a stop to its iniquitous tyranny over others." Eran. iii. p. 196, 7. Vigil. Thaps. *contr.* Eutyth. i. p. 496. (B. P. ed. 1624,) and S. Leo speaks of the whole course of redemption, i. e. incarnation, atonement, regeneration, justification, &c. as one sacrament, not drawing the line distinctly between the several agents, elements, or stages in it, but considering it to lie in the intercommunion of Christ's and our persons. Thus he says that our Lord "took on Him all our infirmities which come of sin without sin;" and "the most cruel pains and death," because "none could be rescued from mortality, unless He, in whom our common nature was innocent, allowed Himself to die by the hands of the impious;" "unde," he continues, "in se credentibus et *sacramento* condidit et exemplum, ut unum apprehenderent *renascendo*, alterum sequerentur imitando." *Serm.* 63, 14. He speaks of His fortifying us against our passions and infirmities, both *sacramento susceptionis* and *exemplo*. *Serm.* 65, 2. and of a "duplex remedium cuius aliud in *sacramento*, aliud in *exemplo*."

Disc. resurrection had not been, unless there had been death; and
II. how had death been, unless He had had a mortal body?

6. This the Apostle, learning from Him, thus sets forth,
Heb. 2, *Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and*
14. 15. *blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same; that*
through death He might destroy him that had the power of
death, that is, the devil, and deliver them who through fear
of death were all their life-time subject to bondage. And,
1 Cor. *Since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection*
15, 21. *of the dead. And again, For what the Law could not do, in*
Rom. 8, *that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending His own*
3. 4. *Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned*
sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the Law might
be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh but after
the Spirit. And John says, For God sent not His Son into
John 3, *the world to condemn the world, but that the world through*
17. *Him might be saved. And again, the Saviour has spoken in*
John 9, *His own person, For judgment am I come into this world,*
39. *that they who see not might see, and that they which see might*
be made blind. Not for Himself then, but for our salvation,
and to abolish death, and to condemn sin, and to give sight
to the blind, and to raise up all from the dead, has He come;
but if not for Himself, but for us, by consequence not for
Himself but for us is He created. But if not for Himself is
He created, but for us, then He is not Himself a creature, but,
as having put on our flesh, He uses such language.

7. And that this is the sense of the Scriptures, we may learn
from the Apostle, who says in his Epistle to the Ephesians,
Eph. 2, *Having broken down the middle wall of partition between*
14. 15. *us, having abolished in His flesh the enmity, even the law of*
commandments contained in ordinances, to create in Himself
of twain one new man, so making peace. But if in Him the

Serm. 67, 5. also 69, 5. Elsewhere he makes the strong statement, "The Lord's passion is continued on [produciatur] even to the end of the world; and as in His Saints He is honoured Himself, and Himself is loved, and in the poor He Himself is fed, is clothed Himself, so in all who endure trouble for righteousness' sake, does He Himself suffer together [compatitur], Serm.

70, 5. vid. also more or less in Serm. pp. 76. 93. 98, 9. 141. 249. 257, 8. 271. fin. and Epist. pp. 1291, 1363, 4. At other times, however, the atonement is more distinctly separated from its circumstances, pp. 136, 198, 310. but it is very difficult to draw the line. The tone of his teaching is throughout characteristic of the Fathers, and very like that of S. Athanasius.

twain are created, and these are in His body, reasonably then, bearing the twain in Himself, He is as if Himself created; for those who were created in Himself hath He made one, and He was in them, as they. And thus, the two being created in Him, He may say suitably, *The Lord hath created Me*. For as by receiving our infirmities, He is said to be infirm Himself, though not Himself infirm, for He is the Power of God, and He became sin for us and a curse, though not having sinned Himself, but because He Himself bare our sins and our curse, so^f, by creating us in Him, let Him say, *He created Me for the works*, though not Himself a creature.

§. 56.

8. For if, as they hold, the substance of the Word being of created nature, therefore He says, *The Lord created Me*, being a creature, He was not created for us; but if He was not created for us, we are not created in Him; and, if not created in Him, we have Him not in ourselves but externally; as, for instance, as receiving instruction from Him as from a teacher¹. And it being so with us, sin has not lost its reign over the flesh, being inherent and not cast out of it. But the Apostle opposes such a doctrine a little before, when he

¹ note on
iii. 19.

^f The word *αὐτὸς* "Himself," is all along used, where a later writer would have said "His Person;" vid. Note, p. 165. and p. 345, note g; still there is more to be explained in this passage, which, taken in the letter, would speak a language very different from Athan.'s, as if the infirmities or the created nature of the Word were not more real than His imputed sinfulness. (vid. on the other hand infr. iii. 31—35.) But nothing is more common in theology than comparisons which are only parallel to a certain point as regards the matter in hand, especially since many doctrines do not admit of exact illustrations. Our Lord's real manhood and imputed sinfulness were alike adjuncts to His Divine Person, which was of an Eternal and Infinite Nature; and therefore His Manhood may be compared to an Attribute, or to an accident, without meaning that it really was either. The Athan. Creed compares the Hypostatic Union to that of soul and body in one man, which, as taken literally by the Monophysites became their heresy. Again S. Cyril says, "As the Bread of the Eucharist, after the invocation

of the Holy Ghost, is mere bread no longer, but the Body of Christ, so also this holy ointment is no more simple ointment, &c." Catech. xxi. 3. O. T. but no one contends that S. Cyril held either a change in the chrism, or no change in the bread. Hence again we find the Arians arguing from John 17, 11. that our union with the Holy Trinity is *as* that of the Adorable Persons with Each Other; vid. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. iii. 19. and Athan. replying to the argument, infr. Orat. iii. 17—25. And so supr. "As we receiving the Spirit, do not lose our own proper substance, so the Lord, when made man for us and bearing a body, was no less God;" p. 23. yet He was God made man, and we are but the temple of God. And again Athanasius compares the Incarnation to our Lord's presence in the world in nature. Incarn. 41—42. There are comparisons, however, which, from incidental expressions or clauses, outrun this remark, as in the celebrated letter to Cæsarius, considered to be S. Chrysostom's, or in Gelasius's Tract de *Duabus naturis*.

Disc.
II.Eph. 2,
10.Prov. 8,
30.
John 14,
14.

says, *For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus*; and if in Christ we are created, then it is not He who is created, but we in Him; and thus the words *He created* are for our sake. For because of our need, the Word, though being Creator, endured words which are used of creatures; which are not proper to Him, as being the Word, but are ours who are created in Him. And as, since the Father is always, so is His Word, and always being, always says, *I was daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him*, and *I am in the Father and the Father in Me*; so, when for our need He became man, consistently does He use language, as ourselves, *The Lord hath created Me*, that, by His dwelling in the flesh, sin might perfectly be expelled from the flesh, and we might have a free mind ^ε. For what ought He, when made man, to say? "In the beginning I was man?" this were neither suitable to Him nor true; and as it beseemed not to say this, so it is natural and proper in the case of man to say, *He created* and *He made* Him.

9. On this account then the reason of *He created* is added, namely, the need of the works; and where the reason is

^ε ἐλεύθερον τὸ φρόνημα. vid. also beginning of the paragraph, where sanctification is contrasted to teaching, vid. also note on 79, infr. "Idly do ye imagine to be able to work in yourselves newness of the principle which thinks (φρονοῦντος) and actuates the flesh, expecting to do so by imitation . . . for if men could have wrought for themselves newness of that actuating principle without Christ, and if what is actuated follows what actuates, what need was there of Christ's coming?" Contr. Apoll. i. 20. fin. And again, "Ye say, 'He destroyed [the works of the devil] by not sinning?'; but this is no destruction of sin. For not in Him did the devil in the beginning work sin, and so by His coming into the world and not sinning sin was destroyed; but whereas the devil had wrought sin by an after-sowing in the rational and spiritual nature of man, therefore it became impossible for nature, which was rational and had voluntarily sinned, and fell under the penalty of death, to recover itself into freedom (ἐλευθερίαν). . . Therefore came the Son of God by Himself to establish [the flesh] in His own nature from a new beginning

(ἀρχή) and a marvellous generation." ibid. ii. 6. also Orat. iii. 33. where vid. note, and 34, b. vid. for ἀρχή supr. p. 250, note d. Also vid. infr. Orat. iii. 56, a. iv. 33, a. Naz. Epp. ad Cleod. 1 and 2. (101, 102. Ed. Ben.) Nysseus. ad Theoph. in Apoll. p. 696. Generatio Christi origo est populi Christiani, says S. Leo; "for whoso is regenerated in Christ," he continues, "has no longer the propagation from a carnal father, but the germination of a Saviour, who therefore was made Son of man, that we might be sons of God." Serm. 26, 2. Multum fuit a Christo recessisse formam, sed plus est in Christo habere substantiam. Suscepit nos in suam proprietatem illa natura, &c. &c. Serm. 72, 2. vid. Serm. 22, 2. ut corpus regenerati fiat caro Crucifixi. Serm. 63, 6. Hæc est nativitas nova dum homo nascitur in Deo; in quo homine Deus natus est, carne antiqui seminis susceptâ, sine semine antiquo, ut illam novo semine, id est, spiritualiter, reformaret, exclusis antiquitatis sordibus expiatam. Tertull. de Carn. Christ. 17. vid. supr. p. 254, note k. and note on 64. infr. 65 and 70. and on iii. 34.

added, that reason happily explains the passage. Thus here, when He says *He created*, He sets down the cause, *the works*; on the other hand, when He signifies absolutely the generation from the Father, straightway He adds, *Before all the hills He begets Me*; but He does not add the "wherefore," as in the case of *He created*, saying, *for the works*, but absolutely¹, *He begets Me*, as in the passage, *In the beginning was the Word*. For, though no works had been created, still *the Word of God was*, and *the Word was God*. And His becoming man would not have taken place, had not the need of men become a cause. The Son then is not a creature.

CHAP.
XX.

¹ ἀπολε-
λυμένως
Prov. 8,

25.

John 1,
1.

CHAPTER XXI.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; SIXTHLY, PROVERBS viii. 22. CONTINUED.

Our Lord not said in Scripture to be "created," or the works to be "begotten." "In the beginning" means in the case of the works "from the beginning." Scripture passages explained. We are made by God first, begotten next; creatures by nature, sons by grace. Christ begotten first, made or created afterwards. Sense of "First-born of the dead;" of "First-born among many brethren;" of "First-born of all creation," contrasted with "Only-begotten." Further interpretation of "beginning of ways," and "for the works." Why a creature could not redeem; why redemption was necessary at all. Texts which contrast the Word and the works.

- DISC.
— 11.
- §. 57.
- Gen. 1,
1.
Ps. 119,
7³.
- Ps. 2, 7.
- Ps. 45, 1.
- John 1,
1.
- 1 ἵπδ τῆν
ἀρχήν
1. For had He been a creature, He had not said, *He begets Me*, for the creatures are from without, and are works of the Maker; but the Offspring is not from without nor a work, but from the Father, and proper to His Substance. Wherefore they are creatures; this God's Word and Only-begotten Son. For instance, Moses did not say of the creation, "In the beginning He begat," nor "In the beginning was," but *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*. Nor did David say in the Psalm, *Thy hands have "begotten me,"* but *made me and fashioned me*, every where applying the word *made* to the creatures. But to the Son contrariwise; for he has not said "I made," but *I begat*, and *He begets Me*, and *My heart has burst with a good Word*. And in the instance of the creation, *In the beginning He made*; but in the instance of the Son, *In the beginning was the Word*.
2. And there is this difference, that the creatures are made upon the beginning¹, and have a beginning of existence connected with an interval; wherefore also what is said of them, *In the beginning He made*, is as much as saying of them, "From the beginning He made:"—as the Lord, knowing that which He had made, has taught, when He silenced the Pharisees, with the words, *He which made them from the*

beginning, made them male and female; for from some beginning, when they were not yet, were generate things brought into being and created. This too the Holy Spirit has signified in the Psalms, saying, *Thou, Lord, at the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth*; and again, *O think upon Thy congregation which Thou hast purchased from the beginning*; now it is plain that what takes place at the beginning has a beginning of creation, and that from some beginning God purchased His congregation. And that *In the beginning He made*, from His saying *made*, means “began to make,” Moses himself shews by saying, after the completion of all things, *And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because that in it He had rested from all His work which God began to make*¹. Therefore the creatures began to be made; but the Word of God, not having beginning² of being, certainly did not begin to be, nor begin to come to be, but was ever. And the works have their beginning in their making, and their beginning precedes their coming to be; but the Word, not being of things which come to be, rather comes to be Himself the Framer of those which have a beginning. And the being of things generate is measured by their becoming³, and from some beginning doth God begin to make them through the Word, that it may be known that they were not before their generation; but the Word has His being, in no other beginning or origin⁴ than the Father^a, whom they allow to be unoriginate, so that He too exists unoriginately in the Father, being His Offspring, not His creature. Thus does divine Scripture recognise the difference between the Offspring and things made, and shew that the Offspring is a Son, not begun from any beginning, but eternal; but that the thing made, as an external work of the Maker, began to come into being. John therefore delivering divine doctrine⁵ about the Son, and knowing the difference of the phrases, said not, “in the beginning became” or “was made,” but *In the beginning was the Word*; that we might understand “Offspring” by *was*, and not account of Him

СНАР.
XXI.

Ps. 102,
25.

Ps. 74,
2.

Gen. 2,
3.

¹ ἤρξατο
ποιῆσαι

² ἀρχὴν,
origin.

³ supr.
p. 223,
note g.

⁴ ἀρχῆν,
vid.
Orat. iv.
1. note f.

§. 58.

⁵ θεολο-
γῶν, vid.
p. 383,
note k.

^a In this passage “was from the beginning” is made equivalent with “was not before generation,” and both are contrasted with “without beginning” or “eternal;” vid. the bearing

of this on Bishop Bull’s explanation of the Nicene Anathema, supr. p. 272. especially p. 275. where this passage is quoted.

Disc. II. by intervals, but believe the Son always and eternally to exist.

3. And with these proofs, why, O Arians, misunderstand the passage in Deuteronomy, and thus venture a fresh act of irreligion^b against the Lord, saying that "He is a work," or "creature," or indeed "offspring?" for offspring and work you take to mean the same thing; but here too you shall be shewn to be as unlearned as you are irreligious. Your first passage is this, *Is not He thy Father that hath bought thee? hath He not made thee and created thee?* And shortly after in the same Song he says, *Of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful, and hast forgotten God that formed thee.* Now the meaning conveyed in these passages is very remarkable; for He says not first *He begat*, lest that term should be taken as indiscriminate with *He made*, and these men should have a pretence for saying, "Moses tells us indeed that God said from the beginning, *Let Us make man*, but he soon after says himself, *Of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful*, as if the terms were indifferent; for offspring and work are the same." But after the words *bought* and *made*, he has added last of all *begat*, that the sentence might carry its own interpretation; for in the word *made* he accurately denotes what belongs to men by nature, to be works and things made; but in the word *begat* he shews God's lovingkindness

Deut. 32, 6.

ibid. 18.

Gen. 1, 26.

^b The technical sense of *εὐσέβεια*, *ἀσέβεια*, pietas, impietas, for *orthodoxy*, *heterodoxy*, has been noticed supr. p. 1, note a. and derived from 1 Tim. iii. 16. The word is contrasted ch. iv. 8. with the (perhaps Gnostic) "profane and old-wives' fables," and with "bodily exercise." A curious instance of the force of the word as a turning point in controversy occurs in an Homily given to S. Basil by Petavius, Fronto Ducæus, Combefis, Du Pin, Fabricius, and Oudin, doubted of by Tillemont, and rejected by Cave and Garnier, where it is said that the denial of S. Mary's perpetual virginity, though "lovers of Christ do not bear to hear that God's Mother ever ceased to be Virgin," yet "does no injury to the doctrine of religion, μηδὲν τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας παραλυμαίνεται λόγῳ, i. e. (according to the above explanation) to the doctrine of the *Incarnation*. Basil. Opp. t. 2, p. 599. vii. on the passage Petav. de Incarn. xiv. 3. §. 7. and Fronto-Duc. in loc. Pearson refers to this passage,

and almost translates it, Apost. Creed, Art. 3. "Although it may be thought sufficient for the mystery of the *Incarnation*, that, when our Saviour was conceived and born, His Mother was a Virgin, though whatsoever should have followed after could have no reflective operation upon the first-fruit of her womb . . . yet the peculiar eminency, &c." John of Antioch furnishes us with a definition of *orthodoxy*, (*pietas*), which is entirely Anglican. He speaks, writing to Proclus, of a letter which evidenced caution and piety or *orthodoxy*; "orthodoxy because you went along the royal way of *Divine Scripture* in your remarks, rightly confessing the word of truth, not venturing to declare any thing of *your own ability without Scripture testimonies*; caution, because together with *divine Scripture* you propounded also *statements of the Fathers* in order to prove what you advanced." Ap. Facund. i. 1.

exercised towards men after He had created them. And since they were ungrateful upon this, thereupon Moses reproaches them, saying first, *Do ye thus requite the Lord?* and then adds, *Is not He thy Father that hath bought thee? Hath He not made thee and created thee?* And next he says, *They sacrificed unto devils, not to God, to gods whom they knew not, to new gods that came newly up, whom your fathers feared not; of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful.* For God not only created them to be men, but called them to be sons, as having begotten them. For the term *begat* is here as elsewhere expressive of a Son, as He says by the Prophet, *I have begat sons and exalted them;* and generally, when Scripture wishes to signify a son, it does so, not by the term *created*, but undoubtedly by that of *begat*.

Dent.
32, 6.

ibid. 17.

§. 59.

4. And this John seems to say, *He gave to them power to become children of God, even to them that believe on His Name; which were begotten not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.* And here too a cautious distinction¹ is appositely observed, for first he says *become*, because they are not called sons by nature but by adoption; then he says *were begotten*, because like the Jews they had altogether received the name of son, though the chosen people, as says the Prophet, *rebelled against their Benefactor.* And this is God's kindness to man, that of whom He is Maker, of them according to grace He afterwards becomes Father also; becomes, that is, when men, His creatures, receive into their hearts, as the Apostle says, *the Spirit of His Son, crying, Abba, Father*². And these are they who, having received the Word, gained power from Him to become sons of God; for they could not become sons, being by nature creatures, otherwise, than by receiving the Spirit of the natural and true son. Wherefore, that this might be, *The Word became flesh*, that He might make man capable of Godhead.

John 1,
12.

¹ παρατη-
ρήσεως,
p. 298,
note a.

² p. 57.

5. This same meaning may be gained also from the Prophet Malachi, who says, *Hath not One God created us? Have we not all one Father?* for first he puts *created*, next *Father*, to shew, as the other writers, that from the beginning we were creatures by nature, and God is our Creator through the Word; but afterwards we were made sons, and thenceforward God the Creator becomes our Father also. Therefore *Father*

Mal. 2.
10.

- Disc. II. is proper to the Son; and not "creature," but *Son* is proper to the Father. Accordingly this passage also proves, that we are not sons by nature, but the Son who is in us^c; and again, that God is not our Father by nature, but of that
- Gal. 4, 6. Word in us, in whom and because of whom we *cry, Abba, Father*. And so in like manner, the Father calls them sons in whomsoever He sees His own Son, and says, *I begat*; since begetting is significant of a Son, and making is indicative of the works. And thus it is that we are not begotten first, but made; for it is written, *Let Us make man*; but afterwards, on receiving the grace of the Spirit, we are said thenceforth to be begotten also; just as the great Moses in his Song with an apposite meaning says first *He bought*, and afterwards *He begat*; lest, hearing *He begat*, they might forget that nature of theirs which was from the beginning; but that they might know that from the beginning they are creatures, but when according to grace they are said to be begotten, as sons, still no less than before are men works according to nature.
- §. 60. 6. And that creature and offspring are not the same, but differ from each other in nature and the signification of the words, the Lord Himself shews even in the Proverbs. For having said, *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways*; He has added, *But before all the hills He begat Me*. If then the Word were by nature and in His Substance¹ a creature, and there were no difference between offspring and creature, He would not have added, *He begat Me*, but had been satisfied with *He created*, as if that term implied *He begat*; but, as the case stands, after saying, *He created Me a beginning of His ways for His works*, He has added, not simply *begat Me*, but with the connection of the conjunction *But*, as guarding thereby the term *created*, when He says, *But before all the hills He begat Me*. For *begat Me* succeeding in such close connection to *created Me*, makes the meaning one, and shews that *created* is said with an object², but that *begat Me* is prior to *created Me*. For as, if He had said the reverse, "The Lord begat Me," and went on, "But before the hills He created Me," *created* would certainly

¹ vid. p. 345, note g.

² ch. 20.

^c τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν υἱόν. vid. also supr. 10. fin. iii. 23—25. and de Decr. 31 fin. circ. fin. 56. init. and τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἰκονομεῖν λόγον. 61. init. Also Orat. i. 50 also p. 250, note d. p. 360, note g. infr. notes on 79.

have preceded *begat*, so having said first *created*, and then added *But before all the hills He begat Me*, He necessarily shews that *begat* preceded *created*. For in saying, *Before all He begat Me*, He intimates that He is other than all things; it having been shewn to be true¹ in an earlier part of this Book, that no one creature was made before another, but all things generate subsisted at once together upon one and the same command². Therefore neither do the words which follow *created*, also follow *begat Me*; but in the case of *created* is added *beginning of ways*, but of *begat Me*, He says not, "He begat me as a beginning," but *before all He begat Me*. But He who is before all is not a beginning of all, but is other than all³; but if other than all, (in which "all" the beginning of all is included,) it follows that He is other than the creatures; and it becomes a clear point, that the Word, being other than all things and before all, afterwards is created *a beginning of the ways for works*, because He became man, that, as the Apostle has said, He who is the *Beginning and First-born from the dead, in all things might have the pre-eminence*.

¹ p. 329,
note 1.

² p. 349.

³ p. 350,
note 1.

Col. 1,
18.

7. Such then being the difference between *created* and *begat Me*, and between *beginning of ways* and *before all*, God, being first Creator, next, as has been said, becomes Father of men, because of His Word dwelling in them. But in the case of the Word the reverse; for God, being His Father by nature, becomes afterwards both His Creator and Maker, when the Word puts on that flesh which was created and made, and becomes man. For, as men, receiving the Spirit of the Son, become children through Him, so the Word of God, when He Himself puts on the flesh of man, then is said both to be created and to have been made. If then we are by nature sons, then is He by nature creature and work; but if we become sons by adoption and grace, then has the Word also, when in grace towards us He became man, said, *The Lord hath created Me*.

8. And in the next place, when He put on a created nature and became like us in body, reasonably was He therefore called both our Brother and *First-born*^d. For though it was after

^d Bishop Bull's hypothesis about the sense of *πρωτότοκος τῆς κτίσεως* has been commented on supr. p. 278. As far as Athan.'s discussion proceeds in this

section, it only relates to *πρωτότοκος of men*, (i. e. from the dead,) and is equivalent to the "beginning of ways."

Rom. 8,
29.

Disc. II. us^e that He was made man for us, and our brother by similitude of body, still He is therefore called and is the *First-born* of us, because, all men being lost according to the transgression of Adam, His flesh before all others was saved and liberated, as being the Word's Body¹; and henceforth we, becoming incorporate with It, are saved after Its pattern. For in It the Lord becomes our guide to the Kingdom of Heaven and to His own Father, saying, *I am the way and the door*, and "through Me all must enter." Whence also is He said to be *First-born from the dead*, not that He died before us, for we had died first; but because having undergone death for us and abolished it, He was the first to rise, as man, for our sakes raising His own Body. Henceforth He having risen, we too from Him and because of Him rise in due course from the dead.

§. 62. 9. But if He is also called *First-born of the creation*^f, still this is not as if He were levelled to the creatures, and only first of them in point of time, (for how should that be, since He is *Only-begotten*?) but it is because of the Word's condescension^g to the creatures, according to which He hath become the *Brother* of many. For the term *Only-begotten* is used where there are no brethren, but *First-born* because

^e Marcellus seems to have argued against Asterius from the same texts, (Euseb. in Marc. p. 12.) that, since Christ is called "first-born from the dead," though others had been recalled to life before Him, therefore He is called "first-born of creation," not in point of time, but of dignity. vid. Montan. Not. p. 11. Yet Athan. argues contrariwise. Orat. iv. 29.

^f Here again, though speaking of the *first-born of creation*, Athan. does but view the phrase as equivalent to "first-born of the new creation," or "*brother of many*;" and so infr. "first-born because of the brotherhood He has made with many."

^g Bp. Bull considers *συγκατάβασις* as equivalent to a figurative *γέννησις*, an idea which (vid. supr. p. 279.) seems quite foreign from Athan.'s meaning. Wessel, (who, as the present writer now finds, has preceded him in this judgment,) in his answer to Cremer, who had made use of Bull for a heterodox purpose, observes that Bull "thinks that Athanasius implies in the word

συγκατάβασις the Word's descent or progress from the Father, and so His second birth, as it may be called, in the beginning of the world to create it. But that learned man is altogether mistaken. As may be seen in Suicer, the Greek Doctors use the word of God, even of the Father, with respect to His goodness in communicating Himself externally and attending to human infirmity, without any respect at all to a birth or descent from another. In Bull's sense of the word, Athan. could not have said that the senses of *Only-begotten* and *First-born* were contrary to each other," p. 221. *Συγκαταβῆναι* occurs supr. 51 fin. of the incarnation. What is meant by it will be found infr. 78—81. viz. that our Lord came "to implant in the creatures a type and semblance of His Image;" which is just what is here maintained against Bull. The whole passage referred to is a comment on the word *συγκατάβασις*, and begins and ends with an introduction of that word. Vid. also Gent. 47.

p. 296,

r. 1.

Orat. iii.

31. note.

John 14,

6. 10, 9.

Rev. 1,

5.

vid. Rom.

8, 29.

of brethren. Accordingly it is no where written in the Scriptures, “the first-born of God,” nor “the creature of God;” but it is *Only-begotten* and *Son* and *Word* and *Wisdom*, that relate and are proper to the Father^h. Thus, *We have seen His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father; and God sent His Only-begotten Son; and O Lord, Thy Word endureth for ever; and In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God; and Christ the Power of God and the Wisdom of God; and This is My beloved Son; and Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God.* But *first-born* implied the descent¹ to the creationⁱ; for of it has He been called first-born; and *He created* implies His grace towards the works, for for them is He created. If then He is *Only-begotten*, as indeed He is, *First-born* needs some explanation; but if He be really *First-born*, then He is not *Only-begotten*ⁱ. For the same cannot be both *Only-begotten* and *First-born*, except in different relations;—that is, *Only-begotten*, because of His generation from the Father, as has been said; and *First-born*, because of His condescension¹ to the creation and the brotherhood which He has made with many. Certainly, those two terms being inconsistent with each other, one should say that the attribute of being *Only-begotten* has justly the preference² in the instance of the Word, in that there is no other Word, or other Wisdom, but He alone is very Son of the Father.

CHAP. XXI.

John 1, 14.

1 John 4, 9. Ps. 119, 89.

John 1, 1.

1 Cor. 1, 24.

Matt. 3, 17, 16, 16.

¹ συγκατάβασις

² p. 287, note c.

10. Moreover^k, as was before said³, not in connection with any ³ p. 256.

^h This passage, which has been urged against Bull supr. p. 278, is adduced against him by Wessel also in his answer to Cremer. (Nestorianismus Redivivus, p. 223.) All the words (says Athan.) which are proper to the Son, and describe Him fitly, are expressive of what is *internal* to the Divine Nature, as Begotten, Word, Wisdom, Glory, Hand, &c. but (as he adds presently) the *first-born*, like *beginning of ways*, is relative to creation; and therefore cannot denote our Lord's essence or Divine subsistence, but something temporal, an office, character, or the like.

This passage is imitated by Theodoret. in Coloss. i. 15. but the passages from the Fathers referrible to these Orationes are too many to enumerate. “If

we say,” observes Photius, “that Gregory Theologus and Basil the Divine drew from this work as from a fount the beautiful and clear streams of their own writings which they poured out against the heresy, I suppose we shall not be far from the mark.” Cod. 140. And so of S. Cyril and, as far as his subjects allow, of S. Epiphanius.

^k We now come to a third and wider sense of *πρωτότοκος*, as found (not in Rom. 8, 29. and Col. 1, 18. but) in Col. 1, 15. where by *creation* Athan. understands “all things visible and invisible.” As then *for the works* was just now taken to argue that *created* was used in a relative and restricted sense, the same is shewn as regards *first-born* by the words *for in Him all things were created*.

Disc.
II.
John 1,
18.
Col. 1,
16.

§. 63.

reason, but absolutely¹ it is said of Him, *The Only-begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father*; but the word *First-born* has again the creation as a reason in connection with it, which Paul proceeds to say, *for in Him all things were created*. But if all the creatures were created in Him, He is other than the creatures, and is not a creature, but the Creator of the creatures. Not then because He was from the Father was He called *First-born*, but because in Him the creation came to be^m; and as before the creation He was the Son, through whom was the creation, so also before He was called the First-born of the whole creation not the less was the Word Himself with God and the Word was God.

¹ δυσσε-
βείς,
misbe-
lievers.

11. But this also not understanding, these irreligious¹ men go about saying, "If He is First-born of all creation, it is plain that He too is one of the creation." Men without understanding! if He is simply *First-born of the whole creation*, then He is other than the whole creation; for he says not, "He is First-born above the rest of the creatures," lest He be reckoned to be as one of the creatures, but it is written, *of the whole creation*, that He may appear other than the creationⁿ. Reuben, for instance, is not said to be first-born

¹ ἀπολελυμένος; supr. p. 261, note d. p. 356, r. 2. p. 361, r. 1. and so ἀπολύτως Theophylact to express the same distinction in loc. Coloss.

^m It would be perhaps better to translate "first-born to the creature," to give Athan.'s idea; τῆς κτίσεως not being a partitive genitive, or πρωτότοκος a superlative, (though he presently so considers it,) but a simple appellative and τῆς κτ. a common genitive of relation, as "the king of a country," "the owner of a house." "First-born of creation" is like "author, type, life of creation." As, after calling our Lord in His own nature "a light," we might proceed to say that He was also "a light to the creation," or "Arch-luminary," so He was not only the Eternal Son, but a "Son to creation," an "archetypal Son." Hence St. Paul goes on at once to say, "for in Him all things were made," not simply "by and for," as at the end of the verse; or as Athan. says here, "because in Him the creation came to be." On the distinction of διὰ and ἐν, referring respectively to the first and second creations, vid. In illud. Omn. 2. Wessel understands Athan.'s sense of πρωτό-

τοκος somewhat differently, as shall be mentioned presently.

ⁿ To understand this passage, the Greek idiom must be kept in view, which differs from the English. As the English comparative, so the Greek superlative implies or admits the exclusion of the subject of which it is used, from the things with which it is contrasted. Thus "Solomon is wiser than the heathen," implies of course that he was not a heathen: but the Greeks can say, "Solomon is wisest of the heathen," or according to Milton's imitation "the fairest of her daughters Eve." Vid. as regards the very word πρώτος, John 1, 15; and supr. p. 321, r. 5. also πλειστήν ἢ ἐμπροσθεν ἐξουσίαν 3 Machab. 7, 21. Accordingly as in the comparative to obviate this exclusion, we put in the word *other*, (*ante alios immanior omnes*,) so too in the Greek superlative, "Socrates is wisest of *other* heathen." Athanasius then says in this passage, that "first-born of creatures" implies that our Lord was not a creature; whereas it is not said of Him "first-born of brethren," lest He should be excluded from men, but "first-born among brethren," where *among* is equivalent to *other*.

of all the children of Jacob^o, but of Jacob himself and his brethren; lest he should be thought to be some other beside the children of Jacob. Nay, even concerning the Lord Himself the Apostle says not, "that He may become First-born of all," lest He be thought to bear a body other than ours, but among many brethren, because of the likeness of the flesh. Rom. 8, 29. If then the Word also were one of the creatures, Scripture would have said that He was First-born of other creatures; but now the sacred writers saying that He is *First-born of the whole creation*, the Son of God is plainly shewn to be Col. 1, 15. other than the whole creation and not a creature. For if He is a creature, He will be First-born of Himself. How then is it possible, O Arians, for Him to be before and after Himself? next, if He is a creature, and the whole creation through Him came to be, and in Him consists, how can He both create the creation and be one of the things which consist in Him?

12. Since then such a notion¹ is in itself extravagant, it is proved against them by the truth, that He is called *First-born among many brethren* because of the relationship of the flesh, and *First-born from the dead*, because the resurrection of the dead is from Him and after Him; and *First-born of the whole creation*, because of the Father's love to man, which brought it to pass that in His Word not only all things Col. 1, 17. consist, but the creation itself, of which the Apostle speaks, *waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God, shall be delivered one time from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God^p*. Of this creation thus delivered, the Lord will be First-born, both of it and of all those who are made children, that by His being called

^o Ῥουβην, πρωτότοκός μου, σὺ ἰσχύς μου, καὶ ἀρχὴ τέκνων μου. Gen. 49, 3. Sept. Wessel considers that Athan. understands "first-born" to mean "heir," as in the case of the Patriarchs; and he almost seems to have these words in his mind, (because none other to his purpose occur in the passage,) though Reuben was not the heir of Jacob. His interpretation of the word is, that when the Son of God came into the world, He took the title of "first-born" or "heir," "Princeps et Dominus creaturæ," p. 322; "lest He should be thought a

mere man, and that He might be accounted Lord of all creatures and believers, as having created all things, and new created all the predestined." p. 216. Yet what Athan. says in 64, init. is surely inconsistent with this. Vid. also contr. Gent. 41, f. where the text Col. 1, 15, is quoted.

^p Thus there are two senses in which our Lord is "first-born to the creation;" viz. in its first origin, and in its restoration after man's fall; as he says more clearly in the next section.

Disc. first, those that come after Him may abide¹, as depending on
 11. the Word as a beginning².

¹διαμεινῆ,
 vid. p. 32,
 note q.
 §. 61.
² p. 250,
 note d.
³ p. 366,
 r. 1.

13. And I think that the irreligious men themselves will be
 shamed from such a thought; for if the case stands not as
 we have said, but they will rule it that He is *First-born of*
the whole creation as in substance³ a creature among creatures,
 let them reflect that they will be conceiving Him as brother
 and fellow of the things without reason and life. For of the
 whole creation these also are parts; and the *First-born* must
 be first indeed in point of time but only thus, and in kind and
 similitude⁴ must be the same with all. How then can they
 say this without exceeding all measures of irreligion? or
 who will endure them, if this is their language? or who can
 but hate them even imagining such things? For it is evident
 to all, that neither for Himself, as being a creature, nor as
 having any connection according to substance³ with the whole
 creation, has He been called *First-born* of it; but because
 the Word, when at the beginning He framed the creatures,
 condescended⁵ to things generate, that it might be possible
 for them to come to be. For they could not have endured His
 untempered⁶ nature and His splendour from the Father, unless
 condescending⁵ by the Father's love for man He had supported
 them and taken hold of them and brought them into sub-
 stance⁹; and next, because, by this condescension⁵ of the
 Word, the creation too is made a son^r through Him, that
 He might be in all respects *First-born* of it, as has been
 said, both in creating, and also in being brought for the
 sake of all into this very world. For so it is written, *When*
He bringeth the First-born into the world, He saith, Let
all the Angels of God worship Him. Let Christ's enemies

⁴ p. 309.

⁵ συγκα-
 ταβέβηκε

⁶ ἄκρα-
 τον, p.
 13, r. 1.

Heb. 1,
 6.

⁹ He does not here say with Asterius that God could not create man immediately, for the Word is God, but that He did not create him without at the same time infusing a grace or presence from Himself into his created nature to enable it to endure His external plastic hand; in other words, that he was created *in Him*, not as something external to Him, (in spite of the *διὰ* supr. note m.) vid. supr. p. 32, note q. and Gent. 47, where the *συγκατάβασις* is spoken of.

^r As God created Him, in that he created human nature in Him, so is

He *first-born*, in that human nature is adopted in Him. What is here said of *πρωτότοκος* is surely larger than Wessel's interpretation of the word. Rather S. Leo gives S. Athanasius's sense; "Human nature has been taken into so close an union by the Son of God; that not only in that Man who is the 'first-born of the whole creation,' but even in all His saints *is one and the same Christ.*" Sermon 63. 3. i. e. the title *first-born* has reference not to our Lord as heir, but as representative of His Brethren.

hear and tear themselves to pieces¹, because His coming into the world is what makes Him called *First-born* of all; and thus the Son is the Father's *Only-begotten*, because He alone is from Him, and He is the *First-born of creation*, because of this adoption of all as sons^s.

14. And as He is First-born among brethren and rose from the dead *the first-fruits of them that slept*; so, since it became Him *in all things to have the pre-eminence*, therefore He is created *a beginning of ways*, that we, walking along it and entering through Him who says, *I am the Way and the Door*, and partaking of the knowledge of the Father, may also hear the words, *Blessed are the undefiled in the Way*, and *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God*. And thus since the truth declares that the Word is not by nature a creature, it is fitting now to say, in what sense He is *beginning of ways*. For when the first way, which was through Adam was lost, and in place of paradise we deviated unto death, and heard the words, *Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt*

CHAP.
XXI.
p. 314,
note o.

1 Cor.
15, 20.
Col. 1,
18.

Ps. 119,
1.
Matt. 5,
8.
§. 65.

Gen. 3,
19.

^s Thus he considers that "first-born" is mainly a title, connected with the Incarnation, and also connected with our Lord's office at the creation. (vid. parallel of Priesthood, p. 292, note m. p. 303, note e.) In each economy it has the same meaning; it belongs to Him as the type, idea, or rule on which the creature was made or new-made, and the life by which it is sustained. Both economies are mentioned Incarn. 13, 14. And so *εἰκὼν καὶ τύπος πρὸς ἀρετὴν*. Orat. i. 51. where vid. (supr. p. 254.) note i. *τύπον τινὰ λαβόντες* and *ὑπογραμμὸν*, iii. 20. vid. also 21. *ἐν αὐτῷ ἦμεν προτετυπωμένοι* infr. 76. init. He came *τύπον εἰκόνας ἐθεθεῖναι* 78. init. *τὴν τοῦ ἀρχετύπου πλάσιν ἀναστήσασθαι ἑαυτῷ*. contr. Apol. ii. 5. Also *κατεσφραγίσθημεν εἰς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον τῆς εἰκόνας*, Cyr. in Joan. p. 91. *οἶον ἀπὸ τίνος ἀρχῆς* Nyss. Catech. p. 504. fin. And so again, as to the original creation, the Word is *ιδέα καὶ ἐνέργεια*, of all material things. Athan. Leg. 10. *ἡ ἰδέα ὑπερ λόγον εἰρήκασι*. Clem. Strom. v. 3. *ιδεῶν ιδεῶν καὶ ἀρχῆν λεκτέον τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως* Origen. contr. Cels. vi. 64. fin. "Whatever God was about to make in the creature, was already in the Word, nor would be in the things, were it not in the Word." August. in Psalm 44, 5. He elsewhere

calls the Son, "ars quaedam omnipotentis atque sapientis Dei, plena omnium rationum viventium incommutabilium." de Trin. vi. 11. And so Athan. infr. *πρωτότοκος εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς τῶν πάντων διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ δημιουργίας καὶ υἰοποίησεως*. iii. 9. fin. Eusebius, in commenting on the very passage which Athan. is discussing, (Prov. 8, 22.) presents a remarkable contrast to these passages, as making the Son, not the *ιδέα*, but the external minister of the Father's *ιδέα*. "The Father *designed* (*διετύπων*) and prepared with consideration, *how and of what shape, measure, and parts* And He watching (*ἐνατενίζων*) the Father's thoughts and alone beholding the depths in Him, went about the work, subserving the Father's orders, (*νεύμασι*) as a skilful painter, taking the *archetypal ideas from the Father's thoughts*, He transferred them to the substances of the works." de Eccl. Theol. pp. 164, 5. S. Cyril says, what will serve as a contrast, "The Father shews the Son what He does Himself, *not* as if setting it before Him drawn out on a tablet, or teaching as ignorant; for He knows all things as God; but as depicting Himself whole in the nature of the Offspring," &c. in Joann. p. 222. vid. supr. p. 324, note b.

Disc. II. *thou return, therefore the Word of God, who loves man,*
 1 p. 324, puts on Him created flesh at the Father's will¹, that whereas
 note c. the first man had made it dead through the transgression, He Himself might quicken it in the blood of His proper Body^t, and might open *for us a way new and living*, as the
 Heb. 10, Apostle says, *through the veil, that is to say, His flesh;*
 20. which He signifies elsewhere thus, *Wherefore, if any man be*
 2 Cor. 5, *in Christ, he is a new creation; old things are passed away,*
 17. *behold, all things are become new.* But if a new creation has come to pass some one must be first of this creation; mere² man then, made of earth only, such as we are become from the transgression, could not be he. For in the first creation, men had become unfaithful, and through them that first creation had been lost; and there was need of some one else to renew the first creation, and preserve the new which had come to be.

15. Therefore from love to man none other than the Lord, the *beginning* of the new creation, is created as *the Way*, and consistently says, *The Lord created me a beginning of ways for His works;* that man might converse no longer according to that first creation, out as having a beginning of a new creation, and in it the Christ *a beginning of ways*, we might follow Him henceforth, who says to us, *I am the Way*:—as the blessed Apostle teaches in his Epistle to the Colossians, saying, *He is the head of the body, the Church, who is the Beginning, the First-born from the dead, that in all things*
 §. 66. *He might have the pre-eminence.* For if, as has been said, because of the resurrection from the dead He is called a beginning, and then a resurrection took place when He,

^t Vid. supr. p. 250, note d. p. 254, note k. p. 360, note g. "We could not otherwise," says S. Irenæus, "receive incorruption and immortality, but by being united to incorruption and immortality. But how could this be, unless incorruption and immortality had first been made what we are? that corruption might be absorbed by incorruption and mortal by immortality, that we might receive the adoption of Sons." Hær. iii. 19, n. 1. "He took part of flesh and blood, that is, He became man, whereas He was Life by nature, . . . that uniting Himself to

the corruptible flesh according to the measure of its own nature, ineffably, and inexpressibly, and as He alone knows, He might bring it to His own life, and render it partaker through Himself of God and the Father. . . . For He bore our nature, refashioning it into His own life; . . . He is in us through the Spirit, turning our natural corruption into incorruption and changing death to its contrary." Cyril. in Joan. lib. ix. cir. fin. This is the doctrine of S. Athanasius and S. Cyril, one may say, *passim*.

bearing our flesh, had given Himself to death for us, it is evident that His words, *He created Me a beginning of ways*, is indicative not of His substance¹, but of His bodily presence. For to the body death was proper^u; and in like manner to the bodily presence are the words proper, *The Lord created Me a beginning of His ways*. For since the Saviour was thus created according to the flesh, and had become a beginning of things new created, and had our first fruits, viz. that human flesh which He took to Himself, therefore after Him, as is fit, is created also the people to come, David saying, *This shall be written for another generation, and the people that shall be created shall praise the Lord*. And again in the twenty-first Psalm, *They shall come, and the heavens shall declare His righteousness, unto a people that shall be born whom the Lord hath made*. For we shall no more hear, *In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die; but Where I am, there ye shall be also*; so that we may say, *We are His workmanship, created unto good works*.

CHAP. XXI.

¹ p. 345, note g.

Ps. 102, 18.

Ps. 92, 32.

Gen. 2, 17.

John 14, 3.

Eph. 2, 10.

16. And again, since God's work, that is, man, though created perfect, has become wanting through the transgression, and dead in sin, and it was unbecoming that the work of God should remain imperfect, (wherefore all the saints² beseech concerning this, for instance in the hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm, saying, *The Lord shall make good His loving-kindness towards me; despise not then the works of Thine own hands*;) therefore the perfect Word of God puts around Him an imperfect body³, and is said to be created *for the works*; that, paying the debt^x in our stead, He might, by

² ἄγιοι, p. 325, r. 1.

Ps. 138, 8.

³ contr. Orat. iv. 11.

^u Athanasius here says that our Lord's body was subject to death; and so elsewhere, "His body, as having a common substance with all men, for it was a human body, though by a new marvel, it subsisted of the Virgin alone, yet, *being mortal*, died after the common course of the like natures." Incarn. 20, c. also 8, b. 18. init. Orat. iii. 56. And so τὸν ἀνθρώπου σαθρωθέντα. Orat. iv. 33. And so S. Leo in his Tome lays down that in the Incarnation, suscepta est ab æternitate mortalitas. Ep. 28. 3. And S. Austin, Utique vulnerabile atque mortale corpus habuit [Christus] contr. Faust. xiv. 2. A Eutyhian sect denied this doctrine (the Aphthartodocetæ),

and held that our Lord's manhood was naturally indeed corrupt, but became from its union with the Word incorrupt from the moment of conception; and in consequence it held that our Lord did not suffer and die, except by miracle. vid. Leont. c. Nest. ii. (Canis. t. i. pp. 563, 4, 8.) vid. supr. pp. 241-3, notes h and i; also infr. p. 369, note c. And further, note on iii. 57.

^x ἀνθ' ἡμῶν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀποδιδούς, and so the Lord's death λύτρον πάντων. Incarn. V. D. 25. λύτρον καθάρσιον. Naz. Orat. 30, 20. fin. also supr. 9. c. 13, b. 14, a. 47, b, c. 55, c. 67, d. In illud Omn. 2 fin.

Disc. II. Himself, perfect what was wanting to man. Now immortality was wanting to him, and the way to paradise. This then is what our Saviour says, *I have glorified Thee on the earth, I have perfected the work which Thou gavest Me to do;* and again, *The works which the Father hath given Me to perfect, the same works that I do bear witness of Me;* but the works He here says that the Father hath given Him to perfect, are those for which He is created, saying in the Proverbs, *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways, for His works;* for it is all one to say, *The Father hath given Me the works,* and *The Lord hath created Me for the works.*

§. 67. 17. When then received He the works to perfect, O God's enemies? for from this also *He created* will be understood. If ye say, "At the beginning when He brought them into being out of what was not," it is an untruth; for they were not yet made; whereas He appears to speak as taking what was already in being. Nor is it pious¹ to refer to the time which preceded the Word's becoming flesh, lest His coming should thereupon seem superfluous, since for the sake of these works that coming took place. Therefore it remains for us to say that when He became man, then He took the works. For then He perfected them, by healing our wounds and vouchsafing to us the resurrection from the dead. But if, when the Word became flesh, then were given to Him the works, plainly when He became man, then also is He created for the works. Not of His substance² then is *He created* indicative, as has many times been said; but of His bodily generation. For then, because the works were become imperfect and mutilated from the transgression, He is said in respect to the body to be created; that by perfecting them and making them whole, He might present the Church unto the Father, as the Apostle says, *not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but holy and without blemish.* Mankind then is perfected in Him and restored, as it was made at the beginning, nay, with greater grace. For, on rising from the dead, we shall no longer fear death, but shall ever reign in Christ in the heavens.

18. And this has been done, since the proper Word of God Himself, who is from the Father, has put on the flesh, and

Disc.
II.

John 17,
4.

John 5,
36.

¹ εὐαγές

² p. 375,
r. 1.

Eph. 5,
27.

become man. For if, being a creature, He had become man, man had remained just what he was, not joined to God; for how had a work been joined to the Creator by a work^c? or what succour had come from like to like, when one as well as other needed it^d? And how, were the Word a creature, had He power to undo God's sentence, and to remit sin, whereas it is written in the Prophets, that this is God's doing? For *who is a God like unto Thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by transgression?* For whereas God has said, *Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return*, men have become mortal; how then could things generate undo sin? but the Lord is He who has undone it, as He says Himself, *Unless the Son shall make you free*; and the Son, who made free, has shewn in truth that He is no creature, nor one of things generate, but the proper Word and Image of the Father's Substance, who at the beginning sentenced, and alone remitteth sins. For since it is said in the Word, *Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return*, suitably through the Word Himself and in Him the freedom and the undoing of the condemnation has come to pass.

Mic. 7,
18.
Gen. 3,
19.

vid. John
8, 36.

^c Vid. p. 15, note e. also p. 251. and p. 303, with note e. "How could we be partakers of that adoption of sons, unless through the Son we had received from Him that communion with Him, unless His Word had been made flesh, and had communicated it to us." Iren. Hær. iii. 20.

^d "Therefore was He made man, that, what was as though given to Him, might be transferred to us; for a mere man had not merited this, nor had the Word Himself needed it. He was united therefore to us, &c." infr. Orat. iv. 6. vid. also iii. 33 init. "There was need He should be both man and God; for unless He were man, He could not be killed; unless He were God, He would have been thought, not, unwilling to be what He could, but unable to do what He would." August. Trin. xiii. 18. "Since Israel could become sold under sin, he could not redeem himself from iniquities. He only could redeem, who could not sell Himself; who did no sin, He is the redeemer from sin." Id. in Psalm. 129, n. 12. "In this common overthrow of all mankind, there was but one remedy, the birth of some son of Adam, a

stranger to the original prevarication and innocent, to profit the rest both by his pattern and his merit. Since natural generation hindered this, . . . the Lord of David became his Son." Leon. Serm. 28, n. 3. "Seek neither a 'brother' for thy redemption, but one who surpasses thy nature; nor a mere 'man,' but a man who is God, Jesus Christ, who alone is able to make propitiation for us all. . . . One thing has been found sufficient for all men at once, which was given as the price of ransom of our soul, the holy and most precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which He poured out for us all." Basil. in Psalm. 48, n. 4. "One had not been sufficient instead of all, had it been simply a man; but if He be understood as God made man, and suffering in His own flesh, the whole creation together is small compared to Him, and the death of one flesh is enough for the ransom of all that is under heaven." Cyril. de rect. fid. p. 132. vid. also Procl. Orat. i. p. 63. (ed. 1630.) Vigil. contr. Eutych. v. p. 529, e. Greg. Moral. xxiv. init. Job. ap. Phot. 222. p. 533.

Disc.
II.

§. 68.

19. "Yet," they say, "though the Saviour were a creature, God was able to speak the word only and undo the curse." And so another will tell them in like manner, "Without His coming among us at all, God was able just to speak and undo the curse;" but we must consider what was expedient for mankind, and not what simply is possible with God^e. He could have destroyed, before the ark of Noah, the then transgressors; but He did it after the ark. He could too, without Moses, have spoken the word only and have brought the people out of Egypt; but it profited to do it through Moses. And God was able without the judges, to save His people; but it was profitable for the people that for a season judges should be raised up to them. The Saviour too might have come among us from the beginning, or on His coming might not have been delivered to Pilate; but He came *at the fulness of the ages*, and when sought for said, *I am He*. For what He does, that is profitable for men, and was not fitting in any other way; and what is profitable and fitting, for that He provides^f. Accordingly He came, not *that He might be ministered unto*, but *that He might minister*, and might work our salvation. Certainly He was able to speak the Law from heaven, but He saw that it was expedient to men for Him to speak from Sinai; and that He did, that it might be possible for Moses to go up, and for them hearing the word near

Gal. 4, 4.
John 18,
5.vid. Mat.
20, 28.

^e Vid. also Incarn. 44. In this statement Athan. is supported by Naz. Orat. 19, 13. Theodor. adv. Gent. vi. p. 376, 7. August. de Trin. xiii. 13. It is denied in a later age by S. Anselm, but S. Thomas and the schoolmen side with the Fathers. vid. Petav. Incarn. ii. 13. However, it will be observed from what follows that Athan. thought the Incarnation still absolutely *essential* for the renewal of human nature in holiness. In like manner in the Incarn. after saying that to accept mere repentance from sinners would not have been fitting, *εὐλογον*, he continues, "Nor does repentance recover us from our natural state, it does but stop us from our sins. Had there been but a fault committed, and not a subsequent corruption, repentance had been well; but if, &c." 7. That is, we might have been pardoned, we could not have been new-made, without the Incarnation;

and so supr. 56.

^f "Was it not in His power, had He wished it, even in a day to bring on the whole rain [of the deluge] in a day, nay in a moment?" Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 24, 7: He proceeds to apply this principle to the pardon of sin. "Now, while this short portion of Holy Lent still remains to you, ye shall be able both to wash away your sins and to gain much mercy from God. For not many days, nor time doth the Lord require, but even in these two weeks, if we will, shall we make a great correction of our offences. For if the Ninevites, after shewing a repentance of three days, He repaid with so much mercy, &c." On the subject of God's power as contrasted with His acts, Petavius brings together the statements of the Fathers, de Deo, v. 6.

them the rather to believe. Moreover, the good reason of what He did may be seen thus; if God had but spoken, because it was in His power, and so the curse had been undone, the power had been shewn of Him who gave the word, but man had become such as Adam was before the transgression, having received grace from without[§], and not having it united to the body; (for he was such when he was placed in Paradise,) nay, perhaps had become worse, because he had learned to transgress. Such then being his condition, had he been seduced by the serpent, there had been fresh need for God to give command and undo the curse; and thus the need had become interminable, and men had remained under guilt not less than before, as being enslaved to sin; and, ever sinning, would have ever needed one to pardon them, and had never become free, being in themselves flesh, and ever worsted by the Law because of the infirmity of the flesh.

*eis ἁμαρ-
των, de
Decr. 8,
b.*

σάρκες

20. Again, if the Son were a creature, man had remained mortal as before, not being joined to God; for a creature had not joined creatures to God, as seeking itself one to join it¹; nor would a portion of the creation have been the creation's salvation, as needing salvation itself. To provide against this also, He sends His own Son, and He becomes Son of Man, by taking created flesh; that, since all were under sentence of death, He, being other than them all, might Himself for all offer to death His own body; and that henceforth, as if all had died through Him, the word of that sentence might be accomplished, (for *all died* in Christ,) and all

§. 69.

¹ p. 15,
fin.

² Cor. 5,
15.

§ Athan. here seems to say that Adam in a state of innocence had but an external divine assistance, not an habitual grace; this, however, is contrary to his own statements already referred to, and the general doctrine of the fathers. vid. e. g. Cyril. in Joann. v. 2. He must be interpreted by S. Austin, who uses similar yet plainer language in contrasting the grace of the first and the Second Adam, "An aid was [given to the first Adam] which he might desert when he willed, in which he might remain if he willed, not by which it came to pass that he willed. But a more powerful grace is given to the Second. The first is that by which

a man has justice if he will; the second does more, for by it he also wills, and wills so strongly and loves so ardently, as to overcome the will of the flesh lusting contrariwise to the will of the spirit," &c. de Corr. et Grat. 31. vid. also infr. p. 389, note b. and S. Cyril. "Our forefather Adam seems to have gained wisdom, not in time, as we, but appears perfect in understanding from the very first moment of his formation, preserving in himself the illumination given him by nature from God as yet untroubled and pure, and leaving the dignity of his nature unpractised on," &c. in Joan. p. 75.

through Him might thereupon become free from sin and from the curse which came upon it, and might truly abide¹ for ever, risen from the dead and clothed in immortality and incorruption. For, the Word being clothed in the flesh, as has many times been explained, every wound of the serpent began to be utterly stanch'd from out it; and whatever evil sprung from the motions of the flesh, to be cut away, and with these death also was abolished, the companion of sin, as the Lord Himself says, *The prince of this world cometh, and findeth nothing in Me; and for this end was He manifested*, as John has written, *that He might destroy the works of the devil*. And these being destroyed from out the flesh, we all were thus liberated by the relationship of that flesh, and henceforward are joined, even we, to the Word. And being joined to God, no longer do we abide upon on earth; but, as He Himself has said, where He is, there shall we be also; and henceforward we shall fear no longer the serpent, for he was brought to nought when he was assailed by the Saviour in the flesh, and heard Him say, *Get thee behind Me, Satan*, and thus he is cast out of paradise into the eternal fire. Nor shall we have to watch against woman seducing us, for in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the Angels; and in Christ Jesus it shall be a new creation, and neither male nor female, but all and in all Christ; and where Christ is, what fear, what danger can still happen? But this would not have come to pass, had the Word been a creature; for with a creature the devil, himself a creature, would have ever continued the battle, and man, being between the two², had been ever in peril of death, not having, in whom and through whom he might be joined to God and delivered from all fear.

Disc. II.
 1 διαμεί-
 νωσιν,
 vid. p.
 372, r. 1.
 p. 385,
 r. 4.
 Gent.
 41, c.
 Serm.
 Maj. de
 Fid. 5.
 John 14,
 30. ἐχει
 t. rec.
 εὐπισκει
 Ath. et
 al.
 1 John
 3, 8.

Matt. 16,
 23.

Mark 12,
 25.

Gal. 6,
 15. 3, 28.

§. 70.

2 μέσος
 ὧν ὁ ἀνθρ.
 al. Vers.
 Lat.

3 p. 328,
 note l.

21. Whence the truth shews us³ that the Word is not of things generate, but rather Himself their Framer. For therefore did He assume the body generate and human, that having renewed it as its Framer, He might make it god^h

^h ἐν ἑαυτῷ θεοποιήση. vid. also ad Adelph. 4. a. Serap. i. 24, e. and p. 360, note g. and iii. 33. "The Word was made flesh that we, partaking of the Spirit, might be made gods." supra. p. 23. "He deified that which He put on." p. 240. vid. also pp. 23, 151, 236,

245, 348. Orat. iii. 23. fin. 33. init. 34. fin. 38, b. 39, d. 48. fin. 53. For our becoming θεοί vid. Orat. iii. 25. θεοί κατὰ χάριν. Cyr. in Joan. p. 74. θεοφορούμεθα Orat. iii. 23, c. 41, a. 45 init. χριστόφοροι. ibid. θεούμεθα. iii. 48 fin. 53. Theodor. Hist. i. p. 846. init.

in Himself, and thus might introduce all us into the kingdom of heaven after His likeness. For man had not been¹ made god if joined to a creature, or unless the Son were very God; nor had man been brought into the Father's presence, unless He had been His natural and true Word who had put on the body. And as we had not been delivered from sin and the curse, unless it had been by nature human flesh, which the Word put on, (for we should have had nothing common with what was foreign,) so also the man had not been made god, unless the Word who became flesh had been by nature from the Father and true and proper to Him. For therefore the union was of this kind, that He might unite what is man by nature to Him who is in the nature of the Godhead, and His salvation and deification might be sure. Therefore let those who deny that the Son is from the Father by nature and proper to His Substance, deny also that He took true human flesh² of Mary Ever-Virginⁱ; for in neither case had it been of profit to us men, whether the Word were not true and naturally Son of God, or the flesh not true which He assumed. But surely He took true flesh,

CHAP.
XXI.

1 πάλιν

² vid.
p. 345,
note g.

ⁱ Vid. also Athan. Comm. in Luc. ap. Coll. Nov. p. 43. This title, which is commonly applied to S. Mary by later writers, is found Epiph. Hær. 78, 5. Didym. Trin. i. 27. p. 34. Rufin. Fid. i. 43. Lepor. ap. Cassian. Incarn. i. 5. Leon. Ep. 28, 2. Cæsarius has ἀειπαῖς. Qu. 20. On the doctrine itself vid. a letter of S. Ambrose and his brethren to Siricius, and the Pope's letter in response. (Coust. Ep. Pont. p. 669—682.) As we are taught by the predictions of the Prophets that a Virgin was to be Mother of the promised Messiah, so are we assured by the infallible relation of the Evangelists, that this Mary "was a Virgin when she bare Him. . . . Neither was the act of parturition more contradictory to virginity, than the former of conception. Thirdly, we believe the Mother of our Lord to have been, not only before and after His nativity, but also for ever, the most immaculate and blessed Virgin. . . . The peculiar eminency and unparalleled privilege of that Mother, the special honour and reverence due unto her Son and ever paid by her, the regard of that Holy Ghost who came upon her, the singular goodness and piety of Joseph, to whom she was espoused,

have persuaded the Church of God in all ages to believe that she still continued in the same virginity, and therefore is to be acknowledged as the Ever-Virgin Mary." Creed, Art. 3. (vid. supr. p. 364, note b.) He adds that "many have taken the boldness to deny this truth, because not recorded in the sacred writ," but "with no success." He replies to the argument from "until" in Matt. 1, 25. by referring to Gen. 28, 15. Deut. 34, 6. 1 Sam. 15, 35. 2 Sam. 6, 23. Matt. 28, 20. He might also have referred to Psalm 110, 1. 1 Cor. 15, 25. which are the more remarkable, because they were urged by the school of Marcellus as a proof that our Lord's kingdom would have an end, and are explained by Euseb. Eccl. Theol. iii. 13, 14. Vid. also Cyr. Cat. 15, 29; where the true meaning of "until" (which may be transferred to Matt. 1, 25.) is well brought out. "He who is King before He subdued His enemies, how shall He not *the rather* be King, after He has got the mastery over them?" vid. also note on S. Thomas's Catena, O. T. in loc. vid. also Suicer de Symb. Niceno-Const. p. 231. Spanheim. Dub. Evang. 28, 11.

Disc.
II.

¹ ἦν γὰρ.

² p. 91,

note q.

³ ἀρχῆς,

origin,

p. 250,

note d.

§. 71.

⁴ p. 345,

note g.

⁵ ὄργανον,

note on

iii. 31.

⁶ p. 298,

note a.

⁷ p. 311,

note k.

Is. 66, 2.

Ps. 102,

25.

Ps. 143,

5.

John 1,

3.

1 Cor. 8,

9.

Col. 1,

17.

⁸ p. 323,

note a.

though Valentinus rave; and ¹ the Word was by nature Very God, though Ariomaniacs rave ²; and in that flesh has come to pass the beginning ³ of our new creation, He being created man for our sake, and having made for us that new way, as has been said.

22. The Word then is neither creature nor work; for creature, thing made, work, are all one; and were He creature and thing made, He would also be work. Accordingly He has not said, "He created Me a work," nor "He made Me with the works," lest He should appear to be in nature and substance ⁴ a creature; nor, "He created Me to make works," lest, on the other hand, according to the perverseness of the irreligious, He should seem as an instrument ⁵ made for our sake. Nor again has He declared, "He created Me before the works," lest, as He really is before all, as an Offspring, so, if created also before the works, He should give "Offspring" and *He created* the same meaning. But He has said with exact discrimination ⁶, *for the works*; as much as to say, "The Father has made Me into flesh, that I might be man," which again shews that He is not a work but an offspring. For as he who comes into a house, is not part of the house, but is other than the house, so He who is created for the works, must be by nature other than the works.

23. But if otherwise, as you hold, O Arians, the Word of God be a work, by what ⁷ Hand and Wisdom did He Himself come into being; for all things that came to be, came by the Hand and Wisdom of God, who Himself says, *My hand hath made all these things*; and David says in the Psalm, *And Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the work of Thy hands*; and again, in the hundred and forty-second Psalm, *I do remember the time past, I muse upon all Thy works, yea I exercise myself in the works of Thy hands*. Therefore if by the Hand of God the works are wrought, and it is written that *all things were made through the Word*, and *without Him was made not one thing*, and again, *One Lord Jesus, through whom are all things, and in Him all things consist*, it is very plain that the Son cannot be a work, but He is the Hand ⁸ of God and the Wisdom. This knowing, the martyrs in Babylon, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael,

arraign the Arian irreligion. For when they say, *O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord*, they recount things in heaven, things on earth, and the whole creation, as works; but the Son they name not. For they say not, "Bless, O Word, and praise, O Wisdom;" to shew that all other things are both praising and are works; but the Word is not a work nor of those that praise, but is praised with the Father and worshipped and confessed as God^k, being His Word and Wisdom, and of the works the Framer.

24. This too the Spirit has declared in the Psalms with a most apposite distinction, *the Word of the Lord is true, and all His works are faithful*; as in another Psalm too He says, *O Lord, how manifold are Thy works! in Wisdom hast Thou made them all*. But if the Word were a work, then certainly He as others had been made in Wisdom; nor would Scripture have distinguished Him from the works, nor while it named them works, evangelised Him as Word and proper Wisdom of God. But, as it is, distinguishing Him from the works, He shews that Wisdom is Framer of the works, and not a work. This distinction Paul also observes, writing to the Hebrews, *The Word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, reaching even to the dividing of soul and spirit, joints and marrow, and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart, neither is there any creation hidden before Him, but all things are naked and open unto the eyes of Him with whom is our account*. For behold he calls things generate creation; but the Son he recognises as the Word of God, as if He were other than the creatures. And again saying, *All things are naked and open to the eyes of Him with whom is our account*, he signifies that He is other than all of them. For hence it is that He judges, but each of all things generate is bound to give account to Him. And so also, when the whole creation is groaning together with us in order to be set free from the bondage of corruption, the Son is thereby shewn to be other than the creatures. For if He were creature, He too would be

CHAP.
XXI.

Ps. 33, 4.

Ps. 104,
24.
§. 72.

Heb. 4,
12, 13.

^k θεολογούμενος. vid. supr. p. 56, note k. also Incarn. c. Ar. 3. 19, d. Serap. i. 28, a. 29, d. 31, d. contr. Sab. Greg. and passim ap. Euseb. contr. Marcell.

c. g. p. 42, d. 86, a. 99, d. 122, c. 124, b. &c. κυριολογείν, In Illud. Omn. 6, b. contr. Sab. Greg. §. 4, f.

Disc.
II.

one of those who groan, and would need one who should bring adoption and deliverance to Himself as well as others. And if the whole creation groans together, in behalf of freedom from the bondage of corruption, whereas the Son is not of those who groan nor of those who need freedom, but He it is that gives sonship and freedom to all, saying to the Jews of His time¹, *The servant remains not in the house for ever, but the Son remaineth for ever; if then the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed*; it is clearer than the light from these considerations, that the Word of God is not a creature but true Son, and by nature genuine, of the Father. Concerning then *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of the ways*, this is sufficient, as I think, though in few words, to afford matter to the learned to frame more ample refutations of the Arian heresy.

¹ τοῖς
τέτοις,
p. 386,
r. 3.
p. 282,
note a.
John 8,
35, 36.

CHAPTER XXII.

TEXTS EXPLAINED ; SIXTHLY, THE CONTEXT OF PROVERBS viii. 22.
VIZ. 22—30.

It is right to interpret this passage by the *Regula Fidei*. "Founded" is used in contrast to superstructure; and it implies, as in the case of stones in building, previous existence. "Before the world" signifies the divine intention and purpose. Recurrence to Prov. viii. 22. and application of it to created Wisdom as seen in the works. The Son reveals the Father, first by the works, then by the incarnation.

1. BUT since the heretics, reading the following verse¹, take a perverse view of it as well as the preceding, because it is written, *He founded Me before the world*, namely, that this is said of the Godhead of the Word and not of His incarnate Presence², it is necessary, explaining this verse also, to shew their error.

2. It is written, *The Lord in Wisdom hath founded the earth*; if then by Wisdom the earth is founded, how can He who founds be founded? nay, this too is said after the manner of proverbs³, and we must in like manner investigate its sense; that we may know that, while by Wisdom the Father frames and founds the earth to be firm and stedfast⁴, Wisdom Itself is founded for us, that It may become beginning and foundation of our new creation and renewal. Accordingly here as before, He says not, "Before the world He hath made Me Word or Son," lest there should be as if a beginning of His making. For this we must seek before all things, whether He is Son⁵, and on this point specially search the Scriptures^a; for this it was, when the Apostles were questioned,

¹ στίχον
Prov. 8,
23.

² Ξυσαρκος
παρουσία
p. 252,
note g.
§. 73.

Prov. 3,
19.

³ p. 342,
note b.

⁴ διαμέ-
νειν, p.
360, r. 1.

⁵ p. 342,
r. 1.
Serap. ii.
7, 8.

^a vid. supr. p. 57, note l. p. 60, note c. vid. also Serap. i. 32 init. iv, fin. contr. Apoll. i. 6, 8, 9, 11, 22. ii. 8, 9, 13, 14, 17—19. "The doctrine of the Church should be proved, not announced, (ἀποδεικτικῶς οὐκ ἀποφαντικῶς); therefore shew that Scripture

thus teaches." Theod. Eran. p. 199. "We have borne the rule of doctrines (κανόνα) out of divine Scripture." ibid. p. 213. "Do not believe me, let Scripture be recited. I do not say of myself 'In the beginning was the Word,' but I hear it; I do not invent, but I read;

Disc. II. that Peter answered, saying, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God.* This also the father¹ of the Arian heresy asked one of his first questions; *If Thou be the Son of God;* for he knew that this is the truth and the sovereign principle² of our faith; and that, if He were Himself the Son, the tyranny of the devil would have its end; but if He were a creature, He too was one of those descended from that Adam whom he deceived, and he had no cause for anxiety. For the same reason the Jews of the day³ were angered, because the Lord said that He was Son of God, and that God was His proper Father. For had He called Himself one of the creatures, or said, "I am a work," they had not been startled at the intelligence, nor thought such words blasphemy, knowing, as they did, that Angels too had come among their fathers; but since He called Himself Son, they perceived that such was not the note of a creature, but of Godhead and of the Father's nature⁴. The Arians then ought, even in imitation of their own father¹ the devil, to take some special pains⁵ on this point; and if He had said, "He founded Me to be Word or Son," then to think as they do; but if He has not so spoken, not to invent for themselves what is not.

3. For He says not, "Before the world He founded Me as Word or Son," but simply, *He founded Me*, to shew again, as I have said, that not for His own sake⁶ but for those who are built upon Him does He here also speak, after the way of proverbs. For this knowing, the Apostle also writes, *Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is*

¹ πατρι-κῆν, vid. supr. p. 145, note r. §. 74.
² περιεργάζεσθαι, vid. iii. 18.
³ p. 366, r. 2.
⁴ 1 Cor. 3, 10. 11.

what we all read, but not all understand." Ambros. de Incarn. 14. Non recipio quod extra Scripturam de tuo infers. Tertull. Carn. Christ. 7. vid. also 6. "You departed from inspired Scripture and therefore didst fall from grace." Max. dial. v. 29. Heretics in particular professed to be guided by Scripture. Tertull. Præser. 8. For Gnostics vid. Tertullian's grave sarcasm. "Utantur hæretici omnes scripturis ejus, cujus utuntur etiam mundo." Carn. Christ. 6. For Arians, vid. supr. p. 178, note c. And so Marcellus, "We consider it unsafe to lay down doctrine concerning things which we have not learned with exactness from the divine Scriptures." (leg. περὶ ὧν . . . παρὰ τῶν.)

Euseb. Eccl. Theol. p. 177, d. And Macedonians, vid. Leont. de Sect. iv. init. And Monophysites, "I have not learned this from Scripture; and I have a great fear of saying what it is silent about." Theod. Eran. p. 215. S. Hilary brings a number of these instances together with their respective texts, Marcellus, Photinus, Sabellius, Montanus, Manes; then he continues, "Omnes Scripturas sine Scripturæ sensu loquuntur, et fidem sine fide prætendunt. Scriptura enim non in legendo sunt, sed in intelligendo, neque in prævaricatione sunt sed in caritate." ad Const. ii. 9. vid. also Hieron. c. Lucif. 27. August. Ep. 120, 13.

Jesus Christ; but let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon¹. And it must be that the foundation should be such as the things built on it, that they may admit of being well compacted together. Being then the Word, He has not, as far as Word², any such as Himself, who may be compacted with Him; for He is Only-begotten; but having become man, He has the like of Him, those namely the likeness of whose flesh He has put on. Therefore according to His manhood He is founded, that we, as precious stones, may admit of building upon Him, and may become a temple of the Holy Ghost who dwelleth in us. And as He is a foundation, and we stones built upon Him, so again He is a Vine and we knit to Him as branches,—not according to the Substance of the Godhead; for this surely is impossible; but according to His manhood, for the branches must be like the vine, since we are like Him according to the flesh.

4. Moreover, since the heretics have such human notions, we may suitably confute them with human resemblances contained in the very matter they urge. Thus He saith not, "He hath made Me a foundation," lest He might seem to be made and to have a beginning of being, and they might thence find a shameless occasion of irreligion; but, *He hath founded Me*. Now what is founded is founded for the sake of the stones which are raised upon it; it is not a random³ process, but a stone is first transported from the mountain and set down in the depth of the earth. And while a stone is in the mountain, it is not yet founded; but when need demands, and it be transported, and laid in the depth of the earth, then forthwith if the stone could speak, it would say, "Now he has founded me, who has brought me hither from the mountain." Therefore the Lord also, did not when founded take a beginning of existence; for He was the Word before that; but when He put on our body, which He severed⁴ and took from Mary, then He says *He hath founded Me*; as much as to say, "Me, being the Word, He hath enveloped in a body of earth." For so He is founded for our sakes, taking on Him what is ours⁵, that we, as incorporated and compacted and bound together in Him through the likeness of the flesh, may attain unto a perfect man, and abide⁶ immortal and incorruptible.

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¹ Didym. Trin. iii. 3. p. 341.

² ἢ λόγος ἐστίν, p. 291, note 1.

³ ἀπλῶς

⁴ τμηθέν

⁵ Epict. 6. a.

Leon. Ep. 28. 3.

⁶ διαμεινωμεν, p. 380, r. 1.

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§. 75.

5. Nor let the words *before the world* and *before He made the earth* and *before the mountains were settled* disturb any one; for they very well accord with *founded* and *created*; for here again allusion is made to the Economy according to the flesh. For though the grace which has come to us from the Saviour has lately appeared, as the Apostle says, and took place when He came among us; yet this grace had been prepared even before we came into being, nay, before the foundation of the world, and the reason why, is excellent and wonderful. It beseemed not that God should counsel concerning us afterwards, lest He should appear ignorant of our fate. The God of all¹ then, creating us by His proper Word, and knowing our destinies better than we, and foreseeing that, being made *good*, we should in the event be transgressors of the commandment, and be thrust out of paradise for disobedience, being loving and kind, prepared beforehand in His proper Word, by whom also He created us², the Economy of our salvation; that though by the serpent's deceit we fell from Him, we might not remain altogether dead, but having in the Word the redemption and salvation which was afore prepared for us, we might rise again and abide immortal, what time He should have been created for us *a beginning of the ways*, and He who was the *First-born of creation* should become *first-born* of the brethren, and again should rise *first-fruits of the dead*.

6. This Paul the blessed Apostle teaches in his writings; for, as interpreting the words of the Proverbs *before the world* and *before the earth was*, he thus speaks to Timothy³; *Be partaker of the afflictions of the Gospel according to the power of God, who hath saved us and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began, but is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and brought to light life.* And to the Ephesians; *Blessed be God even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessing in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, according as He hath chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before Him in love, having predestinated us to the adoption of children*

¹ ὁ τῶν
ἑλῶν θ.

Gen. 1,
31.

² p. 251,
note f.

³ Didym.
Trin. iii.
3. p. 342.
2 Tim. 1.
8—10.

Eph. 1,
3—5.

by *Jesus Christ to Himself*. How then has He chosen us, before we came into existence, but that, as he says himself, in Him we were represented¹ beforehand? and how at all, before men were created, did He predestinate us unto adoption, but that the Son Himself was *founded before the world*, taking on Him that economy which was for our sake? or how, as the Apostle goes on to say, have we an *inheritance being predestinated*, but that the Lord Himself was founded *before the world*, inasmuch as He had a purpose, for our sakes, to take on Him through the flesh all that inheritance of judgment which lay against us, and we henceforth were made sons in Him? and how did we receive it *before the world was*, when we were not yet in being, but afterwards in time, but that in Christ was stored the grace which has reached us? Wherefore also in the Judgment, when every one shall receive according to his conduct, He says, *Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world*. How then, or in whom, was it prepared before we came to be, save in the Lord who *before the world* was founded for this purpose; that we, as built upon Him, might partake, as well-compacted stones, the life and grace which is from Him?

CHAP.
XXII.
§. 76.
1 pp. 272,
3. notes
r and s.

v. 11.

Matt. 25,
34.

7. And this took place, as naturally suggests itself to the religious mind, that, as I said, we, rising after our brief death, may be capable of an eternal life, of which we had not been capable^b, men as we are, formed of earth, but that

^b The Catholic doctrine seems to be, that Adam innocent was mortal, yet would not in fact have died; that he had no principle of eternal life within him, but was sustained continually by divine power, till such time as immortality should have been given him. vid. Incarn. 4, a. b. "If God accorded to the garments and shoes of the Israelites," says S. Augustine, "that they should not wear out during so many years, how is it strange that to man obedient His power should be accorded, that, whereas his body was animal and mortal, it was so constituted as to become aged without decay, and at such time as God willed might pass without the intervention of death from mortality to immortality? For as the flesh itself, which

we now bear, is not therefore invulnerable, because it may be preserved from wounding, so Adam's was not therefore not mortal, because he was not bound to die. Such a habit even of their present animal and mortal body I suppose was granted also to them who have been translated thence without death; for Enoch and Elias too have through so long a time been preserved from the decay of age." de pecc. mer. i. 3. Adam's body, he says elsewhere, "mortale quia poterat mori, immortale quia poterat non mori;" and he goes on to say that immortality was given him "de ligno vitæ non de constitutione naturæ." Gen. ad lit. vi. 20. This doctrine came into the controversy with Baius, and Pope Pius V. condemned

Disc. *before the world* there had been prepared for us in Christ the
II. hope of life and salvation. Therefore reason is there that
the Word, on coming into our flesh, and being created in it
as a *beginning of ways for His works*, is laid as a foundation

¹ p. 324,
note c.

according as the Father's will¹ was in Him before the world, as has been said, and before land was, and before the mountains were settled, and before the fountains burst forth; that, though the earth and the mountains and the shapes of visible nature pass away in the fulness of the present age, we on the contrary may not grow old after their pattern, but may be able to live after them, having the spiritual life and blessing which before these things have been prepared for us in the Word Himself according to election. For thus we shall be capable of a life not temporary, but ever afterwards abide² and live in Christ; since even before this our life had been founded and prepared in Christ Jesus.

² p. 387,
r. 6.

§. 77. 8. Nor in any other way was it fitting that our life should be founded, but in the Lord who is before the ages, and through whom the ages were brought to be; that, since it was in Him, we too might be able to inherit that everlasting life. For God is good; and being good always, He willed this, as knowing that our weak nature needed the succour and salvation which is from Him. And as a wise architect, proposing to build a house, consults also about repairing it, should it at any time become dilapidated after building, and, as counselling about this, makes preparation and gives to the workmen materials for a repair; and thus the means of the repair are provided before the house; in the same way prior to us is the repair of our salvation founded in Christ, that in Him also we might be new-created. And the will and the proposal were ready *before the world*; but the work took place, when the need required, and the Saviour came among us. For the Lord Himself will stand us in place of all things in the heavens, when He receives us into everlasting life.

9. This then suffices to prove that the Word of God is not a creature, but that the doctrine of the passage is concordant with orthodoxy³. But since that passage, when scrutinized,

³ p. 341,
note i.

the assertion, *Immortalitas primi hominis non erat gratiæ beneficium sed naturalis conditio*. His decision of course is here referred to only historically.

has an orthodox sense in every point of view, it may be well to state what it is; perhaps many words may bring these senseless men to shame. Now here I must recur to what has been said before, for what I have to say relates to the same proverb and the same Wisdom. The Word has not called Himself a creature by nature, but has said in proverbs, *The Lord created Me*; and He plainly indicates a sense not spoken *plainly* but latent¹, such as we shall be able to find¹ p. 343. by taking away the veil from the proverb. For who, on hearing from the Framing Wisdom, *The Lord created Me a beginning of His ways*, does not at once question the meaning, reflecting how that creative Wisdom can be created? who on hearing the Only-begotten Son of God say, that He was created *a beginning of ways*, does not investigate the sense, wondering how the Only-begotten Son can become a Beginning of many others? for it is a dark saying²; but *a man of understanding*, says he, shall understand *a proverb and the interpretation, the words of the wise and their dark sayings.*

10. Now the Only-begotten and very Wisdom³ of God is Creator and Framer of all things; for *in Wisdom hast Thou made them all*, he says, and *the earth is full of Thy creation.* But that what came into being, might not only be, but be good⁴, it pleased God that His own Wisdom should condescend⁵ to the creatures, so as to introduce an impress and semblance⁶ of Its Image on all in common and on each, that what was made might be manifestly wise works and worthy of God^c. For as of the Son of God, considered as the Word, our word is an image, so of the same Son considered as Wisdom is the wisdom which is implanted in us an image; in which wisdom we, having the power of knowledge and thought, become recipients of the All-framing Wisdom; and

² ἀνύμω, supr. p. 236, note e. Prov. 1, 5. 6.
³ §. 78. Ps. 104, 24. Sept. 24. ³ αὐτὸ σοφία. vid. infr. note on iv. 2.
⁴ supr. p. 32, note q.
⁵ p. 372, note q.
⁶ p. 373, note s.
^c τῦπον, φαντασίαν

^c Didymus argues in favour of interpreting the passage of created wisdom at length, Trin. iii. 3. He says that the context makes this interpretation necessary, as speaking of "the fear of God" being the "beginning" of it, of "doing it," and of "kings and rulers" reigning by means of it. Again it is said that wisdom was with the Creator who was Himself the Son and Word. "The Son and Word, the Framer of all, who was all-knowing and powerful

from the beginning, long-suffering and waiting for repentance in the unrighteous and wrong-thinking multitude, when He had finished all, delighted in wisdom which was in the creatures and was glad in it, rejoicing in His own work." p. 336. He contrasts with this the more solemn style used by the sacred writer when he speaks of the Uncreated Wisdom; ὑπερφυῶς καὶ ὡσπερ ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως θαυμάζων ἀναφθέρηται, c. g. Prov. 30, 3.

Disc. II. through It we are able to know Its Father. *For he who hath the Son, saith He, hath the Father also; and he that receiveth Me, receiveth Him that sent Me.* Such an impress then of Wisdom being created in us, and being in all the works, with reason does the true and framing Wisdom take to Itself what belongs to its own impress, and say, *The Lord created Me for His works; for what the wisdom in us says, that the Lord Himself speaks as if it were His own; and, whereas He is not Himself created, being Creator, yet because of the image of Him created in the works^d, He says this as if of Himself.*

vid. 1 John 2, 23. Mat. 11, 40. And as the Lord Himself has said, *He that receiveth you, receiveth Me*, because His impress is in us, so, though He be not among the creatures, yet because His image and impress is created in the works, He says, as if in His own person, *The Lord created Me a beginning of His ways for His works.* And therefore has this impress of Wisdom in the works been brought into being, that, as I said before, the world might recognise in it its own Creator the Word, and through Him the Father. And this is what Paul said, *Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God has shewed it unto them: for the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made.* But if so, the Word is not a creature in substance¹; but the wisdom which is in us and so called, is spoken of in this passage in the Proverbs.

Mat. 10, 40. Rom. 1, 19. 20. 1 p. 345, note g.

^d As Athan. here considers wisdom as the image of the Creator in the Universe, so elsewhere he explains it of the Church, de Incarn. contr. Ar. 6. if it be his; (and so Didym. Trin. iii. 3 fin.) but the interpretation is very much the same as his own, supr. 56. S. Jerome applies it to the creation of the new man in holiness, "Put ye on Christ Jesus; for He is the new man, in whom all we believers ought to be clad and attired. For what was not new in the man which was taken on Him by our Saviour? He rather who can imitate His conversation and bring out in himself all virtues, he has put on the new man, and can say with the Apostle, 'Not I, but Christ liveth in me.' In great deeds and works the word 'creation' is used. The new man is the great work of God, and excels all other creatures, since he is

said to be framed, as the world is said, and is created the beginning of God's ways, and in the commencement of all the elements." in Eph. iv. 23, 24. Naz. alludes to the interpretation of Wisdom being the plan, system, or laws of the Universe. Orat. 30, 2. though he does not so explain it himself. Epiphanius says, "Scripture has no where confirmed this passage, (Prov. 8, 22.) nor has any Apostle referred it to Christ." (vid. also Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 20.) He adds, "How many wisdoms of God are there, improperly so called! but One Wisdom is the Only-begotten, not improperly so called, but in truth. . . . The very word 'wisdom' does not oblige me to speak of the Son of God." Hær. 69. pp. 743—745. He proceeds to shew how it may apply to Him.

11. But if this too fails to persuade them, let them tell us themselves, whether there is any wisdom in the creatures or not¹? If not, how is it that the Apostle complains, *For after that in the Wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God?* or how is it if there is no wisdom, that a multitude of wise men are found in Scripture? for a wise man feareth and departeth from evil; and through wisdom is a house builded; and the Preacher says, *A man's wisdom maketh his face to shine;* and he blames those who are headstrong thus, *Say not thou, what is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this.* But if, as the Son of Sirach says, *He poured her out upon all His works; she is with all flesh according to His gift, and He hath given her to them that love Him,* and this outpouring is a note, not of the Substance of the Very² Wisdom and Only-begotten, but of that wisdom which is imaged in the world, how is it incredible that the All-framing and true Wisdom Itself, whose impress is the wisdom and knowledge poured out in the world, should say, as I have already explained, as if of Itself, *The Lord hath created Me for His works?*

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§. 79.
¹ vid.
Epiph.
Hær. 69.
p. 744.
¹ Cor. 1,
21.
vid.
Wisd. 6,
26.
Prov. 14,
16.
Prov. 24,
3.
Eccles.
8, 1;
7, 10.
Eccclus.
1, 9, 10.
² ἀβυσσο-
φίας, vid.
p. 391,
r. 3.
note on
Orat. iv.
2.

12. For the wisdom in the world is not creative, but is that which is created in the works, according to which *the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handywork.* This if men have within them^e, they will acknowledge the true Wisdom of God; and will know that they are made really³ after God's image. And, as some son of a king, when the father wished to build a city^f, might cause his own

Ps. 19, 1.
³ ὄντως,
vid. p. 56,
note k.

^e Athan. speaks, contr. Gent. of man "having the grace of the Giver, and his own virtue from the Father's Word;" of the mind "seeing the Word, and in Him the Word's Father also," 2; of "the way to God being, not as God Himself, above us and far off, or external to us, but in us," 30, &c. &c. vid. also Basil. de Sp. S. n. 19. "Rational creatures, receiving light, enlighten by imparting principles which are poured from their own mind into another intellect; and such an illumination may be justly called teaching rather than revelation. But the Word of God enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, not in the way of a teacher, as for instance Angels do or men, but

rather as God in the way of a Framer doth He sow in each whom He calls into being the seed of Wisdom, that is of divine knowledge, and implant a root of understanding," &c. Cyril. in Joan. p. 75. Athan. speaks of this seed somewhat differently elsewhere as a natural instinct in the world in contrast to the Word by whom it is imparted. He calls it "a reason combined and connatural with every thing that came into being, which some are wont to call seminal, inanimate indeed and unreasoning and unintelligent, but operating only by external art according to the science of Him who sowed it." contr. Gent. 40.

^f This is drawn out somewhat differently, and very strikingly in contr.

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¹ φαντα-
σίαν

name to be printed upon each of the works that were rising, both to give security to them of the works remaining, by reason of the show¹ of his name on every thing, and also to make them remember him and his father from the name, and having finished the city might be asked concerning it, how it was made, and then would answer, "It is made securely, for according to the will of my father, I am imaged in every work, for there is a creation of my name in the works;" but saying this, he does not signify that his own substance is created, but the impress² of himself by means of his name; in the same manner, to apply the illustration, to those who admire the wisdom in the creatures, the true Wisdom makes answer, *The Lord hath created Me for the works*, for My impress is in them; and I have thus condescended³ for the framing of all things.

² τύπον

³ συγκα-
τέβην.

§. 80.

13. Moreover, that the Son should be speaking of the impress that is within us as if it were Himself, should not startle any one, considering (for we must not care about repetition⁸) that, when Saul was persecuting the Church, in which was His impress and image, He said, as if He were Himself under persecution, *Saul, why persecutest thou Me?* Therefore, (as Acts 9, 4. has been said,) as, supposing the impress itself of Wisdom which is in the works had said, *The Lord hath created Me for the works*, no one would have been startled, so, if He, the True and Framing Wisdom, the Only-begotten Word of God, should use what belongs to His image as about Himself, namely, *The Lord hath created Me for the works*, let no one, overlooking the wisdom created in the world and in the works, think that *He created* is said of the Substance of the Very⁴ Wisdom, lest, diluting the wine with water⁵, he be judged a defrauder of the truth. For It is Creator and Framers; but Its impress is created in the works, as the copy of an image.

⁴ αὐτο-
σοφίας,
p. 393,
r. 1.

⁵ infr. iii.
35. Ep.

Ag. §. 17.
Ambros.
de Fid.
iii. 65.

Gent. 43. The Word indeed is regarded more as the Governor than the Life of the world, but He is said, §. 43, ὁ παραδοξοποιὸς καὶ θαυμαστοποιὸς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος φωτίζων καὶ ζωοποιῶν. . . ἐκαστῶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνέργειαν ἀποδιδοῦς, &c. 44. Shortly before he spoke of the Word as the Principle of permanence. 41 fin.

⁸ τὸ αὐτὸ γὰρ λέγειν οὐκ ὀκνητέον: where Petavius, de Trin. ii. 1. §. 8.

ingeniously but without any authority reads οὐκ ὀκνεῖ θεόν; and most gratuitously too, for it is quite a peculiarity of Athan. to repeat and to apologize for doing so. The very same words occur supr. 22, c. Orat. iii. 54, a. Serap. i. 19, b. 27, e. Vid. also 2, c. 41, d. 67, a. 69, b. iii. 39 init. vid. especially Incarn. 20 d.

14. And He says, *Beginning of ways*, since such wisdom becomes a sort of beginning, and, as it were, rudiments¹ of the knowledge of God; for a man entering, as it were, upon this way first, and keeping it in the fear of God, (as Solomon says, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*;) then advancing upwards in his thoughts and perceiving the Framing Wisdom which is in the creation, will perceive in It also Its Father^h, as the Lord Himself has said, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*, and as John writes, *He who acknowledgeth the Son, hath the Father also*. And He says, *Before the world hath He founded Me*, since in its impress the works remain settled² and eternal. Then, lest any, hearing concerning the wisdom thus created in the works, should think the true Wisdom, God's Son, to be by nature a creature, He has found it necessary to add, *Before the mountains, and before the earth, and before the waters, and before all hills He begets Me*, that in saying, "before all creation," (for He includes all the creation under these heads,) He may shew that He is not created together with the works according to Substance. For if He was created *for the works*, yet is before them, it follows that He is in being before He was created. He is not then a creature by nature and substance, but as He Himself has added, an Offspring. But in what differs a creature from an offspring, and how it is distinct by nature, has been shewn in what has gone before.

15. But since He proceeds to say, *When He prepared the heaven, I was present with Him*, we ought to know that He says not this as if without Wisdom the Father prepared the heaven or the clouds above, (for there is no room to doubt that all things are created in Wisdom, and without It was made not even one thing;) but this is what He says, "All things took place in Me and through Me, and when there was need that Wisdom should be created in the works,

^h The whole of this passage might be illustrated at great length from the contr. Gent. and the Incarn. V. D. vid. supr. notes on 79. "The soul as in a mirror contemplates the Word the Image of the Father, and in Him considers the Father, whose Image the Saviour is . . . or if not . . . yet from the things that are seen, the creation as by

letters signifying and heralding its Lord and Maker by means of its order and harmony." Gent. 34. "As by looking up to the heaven . . . we have an idea of the Word who set it in order, so considering the Word of God, we cannot but see God His Father." 45. And Incarn. 11, 41, 42, &c. Vid. also Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 16.

CHAP. XXII.
1. $\frac{\sigma\tau\omicron\iota}{\chi\epsilon\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma}$
Prov. 1, 7. Sept.
John 14, 9.
1 John 2, 23. and so
Cyril in Joan. p. 864.
vid. Wetstein in loc.
² ἐδραία, vid.
Prov. 8, 24-26.

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in my Substance indeed I was with the Father, but by a condescensionⁱ to things generate, I was disposing over the works My own impress, so that the whole world as being in one body, might not be at variance but in concord with itself." All those then who with an upright understanding, according to the wisdom given unto them, come to contemplate the creatures, are able to say for themselves, "By Thy appointment all things continue;" but they who make light of this, must be told, *Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools; for that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God has revealed it unto them; for the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal Power and Godhead, so that they are without excuse. Because that when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, but served the creature more than the Creator of all, who is blessed for ever. Amen.*

vid. Ps.
119, 91.

Rom. 1,
19—25.

16. And they will feel some compunction surely at the words, *For, after that in the wisdom of God, (in the mode we have explained above,) the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.* For no longer, as in the former times, God has willed to be known by an image and shadow of wisdom, that namely which is in the creatures, but He has made the true Wisdom Itself to take flesh, and to become man, and to undergo the death of the cross; that by the faith in Him, henceforth all that believe may obtain salvation. However, it is the same Wisdom of God, which through Its own Image in the creatures, (whence also It is said to be created,) first manifested Itself, and through Itself Its own Father; and afterwards, being Itself the Word, It *became flesh*, as John says, and after abolishing death and saving our race, still more revealed Himself, and through Him His own Father, saying, *Grant unto them that they may know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.*

John 1,
14.

vid. John
17, 3.

§. 82.

17. Hence the whole earth is filled with the knowledge of Him; for the knowledge of Father through Son and of Son

ⁱ Here again, as in former passages, the *συγκατάβασις* has no reference whatever to a figurative *γέννησις*, as Bishop Bull contends, but to His impressing

the image of Wisdom on the works, or what He above calls the Son's image, on which account He is *πρωτότοκος*.

from Father is one and the same, and the Father delights in Him, and in the same joy the Son rejoices in the Father, saying, *I was by Him, daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him.* And this again proves that the Son is not foreign, but proper to the Father's Substance. For behold, not because of us has He come to be, as the irreligious men say, nor is He out of nothing, (for not from without did God procure for Himself a cause of rejoicing¹;) but the words denote what is proper and like. When then was it, when the Father rejoiced not? but if He ever rejoiced, He was ever, in whom He rejoiced. And in whom does the Father rejoice, except as seeing Himself in His proper Image, which is His Word? And though in sons of men also He had delight, on finishing the world, as it is written in these same Proverbs, yet this too has a consistent sense. For even thus He had delight, not as if joy came upon Him, but again as seeing the works made after His own Image; so that even this rejoicing of God is on account of His Image. And how too has the Son delight, except as seeing Himself in the Father? for this is the same as saying, *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father, and I am in the Father and the Father in Me.*

Prov. 8, 30.

¹ χαρᾶς ποιητικόν

vid. Prov. 8, 31.

John 14, 9, 10.

18. Vain then is your vaunt as is on all sides shewn, O Christ's enemies, and vainly do ye preach^k and circulate every where your text, *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways,* perverting its sense, and publishing, not Solomon's meaning, but your own comment². For behold your sense is proved to be but a fantasy; but the passage in the Proverbs, as well as all that is above said, proves that the Son is not a creature in nature and substance, but the proper Offspring of the Father, true Wisdom and Word, by whom *all things were made, and without Him was made not one thing.*

² διδόναιαν, ἐπίνοιαν, supr. p. 255, note n.

John 1, 3.

^k ἐνεπομπεύσατε. "The ancients said πομπεύειν 'to use bad language,' and the coarse language of the procession, πομπεία. This arose from the custom of persons in the Bacchanalian

cars using bad language towards bystanders, and their retorting it." Erasm. Adag. p. 1158. He quotes Menander, ἐπὶ τῶν ἄμαξῶν εἰσὶ πομπεῖαι τινὲς σφόδρα λοιδόροι.

DISCOURSE III.

CHAPTER XXIII.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; SEVENTHLY, JOHN xiv. 10.

Introduction. The doctrine of the coinherence. The Father and the Son Each whole and perfect God. They are in Each Other, because their Substance is One and the Same. They are Each Perfect and have One Substance, because the Second Person is the Son of the First. Asterius's evasive explanation of the text under review; refuted. Since the Son has all that the Father has, He is His Image; and the Father is the One God, because the Son is in the Father.

§. I. 1. THE Ario-maniacs, as it appears, having once made up their minds to transgress and revolt from the Truth, are strenuous in appropriating the words of Scripture, *When the impious cometh into a depth of evil, he contemneth*; for refutation does not stop them, nor perplexity abash them; but, as having *a whore's forehead*, they refuse to be ashamed before all men in their irreligion. For whereas the passages which they alleged, *The Lord created Me*¹, and *Made better than the Angels*², and *First-born*³, and *Faithful to Him that made Him*⁴, have an orthodox meaning⁵, and inculcate religiousness towards Christ, so it is that these men still, as if bedewed with the serpent's poison, not seeing what they ought to see, nor understanding what they read, as if in vomit⁶ from the depth of their irreligious heart, have next proceeded to disparage our Lord's words, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*; saying, "How can the One be contained in the Other and the Other in the One?" or "How at all can the Father who is the greater be contained in the Son who is the less?" or "What wonder, if the Son is in the Father, considering it is written even of us,

Prov. 18,
3. Sept.

Jer. 3, 3.

¹ supr.
ch. xix.
² ch. xiii.
³ ch. xxi.
⁴ ch. xiv.
⁵ p. 341,
note i.

⁶ ἐρευγόμενοι

John 14,
10.

In Him we live and move and have our being^a?" And this state of mind is consistent with their perverseness¹, who think God to be material², and understand not what is "True Father" and "True Son," nor "Light Invisible" and "Eternal," and Its "Radiance Invisible," nor "Invisible Subsistence³," and "Immaterial Expression" and "Immaterial Image." For had they known, they would not have dishonoured and ridiculed the Lord of glory, nor interpreting things immaterial after a material manner, perverted good words.

CHAP. XXXIII.
Acts 17, 28.
¹ κακονοία
² σῶμα
³ ὑπόστασις

2. It were sufficient indeed, on hearing only words which are the Lord's, at once to believe, since the faith of simplicity is better than an elaborate⁴ process of persuasion; but since they have endeavoured to make even this passage level with their own heresy, it becomes necessary to expose their perverseness¹ and to shew the mind of the truth, at least for the security of the faithful. For when it is said, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, They are not therefore, as these suppose, discharged into Each Other, filling the One the Other, as in the case of empty vessels, so that the Son fills the emptiness of the Father and the Father that of the Son^b,

⁴ ἐκ περιεργίας

^a vid. supr. p. 338, note d. The doctrine of the *περιχώρησις*, which this objection introduces, is the test of orthodoxy opposed to Arianism. vid. p. 95, note d. This is seen clearly in the case of Eusebius, whose language approaches to Catholic more nearly than Arians in general. After all his strong assertions, the question recurs, is our Lord a distinct being from God, as we are, or not? he answers in the affirmative, vid. supr. p. 63, note g. whereas we believe that He is literally and numerically one with the Father, and therefore His Person dwells in the Father's Person by an ineffable union. And hence the strong language of Pope Dionysius, supr. p. 46, "the Holy Ghost must repose and habitate in God," *ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐνδιδαιτᾶσθαι*. And hence the strong figure of S. Jerome, (in which he is followed by S. Cyril, Thesaur. p. 51.) "Filius locus est Patris, sicut et Pater locus est Filii." in Ezek. iii. 12. Hence Athan. contrasts the creatures who are *ἐν μεμερισμένοις τόποις* and the Son. Serap. iii. 4. c. d. Accordingly, one of the first symptoms of reviving orthodoxy in the second school of semi Arians (as they

have above been called in notes to de Syn.) in the Macrostich Creed, is the use of language of this character, viz. "All the Father embosoming the Son," they say, "and all the Son hanging and adhering to the Father, and alone resting on the Father's breast continually." supr. p. 116, where vid. note h.

^b This might seem, but is not, inconsistent with S. Jerome as quoted in the foregoing note. Athan. does but mean that such illustrations cannot be taken literally, as if spoken of natural subjects. The Father is the *τόπος* or locus of the Son, because when we contemplate the Son in His fulness as *ὅλος θεός*, we do but view the Father as that Person in whom God the Son is; our mind abstracts His Substance which is the Son for the moment from Him, and regards Him merely as Father. Thus Athan. *τὴν θελανούσιαν τοῦ λόγου ἠνωμένον φύσει τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πατρί*. In Illud. Omn. 4. It is, however, but an operation of the mind, and not a real emptying of Godhead from the Father, if such words may be used. Father and Son are both the same God, though really and eternally distinct from each other; and Each

Disc.
III.

and Each of Them by Himself is not complete and perfect, (for this is proper to bodies, and therefore the mere assertion of it is full of irreligion,) for the Father is full and perfect, and the Son is the Fulness of Godhead. Nor again, as God, by coming¹ into the Saints, strengthens them, thus is He also in the Son. For He is Himself the Father's Power and² Wisdom, and by partaking² of Him things generate are sanctified in the Spirit; but the Son Himself is not Son by participation³, but is the Father's proper Offspring^c. Nor again is the Son in the Father, in the sense of the passage, *In Him we live and move and have our being*; for, He as being from the Fount⁴ of the Father is the Life, in which all things are both quickened⁵ and consist; for the Life does not live in life^d, else it would not be Life, but rather He gives life⁶ to all things.

¹ γινόμε-
νος ἐν

² μετοχή

³ μετου-
σίᾳ

⁴ ἐκ πη-
γῆς,
p. 25,
note e.

⁵ ζωογο-
νεῖται

⁶ ζωογονεῖ
§. 2.

3. But now let us see what Asterius the Sophist says, the

is full of the Other, that is, their Substance is one and the same. This is insisted on by S. Cyril, "We must not conceive that the Father is held in the Son as body in body, or vessel in vessel; . . . for the One is in the Other, *ὡς ἐν ταυτότητι τῆς οὐσίας ἀπαράλλακτω, καὶ τῇ κατὰ φύσιν ἐνότητι τε καὶ ὁμοιότητι.* in Joan. p. 28. And by S. Hilary; "Material natures do not admit of being mutually in each other, of having a perfect unity of a nature which subsists, of the abiding nativity of the Only-begotten being inseparable from the unity of the Father's Godhead. To God the Only-begotten alone is this proper, and this faith attaches to the mystery of a true nativity, and this is the work of a spiritual power, that to be and to be in differ nothing; to be in, yet not to be one in another as body in body, but so to be and to subsist, as to be in the subsisting, and so to be in, as also to subsist," &c. Trin. vii. fin. vid. also iii. 23. The following quotation from S. Anselm is made by Petavius, de Trin. iv. 16 fin. and may be given here, though he cannot be here used as an authority; "Though there be not many eternities, yet if we say eternity in eternity, there is but one eternity. And so whatever is said of God's Essence, if repeated in itself, does not increase quantity, nor admit number. Since there is nothing out of God, when God is born of God. He will not be born out of God, but remains in God."

^c vid. supr. p. 15, note e, p. 32, note q. fin. p. 203, and note d. On the other hand Eusebius considers the Son, like a creature, *ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πατρικῆς [not οὐσίας, but] μετουσίας, ὡς περ ἀπὸ πηγῆς, ἐπ' αὐτὸν προχοομένης πληρούμενον.* Eccl. Theol. i. 2. words which are the more observable, the nearer they approach to the language of Athan. in the text and elsewhere. Vid. infr. by way of contrast, *οὐδὲ κατὰ μετουσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὄλον ἴδιον αὐτοῦ γέννημα.* 4.

^d i. e. Son does not live by the gift of life, for He is life, and does but give it, not receive. S. Hilary uses different language with the same meaning, "Vita viventis [Filii] in vivo [Patre] est." de Trin. ii. 11. Other modes of expression for the same mystery are found infr. "the whole being of the Son is proper to the Father's substance;" 3. "the Son's being, because from the Father, is therefore in the Father;" *ibid.* also 6 fin. "the Father's Godhead is the being of the Son." 5. Vid. supr. p. 145, note r. and Didymus *ἡ πατρικὴ θεότης*, p. 82. and S. Basil, *ἐξ οὗ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι.* contr. Eunom. ii. 12 fin. Just above Athan. says that "the Son is the fulness of the Godhead." Thus the Father is the Son's life because the Son is from Him, and the Son the Father's because the Son is in Him. All these are but different ways of signifying the περιχώρησις.

retained pleader¹ for the heresy. In imitation then of the Jews so far, he writes as follows; "It is very plain that He has said, that He is in the Father and the Father again in Him, for this reason, that neither the word, on which He was discoursing is, as He says, His own, but the Father's, nor the works belong² to Him, but to the Father who gave Him the power."² οἰκεία

Now this, if uttered at random by a little child, had been excused from his age; but when one who bears the title of Sophist, and professes universal knowledge^e, is the writer, what a serious condemnation does he deserve? And does he not shew himself a stranger to the Apostle³, as being puffed up with persuasive words of wisdom, and thinking thereby to succeed in deceiving, not understanding himself what he saith nor whereof he affirms? For what the Son has said as proper and suitable to a Son only, who is Word and Wisdom and Image of the Father's Substance, that he levels to all the creatures, and makes common to the Son and to them; and he says, lawless^f man, that the Power of the Father receives power, that from this his irreligion it may follow to say that in a Son⁴ the Son was made a son, and the Word received a Word's authority; and, far from granting that He spoke this as a Son, he ranks Him with all things made as having learned it as they have. For if the Son said, *I am in the Father and the Father in Me*, because His discourses were not His own words but the Father's, and so of His works, then, since David says, *I will hear what the Lord God shall say in Me*, and again Solomon, *My words are spoken by God*, and since Moses was minister of words which were from God, and each of the Prophets spoke not what was his own but what was from God, *Thus saith the Lord*, and since the works of the Saints, as they professed, were not their own but God's who gave the power, Elias for instance and Eliseus invoking God that He Himself would raise the dead, and Eliseus saying to Naaman, on cleansing him from the leprosy,

CHAP. XXIII.
1 συνηγόρου, infr. §. 60.

³ p. 131, note d.
vid.
1 Tim. 1, 7.

⁴ ἐν υἱῷ, but ἐν τῷ υἱῷ. Ep. Æg. 14 fin. vid. p. 311, note k.

Ps. 83, 9. Sept.

^e πάντα γινώσκων ἐπαγγελλόμενος. Gorgias according to Cicero de fin. ii. init. was the first who ventured in public to say προβάλλετε, "give me a question." This was the ἐπάγγελμα of the Sophists; of which Aristotle speaks, ascribing to Protagoras the "profession"

of being able to "make the worse cause the better." Rhet. ii. 24 fin. Vid. Cressol. Theatr. Rhet. iii. 11.
^f παράνομος. infr. 47, c. Hist. Ar. 71, 75, 79. Ep. Æg. 16, d. Vid. ἄνομος. 2 Thess. 2, 8.

Disc.
III.vid. —
2 Kings
5, 8. 15.

that thou mayest know that there is a God in Israel, and Samuel too in the days of the harvest praying to God to grant rain, and the Apostles saying that not in their own power they did miracles but in the Lord's grace, it is plain that, according to Asterius, such a statement must be common to all, so that each of them is able to say, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*; and as a consequence that He is no longer one Son of God and Word and Wisdom, but, as others, is only one out of many.

§. 3.

4. But if the Lord said this, His words would not rightly have been, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, but rather, "I too am in the Father and the Father is in Me too," that He may have nothing proper and by prerogative¹, relatively to the Father, as a Son, but the same grace in common with all. But it is not so, as they think; for not understanding that He is genuine² Son from the Father, they bely Him who is such, whom only it befits to say, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*. For the Son is in the Father, as it is allowed us to know, because the whole Being of the Son is proper to the Father's substance³, as radiance from light, and stream from fountain; so that whoso sees the Son, sees what is proper to the Father, and knows that the Son's Being, because from the Father, is therefore in the Father. For the Father is in the Son, since the Son is what is from the Father and proper to Him, as in the radiance the sun, and in the word

¹ ἐξάρπε-
τον, p.
308,
note f.² γνήσιον

³ Since the Father and the Son are the numerically One God, it is but expressing this in other words to say that the Father is in the Son and the Son in that Father, for all They have and all They are is common to Each, excepting Their being Father and Son. Α περιχώρησις of Persons is implied in the Unity of Substance. This is the connexion of the two texts so often quoted; "the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son," because "the Son and the Father are one." And the cause of this unity and περιχώρησις is the Divine γέννησις. Thus S. Hilary: "The perfect Son of a perfect Father, and of the Ingenerate God the Only-begotten Offspring, who from Him who hath all hath received all, God from God, Spirit from Spirit, Light from Light, says confidently, 'The Father in Me and I in the Father,' for as the Father

is Spirit so is the Son, as the Father God so is the Son, as the Father Light so is the Son. From those things therefore which are in the Father, are those in which is the Son; that is, of the whole Father is born the whole Son; not from other, &c. . . . not in part, for in the Son is the fulness of Godhead. What is in the Father, that too is in the Son; One from the Other and Both One (unum); not Two One Person (unus," vid. however, the language of the Athan. Creed, which expresses itself differently after S. Austin) but Either in Other, because not Other in Either. The Father in the Son, because from Him the Son . . . the Only-begotten in the Ingenerate, because from the Ingenerate the Only-begotten, &c. Trin. ii. 4. vid. supr. p. 326, note g.

the thought, and in the stream the fountain: for whoso thus contemplates the Son, contemplates what is proper to the Father's Substance, and knows that the Father is in the Son. For whereas the Face^h and Godhead of the Father is the Being of the Son, it follows that the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Sonⁱ.

5. On this account and reasonably, having said before, *I and the Father are One*, He added, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, by way of shewing the identity¹ of Godhead and the unity of Substance. For they are one, not² as one thing divided into two parts, and these nothing but one, nor as one thing twice named, so that the Same becomes at one time Father, at another His own Son, for this Sabellius holding was judged an heretic. But They are two, because the Father is Father and is not also Son, and the Son is Son and not also Father³; but the nature is one; (for the offspring is not unlike^k its parent, for it is his image,) and all that is the Father's, is the Son's^l. Wherefore neither is

John 10, 30.
ἰ ταυτό-
τητι,
p. 145,
note r.
§. 4.
² infr.
Orat. iv.
9.

³ infr. 11.

^h εἶδος, face or form. Petavius here prefers the reading ἰδίον; θεότης and τὸ ἰδίον occur together infr. 6. and 56. εἶδος occurs Orat. i. 20, a. de Syn. 52. vid. supr. p. 154, note e. infr. 6. 16. Ep. Æg. 17, c. contr. Sabell. Greg. 8, c. 12, b. d. vid. infr. p. 406, note p, p. 424, note o.

ⁱ In accordance with note b. supr. Thomassin observes that by the mutual coinherence or indwelling of the Three Blessed Persons is meant "not a commingling as of material liquids, nor as of soul with body, nor as the union of our Lord's Godhead and humanity, but it is such that the whole power, life, substance, wisdom, essence, of the Father, should be the very essence, substance, wisdom, life, and power of the Son." de Trin. 28. 1. S. Cyril adopts Athan.'s language to express this doctrine. "The Son in one place says, that He is in the Father and has the Father again in Him; for the very peculiarity (ἰδίον) of the Father's substance, by nature coming to the Son, shews the Father in Him." in Joan. p. 105. "One is contemplated in the other, and is truly, according to the connatural and consubstantial." de Trin. vi. p. 621. "He has in Him the Son and is again in the Son, because of the identity of substance." in Joann. p. 168. Vid. infra ταυτότης οὐσίας, 21. πατρικῆ

θεότης τοῦ υἱοῦ, 26. and 41. and supr. p. 145, note r. vid. also Damasc. F. O. i. 8. pp. 139, 140.

^k ἀνόμοιον; and so ἀνόμοιος κατὰ πάντα. Orat. i. 6. κατ' οὐσίαν. 17. Orat. ii. 43. τῆς οὐσίας, infr. 14. vid. ἀνομοιότης. infr. 8, c.

^l "We must conceive of necessity that in the Father is the eternal, the everlasting, the immortal; and in Him, not as foreign to Him, but as abiding (ἀναπαυόμενα) in Him as in a Fount and in the Son. When then you would form a conception of the Son, learn what are the things in the Father, and believe that they are in the Son too. If the Father is creature or work, these attributes are also in the Son, &c. . . . He who honours the Son, is honouring the Father who sent Him, and He who receives the Son, is receiving with Him the Father, &c." In illud. Omn. 4. "As the Father is I Am (ὁ ὢν) so His Word is I Am and God over all." Serap. i. 28, a. "Altogether, there is nothing which the Father has, which is not the Son's; for therefore it is that the Son is in the Father, and the Father in the Son; because the things of the Father, these are in the Son, and still the same are understood as in the Father. Thus is understood, 'I and the Father are One;' since not these things are in Him

Disc. the Son another God, for He was not procured¹ from without,
 III. else were there many, if a godhead be procured foreign from
¹ ἐπενοήθη the Father's²; for if the Son be other, as an Offspring, still He
² p. 186, is the Same as God; and He and the Father are one in pro-
 § 6. priety and peculiarity³ of nature, and the identity⁴ of the one
³ οἰκειό- Godhead, as has been said. For the radiance also is light,
 τῆτα
⁴ p. 403, not second to the sun, nor a different light, nor from partici-
 r. 1. pation⁵ of it, but a whole and proper offspring of it. And
⁵ μετου- such an offspring is necessarily one light; and no one would
 σίαν say that they are two lights⁶, but sun and radiance two, yet
⁶ doctrine of the one the light from the sun enlightening in its radiance all
 Una Res, p. 145, things. So also the Godhead of the Son is the Father's;
 note r. whence also it is indivisible; and thus there is one God and
⁷ p. 149, none other but He. And so, since they are one, and the
 note x. Godhead itself one, the same things are said of the Son,
⁸ parallel to de which are said of the Father, except His being said to be
 Syn. 49. Father⁷:—for instance⁸, that He is God, *And the Word was*
 p. 149, *God; Almighty, Thus saith He which was and is and is to*
 supr. *come, the Almighty; Lord, One Lord Jesus Christ; that He*
 John 1, 1. *is Light, I am the Light; that He forgives sins, that ye may*
 Rev. 1, 8. *know, He says, that the Son of man hath power upon earth*
 1 Cor. 3, 6. *to forgive sins; and so with other attributes. For all things*
 John 8, 12. *says the Son Himself, whatsoever the Father hath, are Mine;*
 Luke 5, 24. *and again, And Mine are Thine. And on hearing the attri-*
 John 16, 15, 17, 10. *buties⁹ of the Father spoken of Son, we shall thereby see the*
 §. 5. *Father in the Son; and we shall contemplate the Son in the*
⁹ τὰ τοῦ *Father, when what is said of the Son, is said of the Father*
 πατρός *also. And why are the attributes of the Father ascribed to*
 the Son, except that the Son is an Offspring from Him? and
 why are the Son's attributes proper to the Father, except
 again because the Son is the proper Offspring of His Sub-
 stance? And the Son, being the proper Offspring of the
 Father's Substance, reasonably says that the Father's attri-
 butes are His own also; whence suitably and consistently
 with saying, *I and the Father are One*, He adds, *that ye may*
 John 10, 30, 38. *know that I am in the Father and the Father in Me.*
 14, 10.

and those in the Son, but the things thereby is rightly understood 'He which are in the Father those are in that hath seen Me, hath seen the the Son, and what thou seest in the Father.'" Serap. ii. 2.
 Father, because thou seest in the Son,

6. Moreover, He has added this again, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*; and there is one and the same sense in these three^m passages. For he who in this sense understands that the Son and the Father are one, knows that He is in the Father and the Father in the Son; for the Godhead of the Son is the Father's, and it is in the Son; and whoso enters into this, is convinced that *He that hath seen the Son, hath seen the Father*; for in the Son is contemplated the Father's Godhead. And we may perceive this at once from the illustration of the Emperor's image. For in the image is the face and form of the Emperor, and in the Emperor is that face which is in the image. For the likeness of the Emperor in the image is unvarying¹; so that a person who looks at the image, sees in it the Emperor; and he again who sees the Emperor, recognises that it is he who is in the imageⁿ. And from the likeness not differing, to one who after the image wished to view the Emperor, the image might say, "I and the Emperor are one; for I am in him, and he in me; and what thou seest in me, that thou beholdest in him, and what thou hast seen in him, that thou beholdest in me^o." Accordingly he who worships the image,

CHAP.
XXIII.
John 14,

9.

7

¹ ἀπαράλ-
λακτος,
p. 106,
note d.

^m Here these three texts, which so often occur together, are recognised as "three;" so are they by Eusebius Eccl. Theol. iii. 19. and he says that Marcellus and "those who Sabellianize with him," among whom he included Catholics, were in the practice of ad-ducing them, *θρυλλοῦντες*; which bears incidental testimony to the fact that the doctrine of the *περιχώρησις* was the great criterion between orthodox and Arian. Many instances of the joint use of the three are given *supr.* p. 229, note g. to which may be added *Orat.* ii. 54 *init.* iii. 16 *fin.* 67 *fin.* iv. 17, a. *Serap.* ii. 9, c. *Serm.* Maj. de *fid.* 29. *Cyril.* de *Trin.* p. 554. in *Joann.* p. 168. *Origen.* *Periarch.* p. 56. *Hil.* *Trin.* ix. 1. *Ambros.* *Hexaem.* 6. *August.* de *Cons.* *Ev.* i. 7.

ⁿ *vid.* *Basil.* *Hom.* *contr.* *Sab.* p. 192. The honour paid to the Imperial Statues is well known. "He who crowns the Statue of the Emperor, of course honours him, whose image he has crowned." *Ambros.* in *Psalm* 118, x. 25. *vid.* also *Chrysost.* *Hom.* on *Statues.* *O. T.* pp. 356, &c. *fragm.* in *Act. Conc.* vii. (t. 4, p. 89. *Hard.*)

Chrysostom's second persecution arose from his interfering with a statue of the Empress which was so near the Church, that the acclamations of the people before it disturbed the services. *Socr.* vi. 18. The Seventh Council speaks of the images sent by the Emperors into provinces instead of their coming in person; *Ducange* in *v. Lauratum.* *Vid.* a description of the imperial statues and their honours in *Gothofred.* *Cod. Theod.* t. 5, pp. 346, 7. and in *Philostorg.* p. 90. *vid.* also *Molanus* de *Imaginibus* ed. *Paquot*, p. 197.

^o *Athanasius* guards against what is defective in this illustration in the next chapter, but independent of such explanation a mistake as to his meaning would be impossible; and the passage affords a good instance of the imperfect and partial character of all illustrations of the Divine Mystery. What it is taken to symbolize is the unity of the Father and Son, for the Image is not a Second Emperor but the same. *vid.* *Sabell.* *Greg.* 6. But no one, who bowed before the Emperor's Statue can be supposed to have really worshipped it; whereas our Lord is the Object

Disc. III. in it worships the Emperor also; for the image is his form¹ and face. Since then the Son too is the Father's Image, it must necessarily be understood that the Godhead and propriety of the Father is the Being of the Son.

Phil. 2, 7. And this is what is said, *Who being in the form of God, and the Father in Me*. Nor is this Form² of the Godhead partial merely, but the fulness of the Father's Godhead is the Being of the Son, and the Son is whole God. Therefore also, being equal to God, He *thought it not robbery to be equal to God*; and again since the Godhead and the Face of the Son is none other's than the Father's^p, this is what He

2 Cor. 5, 19. says, *I in the Father*. Thus *God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself*; for the propriety³ of the Father's Substance is that Son, in whom the creation was then reconciled⁴ with God. Thus what things the Son then wrought⁵,

are the Father's works, for the Son is the Face of that Godhead of the Father, which wrought the works. And thus he who looks at the Son, sees the Father; for in the Father's Godhead is and is contemplated the Son; and the Father's Face which is in Him shews in Him the Father; and thus the Father is in the Son. And that propriety and Godhead which is from the Father in the Son, shews the Son in the Father, and His inseparability⁶ from Him; and whoso hears and beholds that what is said of the Father is also said of the Son, not as accruing⁷ to His Substance by grace or participation⁸, but because the very Being of the Son is the proper

Offspring of the Father's Substance, will fitly understand the words, as I said before, *I in the Father, and the Father in Me*; and *I and the Father are One*. For the Son is such as the Father is, because He has all that is the Father's.

John 14, 10; 10, 30.

of supreme worship, which terminates in Him, as being really one with Him whose Image He is. From the custom of paying honour to the Imperial Statues, the Cultus Imaginum was introduced into the Eastern Church. The Western Church, not having had the civil custom, resisted. vid. Dollinger, Church History, vol. 3. p. 55. E. Tr. The Fathers, e. g. S. Jerome, set themselves against the civil custom, as idolatrous, comparing it to that paid to Nebuchadnezzar's statue, vid. Hieron. in Dan. 3, 18. Incense was

burnt before those of the Emperors; as afterwards before the Images of the Saints.

^p Here first the Son's εἶδος is the εἶδος of the Father, then the Son is the εἶδος of the Father's Godhead, and then in the Son is the εἶδος of the Father. These expressions are equivalent, if Father and Son are, Each separately, ὁλος θεός. vid. infr. p. 424, note o. S. Greg. Naz. uses the word ὁπλοισια, (Exod. 33, 23.) which forms a contrast to εἶδος, for the Divine Works. Orat. 28, 3.

8. Wherefore also is He implied together with the Father. For, a son not being, one cannot say father; whereas when we call God a Maker, we do not of necessity intimate the things which have come to be; for a maker is before his works^q. But when we call God Father, at once with the Father we signify the Son's existence¹. Therefore also he who believes in the Son, believes also in the Father; for he believes in what is proper to the Father's Substance; and thus the faith is one in one God. And he who worships and honours the Son, in the Son worships and honours the Father; for one is the Godhead; and therefore one^r the honour and one the worship which is paid to the Father in and through the Son. And he who thus worships, worships one God; for there is one God and none other than He. Accordingly when the Father is called the only God, and we read that there is one God, and *I am*, and *beside Me there is no God*, and *I the first and I am the last*, this has a fit meaning. For God is One and Only and First; but this is not said to the denial of the Son²; perish the thought; for He is in that One, and First and Only, as being of that One and Only and First the Only Word and Wisdom and Radiance. And He too is the First, as the Fulness of the Godhead of the First and Only, being whole and full God^s. This then

ἡ ὕπαρξις.

Mark 12, 23.
Ex. 3, 14.
Deut. 32, 39. Sept.
Is. 44, 6.

² p. 33,
note r.

^q vid. supr. pp. 55, 228. This is in opposition to the Arians, who said that the title Father implied priority of existence. Athan. says that the title "Maker" does, but that the title "father" does not. vid. supr. p. 65, note m. p. 98, note n. p. 223, note g. p. 338, note d.

^r Athan. de Incarn. c. Ar. 19, c. vid. Ambros. de fid. iii. cap. 12, 13. Naz. Orat. 23, 8. Basil. de Sp. S. n. 64.

^s vid. supr. 1, note b. ii. 41 fin. also infr. iv. 1. "You have the Son, you have the Father; fear not duality . . . There is One God, because Father is One, and Son is God, having identity as Son towards Father . . . The Father is the whole fulness of Godhead as Father, and the Son is the whole fulness of Godhead as Son . . . The Father has Being perfect and without defect, being root and fount of the Son and the Spirit; and the Son is in the fulness of Godhead, a Living Word and Offspring of the Father without defect. And the

Spirit is full of the Son, not being part of another, but whole in Himself; . . . Let us understand that the Face (εἶδος) is One of Three truly subsisting, beginning in Father, beaming in Son, and manifested through Spirit." Pseudo-Ath. c. Sab. Greg. 5—12. "I hardly arrive at contemplating the One, when I am encircled with the radiance of the Three; I hardly arrive at distinguishing the Three, when I am carried back to the One. When I have imaged to myself One of the Three, I think It the whole, and my sight is filled, and what is more escapes me . . . And when I embrace the Three in my contemplation, I see but One Luminary, being unable to distinguish or to measure the Light which becomes One." Naz. Orat. 40, 41. "Thou art That which begetteth and That which is begotten . . . for Thou wast poured forth, O ineffably bearing, to bear a Son, glorious Wisdom, Framers of all; and though poured forth Thou remainest, ἀπόμοισι

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is not said on His account, but to deny that there is other such as the Father and His Word.

τομαῖς μεινόμενος &c. Synes. Hymn. iii. pp. 328, 9. "The fulness of Godhead is in the Father, and the fulness of Godhead is in the Son, but not differing, but one Godhead If of all believers there was one soul and one heart if every one who cleaves to the Lord is one spirit, if man and wife are one flesh, if all of us men in respect of nature are of one substance, if Scripture thus speaks of human things, that many are one, of which there can be no comparison with things divine, how much more are Father and Son One in Godhead, where there is no difference of substance or of will, &c." Ambros. de Fid. i. n. 18. "This Trinity is of one and the same nature and substance, not less in Each than in All, nor greater in All than in Each; but so great in Father alone or in Son

alone, as in Father and Son together For the Father did not lessen Himself to have a Son for Himself, but so begat of Himself another self, as to remain whole in Himself, and to be in the Son as great as He is by Himself. And so the Holy Ghost, whole from whole, doth not precede That wherein He proceeds, but is so great with Him as He is from Him, and neither lessens Him by proceeding nor increases by adhering Moreover, He who hath given to so many hearts of His faithful to be one heart, how much more doth He maintain in Himself that these Three and Each of Them should be God, and yet all together, not three gods, but One God?" August. Ep. 170, 5. vid. p. 334, note y. and infr. note on 36 fin.

CHAPTER XXIV.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; EIGHTHLY, JOHN xvii. 3. AND THE LIKE.

Our Lord's divinity cannot interfere with His Father's prerogatives, as the One God, which were so earnestly upheld by the Son. "One" is used in contrast to false gods and idols, not to the Son, through whom the Father spoke. Our Lord adds His Name to the Father's, as included in Him. The Father the First, not as if the Son were not First too, but as Origin.

1. Now that this is the sense of the Prophet is clear and §. 7.
 manifest to all; but since the irreligious men, alleging such passages also, dishonour the Lord and reproach us, saying, "Behold God is said to be One and Only and First; how say ye that the Son is God? for if He were God, He had not said, *I Alone*, nor *God is One*;" it is necessary to declare the sense of these phrases in addition, as far as we can, that all may know from this also that the Arians are really contending with God¹. If there then is rivalry² of the Son towards the Father, then be such words uttered against Him; and if according to what is said to David concerning Adonias and Absalom, so also the Father looks upon the Son, then let Him utter and urge such words against Himself, lest He the Son, calling Himself God, make any to revolt from the Father. But if he who knows the Son, on the contrary, knows the Father, the Son Himself revealing Him to him, and in the Word he shall rather see the Father, as has been said, and if the Son on coming, glorified not Himself but the Father, saying to one who came to Him, *Why callest thou Me good? none is good save One, that is, God*³; and to one who asked, what was the great commandment in the Law, answering, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is One Lord*; and saying to the multitudes, *I came down from heaven, not to do My own will, but the will of Him that sent Me*; and teaching the disciples, *My Father is greater*

Deut.
32, 39;
6, 4. &c.

¹ θεομά.
χοι. vid.
Acts 5,
39.
² ἀνίλλα,
2 Sam.
15.
1 Kings
1.

Luke 18,
19.
³ vid.
Basil. Ep.
236, 1
Mark 12,
28. 29.
John 6,
38; 14,
28.

Disc. III.
 vid. John 5, 23.
¹ ἐναντιότητος ἴνα λάβῃ, vid. §. 58. note

than *I*, and *He that honoureth Me, honoureth Him that sent Me*; if the Son is such towards His own Father, what is the difficulty¹, that one must need take such a view of such passages? and on the other hand, if the Son is the Father's Word, who is so wild, besides these Christ-opposers, as to think that God has thus spoken, as traducing and denying His own Word? This is not the mind of Christians; perish the thought; for not with reference to the Son is it thus written, but for the denial of those falsely called gods, invented by men.

2. And this account of the meaning of such passages is satisfactory; for since those who are devoted to gods falsely so called, revolt from the True God, therefore God, being good and careful for mankind, recalling the wanderers, says, *I Am Only God*, and *I Am*, and *Besides Me there is no God*, and the like; that He may condemn things which are not, and may convert all men to Himself. And as, supposing in the day-time when the sun was shining, a man were rudely to paint a piece of wood, which had not even the appearance of light, and call that image the cause of light, and if the sun with regard to it were to say, "I alone am the light of the day, and there is no other light of the day but I," he would say this, with regard, not to his own radiance, but to the error arising from the wooden image and the dissimilitude² of that vain representation; so it is with *I am*, and *I am only God*, and *There is none other besides Me*, viz. that He may make men renounce falsely called gods, and that they may recognise Him the true God instead.

² ἀνομοιότητα

3. Indeed when God said this, He said it through His own Word, unless forsooth these modern³ Jews add this too, that He has not said this through His Word; but so hath He spoken, though they rave, these followers of the devil^a. For the Word of the Lord came to the Prophet, and this was what was heard; nor is there the thing which God says

³ οἱ ῥῆν, vid. p. 282, note a. Hist. Ar. 61, fin.

^a διαβολικοί. vid. supr. p. 9, note s. vid. also Orat. ii. 38, a. 73, a. 74 init. Ep. Æg. 4 and 6. In the passage before us there seems an allusion to false accusation or lying, which is the proper meaning of the word; διαβάλλον occurs shortly before. And so in Apol. ad Const. when he calls Magnentius διάβολος, it is as being a traitor, 7. and

soon after he says that his accuser was τὸν διαβόλου τρόπον ἀναλαβὼν, where the word has no article, and διαβέβλημαι and διεβλήθην have preceded. vid. also Hist. Ar. 52 fin. And so in Sent. D. his speaking of the Arians' "father the devil," 3, c. is explained 4, b. by τοὺς πατέρας διαβαλλόντων and τῆς εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον διαβολῆς. vid. also 27 fin.

or does, but He says and does it in the Word. Not then with reference to Him is this said, O Christ's enemies, but to things foreign to Him and not from¹ Him. For according to the aforesaid illustration, if the sun had spoken those words, he would have been setting right the error and have so spoken, not as having his radiance without him, but in the radiance shewing his own light. Therefore not for the denial of the Son, nor with reference to Him, are such passages, but to the overthrow of falsehood. Accordingly God spoke not such words to Adam at the beginning, though His Word was with Him, by whom all things came to be; for there was no need, before idols came in; but when men made insurrection against the truth, and named for themselves gods such as they would², then it was that need arose of such words, for the denial of gods that were not. Nay I would add, that they were said even in anticipation of the folly of these Christ-opposers^b, that they might know, that whatsoever god they devise external to the Father's Substance, he is not True God, nor Image and Son of the Only and First.

¹ παρὰ, vid. p. 434, r. 1. and John 15, 26.

² οὐς ἠθέλου, infr. p. 414, note a.

4. If then the Father be called the only true God, this is said not to the denial of Him who said, *I am the Truth*, but of those on the other hand who by nature are not true, as the Father and His Word are. And hence the Lord Himself added at once, *And Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent*. Now had He been a creature, He would not have added this, and ranked Himself with His Creator; (for what fellowship is there between the True and the not true?) but now by adding Himself to the Father, He has shewn that He is of the Father's nature; and He has given us to know that of the True Father He is True Offspring. And John too, as he had learned³, so he teaches this, writing in his Epistle, *And we are in the True, even in His Son Jesus Christ; This is the True God and eternal life*. And when the Prophet says concerning the creation, *That stretcheth forth the heavens alone*, and when God says, *I only stretch out the heavens*, it is made plain to every one, that in the Only is signified also the Word of the Only, in whom *all things were made*, and

§. 9. John 14, 6.

John 17, 3.

³ μαθὼν ἐβίδαζε, supr. p. 13, note a. p. 282, note b. 1 John 5, 20. Isa. 44, 24. John 1, 3.

^b who worship one whom they themselves call a creature, vid. supr. p. 191, note d. p. 301, note c. p. 310, note h. infr. p. 423, notes m and n.

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without whom *was made not one thing*. Therefore, if they were made through the Word, and yet He says, *I Only*, and together with that Only is understood the Son, through whom the heavens were made, so also then, if it be said, *One God*, and *I Only*, and *I the First*, in that One and Only and First is understood the Word coexisting¹, as in the Light the Radiance.

¹ συνών

5. And this can be understood of no other than the Word alone. For all other things subsisted out of nothing through the Son, and are greatly different in nature; but the Son Himself is natural and true Offspring from the Father; and thus the very passage which these insensates have thought fit to adduce, *I the First*, in defence of their heresy, doth rather expose their perverse spirit². For God says, *I the First and I the Last*; if then, as though ranked with the things after Him, He is said to be first of them, so that they come next to Him, then certainly you will have shewn that He Himself precedes the works in time only^c; which, to go no further, is extreme irreligion; but if it is in order to prove that He is not from any, nor any before Him, but that He is Origin and Cause of all things, and to destroy the Gentile fables, that He has said *I the First*, it is plain also, that when the Son is called First-born, this is done not for the sake of ranking Him with the creation, but to prove the framing and adoption of all things³ through the Son. For as the Father is First, so also is He both First^d, as Image of the First, and

² κακό-
νοιαν

³ vid. p.
36B,
note g.

^c He says that in "I the first" the question of time does not come in, else creatures would come *second* to the Creation, as if His and their duration admitted of a common measure. "First" then does not imply succession, but is equivalent to ἀρχή; a word which, as "Father," does not imply that the Son is not from eternity.

^d It is no inconsistency to say that the Father is first, and the Son first also, for comparison or number does not enter into this mystery. Since Each is ἕλος θεός, Each, as contemplated by our finite reason, at the moment of contemplation excludes the Other. Though we say Three Persons, Person hardly denotes one abstract *idea*, certainly not as containing under it three individual subjects, but it is a *term* applied to the

One God in three ways. It is the doctrine of the Fathers, that, though we use words expressive of a Trinity, yet that God is beyond number, and that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, though eternally distinct from each other, can scarcely be viewed together in common, except as *One* substance, as if they could not be generalized into Three Any whatever; and as if it were, strictly speaking, incorrect to speak of *a* Person, or otherwise than of *the* Person, whether of Father, or of Son, or of Spirit. The question has almost been admitted by S. Austin, whether it is not possible to say that God is *One* Person, (Trin. vii. 8.) for He is wholly and entirely Father, and at the same time wholly and entirely Son, and wholly and entirely Holy Ghost. Some pas-

because the First is in Him, and also Offspring from the Father, in whom the whole creation is created and adopted into sonship.

sages from the Fathers shall be given on that subject, *infr.* 36 *fin.* *vid.* also *supr.* p. 407, note s. Meanwhile the doctrine here stated will account for such expressions as "God from God," i. e. the One God (who is the Son) from the One God (who is the Father); *vid.* *supr.* p. 155, note f. Again, *ἡ οὐσία αὐτῆ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς πατρικῆς ἐστὶ γέννημα.* *de Syn.* 48, b. *Vid.* also *infr.* *Orat.* iv. 1 and 2. where he argues against the Sabellian hypothesis as making the Divine Nature compound, (the Word being a something in It,) whereas the Catholic doctrine preserves unity because the Father is the One God simply and

entirely, and the Son the One God singly and entirely, (*vid.* *supr.* p. 334, note y.); the Word not a sound, which is nothing, nor a quality which is unworthy of God, but a substantial Word and a substantial Wisdom. "As," he continues, "the Origin is One substance, so Its Word and Wisdom is One, substantial and subsistent; for as from God is God, and from Wise Wisdom, and from rational (*λογικοῦ*) a Word, and from Father a Son, so from a subsistence is He subsistent, and from substance substantial and substantive, and from existing existing," &c.

CHAPTER XXV.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; NINTHLY, JOHN X. 30; xvii. 11, &c.

Arian explanation, that the Son is one with the Father in will and judgment; but so are all good men, nay things inanimate; contrast of the Son. Oneness between them is in nature, because oneness in operation. Angels not objects of prayer, because they do not work together with God, but the Son; texts quoted. Seeing an Angel, is not seeing God. Arians in fact hold two Gods, and tend to Gentile polytheism. Arian explanation that the Father and Son are one, *as* we are one with Christ, is put aside by the *Regula Fidei*, and shewn invalid by the usage of Scripture in illustrations; the true force of the comparison; force of the terms used. Force of "in us;" force of "as;" confirmed by S. John. In what sense we are "in God" and His "sons."

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§. 10.

1. HOWEVER here too they introduce their private fictions, and contend that the Son and the Father are not in such wise "one," or "like," as the Church preaches, but, as they themselves would have it^a. For they say, since what the Father wills, the Son wills also, and is not contrary either in what He thinks or in what He judges, but is in all respects concordant^b with Him, declaring doctrines which are the same, and a word consistent and united with the Father's teaching, therefore it is that He and the Father are One; and some of them have dared to write as well as say this¹. Now what can be more

¹ Asterius, p. 401 init.

^a *ὡς αὐτοὶ θέλουσι*. vid. p. 411, r. 2. and *infr.* p. 425, r. 2 "not as you say, but as we will." This is a common phrase with Athan. vid. *supr.* p. 92, note r. and especially *Hist. Tract. O. T.* p. 266, note d. (vid. also *Sent. Dion.* 4, b. 14, b.) It is here contrasted to the Church's doctrine, and connected with the word *ἴδιος*, for which *supr.* p. 78, note n. p. 233, note a. Vid. also *de Mort. Ar.* fin. Also *contr. Apoll.* ii. 5 init. in contrast with the *εὐαγγελικὸς ὄρος*. *Apol. contr. Ar.* 36, d. Vid. also 2, f. *de fug.* 2, a.

^b *σὺμφωνος*. vid. *infr.* 23. *supr.* p. 148.

the Arian *συμφωνία* has been touched on *supr.* p. 107, note f. p. 155, note g. Besides Origen, Novatian, the Creed of Lucian, and (if so) S. Hilary, as mentioned in the former of these notes, "one" is explained as oneness of will by S. Hippolytus, *contr. Noet.* 7, where he explains John 10, 30. by 17, 22. like the Arians; and, as might be expected, by Eusebius *Eccl. Theol.* iii. p. 193. and by Asterius *ap. Euseb. contr. Marc.* pp. 28, 37. The passages of the Fathers in which this text is adduced are collected by Maldonat. in *loc.*

extravagant or irrational than this? for if therefore the Son and the Father are One, and if in this way the Word is like the Father, it follows forthwith^c that the Angels^d too, and the other beings above us, Powers and Authorities, and Thrones and Dominions, and what we see, Sun and Moon, and the Stars, should be sons also, as the Son; and that it should be said of them too, that they and the Father are one, and that each is God's Image and Word. For what God wills, that will they; and neither in judging nor in doctrine are they discordant, but in all things are obedient to their Maker. For they would not have preserved their own glory, unless, what the Father willed, that they had willed also. He, for instance, who did not preserve it, but became deranged, heard the words, *How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning?* Is. 14, 12.

2. But if this be so, how is only He Only-begotten Son and Word and Wisdom? or how, whereas so many are like the Father, is He only an Image? for among men too will be found many like the Father, numbers, for instance, of martyrs, and before them the Apostles and Prophets, and again before them the Patriarchs. And many now too keep the Saviour's command, being merciful *as their Father which is in heaven*, and observing the exhortation, *Be ye therefore followers of God as dear children, and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us*; many too have become followers of Paul as he also of Christ. And yet no one of these is Word or Wisdom or Only-begotten Son or Image; nor has any one of them had the audacity to say, *I and the Father are One*, or, *I in the Father, and the Father in Me*; but it is said of all of them, *Who is like unto Thee among the Gods, O Lord? and who shall be likened to the Lord among the sons of God?* and of Him on the contrary that He only is Image true and natural of the Father. For though we were made after the Image¹, and called both image and glory of God, yet not on our own account still, but for that Image and true Glory of God inhabiting us, which is His Word, who was for us afterwards made flesh, have we this grace of our designation.

Matt. 5, 46.
Eph. 5, 1. 2.

John 10, 30; My t. r. 14, 10.
vid. Ps. 86, 8; 89, 7.

¹ Aug. de Trin. vii. fin.

^c ἕρα. vid. p. 130, note c. also Orat. Thesaur. p. 255 fin.
ii. 6, b. iv. 19, c. d. Euseb. contr. Marc. ^d This argument is found above, p. 47, b. p. 91, b. Cyril. Dial. p. 456. p. 148. vid. also Cyril. de Trin. i. p. 407.

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§. 11.

3. This their notion then being evidently unseemly and irrational as well as the rest, the likeness and the oneness must be referred to the very Substance of the Son; for unless it be so taken, He will not be shewn to have any thing beyond things generate, as has been said, nor will He be like the Father, but He will be like the Father's doctrines; and He differs from the Father, in that the Father is Father^e, but the doctrines and teaching are the Father's. If then in respect to the doctrines and the teaching the Son is like the Father, then the Father according to them will be Father in name only, and the Son will not be an unvarying¹ Image, or rather will be seen to have no propriety at all or likeness of the Father; for what likeness or propriety has he who is so utterly different from the Father? for Paul taught like the Saviour, yet was not like Him in substance². Having then such notions, they speak falsely³; whereas the Son and the Father are one in such wise as has been said, and in such wise is the Son like the Father Himself and from Him, as we may see and understand son to be towards father, and as we may see the radiance towards the sun.

¹ ἀπα-
ράλλακ-
τος² κατ'
οὐσίαν
ἴσμοιος,
p. 210,
note e.
³ ψεύδον-
ται

4. Such then being the Son, therefore when the Son works, the Father is the Worker⁴, and the Son coming to the Saints, the Father is He who cometh in the Son^f, as He has promised

⁴ p. 406.

^e ὁ μὲν πατήρ, πατήρ ἐστι. And so, "In the Godhead only, ὁ πατήρ κυρίως ἐστὶ πατήρ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς κυρίως υἱός." Serap. i. 16. vid. the whole passage. He speaks of "receding from things generate, casting away human images, and ascending to the Father." sup. p. 153. and of men "not being in nature and truth benefactors," Almighty God being Himself the type and pattern. infr. pp. 427, 8. and note r. Vid. pp. 211, 214, 215. and p. 18, note o. p. 211, note f. p. 212, note g. And so S. Cyril, τὸ κυρίως τίκτον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ θεῖόν ἐστιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ μίμησιν Thesaur. p. 133. πατήρ κυρίως, ὅτι μὴ καὶ υἱός. ὡσπερ καὶ υἱὸς κυρίως, ὅτι μὴ καὶ πατήρ. Naz. Orat. 29, 5. vid. also 23, 6 fin. 25, 16. vid. also the whole of Basil. adv. Eun. ii. 23. "One must not say," he observes, "that these names properly and primarily, κυρίως καὶ πρώτως belong to men, and are given by us but by a figure καταχρηστικῶς (p. 335, note a.) to God. For our Lord Jesus Christ,

referring us back to the Origin of all and True Cause of beings, says, 'Call no one your father upon earth, for One is your Father, which is in heaven.'" He adds, that if He is properly and not metaphorically even our Father, (vid. p. 56, note k.) much more is He the πατήρ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν υἱοῦ. Vid. also Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 22, c. Eccl. Theol. i. 12. fin. ii. 6. Marcellus, on the other hand, said that our Lord was κυρίως λόγος, not κυρίως υἱός. ibid. ii. 10 fin. vid. sup. p. 307, note d.

^f And so ἐργαζομένον τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τὸν υἱόν. In illud Omn. l. d. Cum luce nobis prodeat, In Patre totus Filius, et totus in Verbo Pater. Hymn. Brev. in fer. 2. Ath. argues from this oneness of operation the oneness of substance. And thus S. Chrysostom on the text under review argues that if the Father and Son are one κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν, They are one also in οὐσία. in Joan. Hom. 61, 2, d. Tertulian in Prax. 22. and S. Epiphanius,

when He says, *I and My Father will come, and will make Our abode with him*; for in the Image is contemplated the Father, and in the Radiance is the Light. Therefore, as we said just now, when the Father gives grace and peace, the Son also gives it, as Paul signifies in every Epistle, writing, *Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ*. For one and the same grace is from the Father in the Son, as the light of the sun and of the radiance is one, and the sun's illumination is effected through the radiance; and so too when he prays for the Thessalonians, in saying, *Now God Himself even our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, may He direct our way unto you*, he has guarded the unity of the Father and of the Son. For he has not said, "May they direct," as if a double grace were given from two Sources, This and That, but *May He direct*, to shew that the Father gives it through the Son;—at which these irreligious ones will not blush, though they well might. For if there were no unity, nor the Word the proper Offspring of the Father's Substance, as the radiance of the light, but the Son were divided in nature from the Father, it were sufficient that the Father alone should give, since none of generate things is a partner with his Maker in His givings; but, as it is, such a mode of giving shews the oneness of the Father and the Son. No one, for instance, would pray to receive from God and the Angels^g, or from any other creature, nor would

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XXV.
John 14,
23.

1 Thess.
3, 11.

§. 12.

Hær. 57. p. 488. seem to say the same on the same text. vid. Lampe in loc. And so S. Athan. *τριάς ἀδιαίρετος τῆ φύσει, καὶ μία ταύτης ἢ ἐνέργεια*. Serap. i. 28, f. *ἐν θέλημα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ βούλημα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ φύσις μία*. In illud Omn. 5. Various passages of the Fathers to the same effect, (e. g. of S. Ambrose, *si unius voluntatis et operationis, unius est essentiae*, de Sp. ii. 12 fin. and of S. Basil, *ὡν μία ἐνέργεια, τούτων καὶ οὐσία μία*, of Greg. Nyss. and Cyril Alex.) are brought together in the Lateran Council. Concil. Hard. t. 3, p. 859, &c. The subject is treated at length by Petavius Trin. iv. 15.

^g Vid. Basil de Sp. S. c. 13. "There were men," says S. Chrysostom on Col. 2. "who said, We ought not to have access to God through Christ, but through Angels, for the former is beyond our power. Hence the Apostle every

where insists on his teaching concerning Christ, 'through the blood of the Cross,'" &c. And Theodoret on Col. 3, 17, says, "Following this rule, the Synod of Laodicea, with a view to cure this ancient disorder, passed a decree against the praying to Angels, and leaving our Lord Jesus Christ." "All supplication, prayer, intercession, and thanksgiving is to be addressed to the Supreme God, through the High Priest who is above all Angels, the Living Word and God . . . But Angels we may not fitly call upon, since we have not obtained a knowledge of them which is above men." Origen contr. Cels. v. 4, 5. vid. also for similar statements Voss. de Idololatr. i. 9. These extracts are made in illustration of the particular passage to which they are appended, not as if they contain the whole doctrine of Origen, Theodoret,

Disc. any one say, "God and the Angel may He give thee;" but
 III. from Father and the Son, because of Their oneness and
 the oneness¹ of Their giving. For through the Son is given
 what is given; and there is nothing but the Father operates
 it through the Son; for thus is grace secure to him who
 receives it.

5. And if the Patriarch Jacob, blessing his grandchildren
 Ephraim and Manasses, said, *God which fed me all my
 life long unto this day, the Angel which delivered me from
 all evil, bless the lads*^h, yet none of created and natural
 Angels did he join to God their Creator, nor rejecting God
 that fed him, did he from Angel ask the blessing on his
 grandsons; but in saying, *Who delivered me from all evil*, he
 shewed that it was no created Angel, but the Word of God,
 whom he joined to the Father in his prayer, through whom,
 whomsoever He will, God doth deliver. For knowing that
 He is also called the Father's *Angel of great Counsel*, he
 said that none other than He was the Giver of blessing, and
 Deliverer from evil. Nor was it that he desired a blessing
 for himself from God, but for his grandchildren from the
 Angel, but whom He Himself had besought saying, *I will
 not let Thee go except Thou bless me*, (for that was God, as he
 says himself, *I have seen God face to face*,) Him he prayed to
 bless also the sons of Joseph.

6. It is proper then to an Angel to minister at the
 command of God, and often does he go forth to cast out
 the Amorite, and is sent to guard the people in the way;
 but these are not his doings, but of God who commanded
 and sent him, whose also it is to deliver, whom He will
 deliver. Therefore it was no other than the Lord God
 Himself whom he had seen, who said to him, *And behold I
 am with thee, to guard thee in all the way whither thou*

or S. Chrysostom on the cultus angelorum. Of course they are not inconsistent with such texts as 1 Tim. 5, 21. The doctrine of the Gnostics, who worshipped Angels, is referred to supr. Orat. i. 56. p. 262, note f.

^h Vid. Scrap. i. 14. And on the doctrine vid. p. 120, note g. Infr. p. 421. he shews that his doctrine, when fully explained, does not differ from S.

Augustine, for he says, "what was seen was an Angel, but God spoke in him," i. e. sometimes the Son is called an Angel, but when an Angel was seen, it was not the Son; and if he called himself God, it was not he who spoke, but the Son was the unseen speaker. vid. Benedictine Monitum in Hil. Trin. iv. For passages vid. Tertull. de Præscr. p. 447, note f. O. T.

ghost; and it was no other than God whom he had seen, who kept Laban from his treachery, ordering him not to speak evil words to Jacob; and none other than God did he himself beseech, saying, *Rescue me from the hand of my brother Esau, for I fear him; for in conversation too with his wives he said, God hath not suffered Laban to injure me.* Therefore it was none other than God Himself that David too besought concerning his deliverance, *When I was in trouble, I called upon the Lord, and He heard me; deliver my soul, O Lord, from lying lips and from a deceitful tongue.* To Him also giving thanks he spoke the words of the Song in the seventeenth Psalm, in the day in which the Lord delivered him from the hand of all his enemies and from the hand of Saul, saying, *I will love Thee, O Lord my strength; the Lord is my strong rock and my defence and deliverer.* And Paul, after enduring many persecutions, to none other than God gave thanks, saying, *Out of them all the Lord delivered me; and He will deliver in whom we trust.* And none other than God blessed Abraham and Isaac; and Isaac praying for Jacob, said, *May God bless thee and increase thee and multiply thee, and thou shalt be for many companies of nations, and may He give thee the blessing of Abraham my father.*

Gen. 31,
14; 32,
11.

§. 13.
Ps. 120,
1. 2.

Ps. 18, 1.

vid.
2 Tim.
3, 11.
2 Cor. 1,
10.
Gen. 28,
3. Sept.

7. But if it belong to none other than God to bless and to deliver, and none other was the deliverer of Jacob than the Lord Himself, and Him that delivered him the Patriarch besought for his grandsons, evidently none other did he join to God in his prayer, than God's Word, whom therefore he called Angel, because it is He alone who reveals the Father. Which the Apostle also did when he said, *Grace unto you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.* For thus the blessing was secure, because of the Son's indivisibility¹ from the Father, and for that the grace given by Them is one and the same. For though the Father gives it, through the Son is the gift; and though the Son be said to vouchsafe it, it is the Father who supplies it through and in the Son; for *I thank my God, says the Apostle writing to the Corinthians, always on your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you in Christ Jesus.* And this one may see in the instance of light and radiance; for what the

¹ ἀδιαιρέτου

1 Cor. 1,
4.

Disc.
III.

light enlightens, that the radiance irradiates; and what the radiance irradiates, from the light is its enlightenment. So also when the Son is beheld, so is the Father, for He is the Father's radiance; and thus the Father and the Son are one.

§. 14.

8. But this is not so with things generate and creatures; for when the Father works, it is not that any Angel works, or any other creature; for none of these is an efficient cause¹, but they are of things which come to be; and moreover being separate and divided from the only God, and other in nature, and being works, they can neither work what God works, nor, as I said before, when God gives grace, can they give grace with Him. Nor, on seeing an Angel would a man say that he had seen the Father; for Angels, as it is written, are *ministering spirits sent forth to minister*, and are heralds of gifts given by Him through the Word to those who receive them. And the Angel on his appearance, himself confesses that he has been sent by his Lord², as Gabriel confessed in the case of Zacharias, and also in the case of Mary, Mother of God¹. And he who beholds a

¹ ποιητικὸν αἰτίον
p. 310,
note h.

Heb. 1,
14.

² δεσπότη
του

¹ τῆς θεοτόκου Μαρίας. vid. also infr. 29, 33. Orat. iv. 32. Incarn. c. Ar. 8, 22. supr. p. 244, note l. As to the history of this title, Theodoret, who from his party would rather be disinclined towards it, says that "*the most ancient (τῶν πάλαι καὶ πρόσκαι)* heralds of the orthodox faith taught to name and believe the Mother of the Lord θεοτόκον, according to the *Apostolical tradition*." Hæc. iv. 12. And John of Antioch, whose championship of Nestorius and quarrel with S. Cyril are well known writes to the former. "This title no ecclesiastical teacher has put aside; those who have used it are many and eminent, and those who have not used it have not attacked those who used it." Concil. Eph. part i. c. 25. (Labb.) And Alexander, the most obstinate or rather furious of all Nestorius's adherents, who died in banishment in Egypt, fully allows the ancient reception of the word, though only into popular use, from which came what he considers the doctrinal corruption. "That in festive solemnities, or in preaching and teaching, θεοτόκος should be unguardedly said by the orthodox without explanation, is no blame, because such statements were not dogmatic, nor said with evil meaning. But now after the corruption of the whole world, &c."

Lup. Ephes. Ep. 94. He adds that it, as well as ἀνθρωποτόκος, was used by "the great doctors of the Church." Socrates Hist. vii. 32. says that Origen, in the first tome of his Comment on the Romans, (vid. de la Rue in Rom. lib. i. 5. the original is lost,) treated largely of the word; which implies that it was already in use. "Interpreting," he says, "*how θεοτόκος is used*, he discussed the question at length." Constantine implies the same in a passage which divines, e. g. Pearson (On the Creed, notes on Art. 3.) have not dwelt upon, (or rather have apparently overlooked, in arguing from Ephrem ap. Phot. Cod. 228, p. 776. that the literal phrase "Mother of God" originated in S. Leo,) in which, in pagan language indeed and with a painful allusion, as it would seem, to heathen mythology, he says, "When He had to draw near to a body of this world, and to tarry on earth, the need so requiring, He contrived a sort of irregular birth of Himself, *νόθη* τινὰ γένεσιν; for without marriage was there conception, and childbirth, *εἰλεῖθια*, of a pure Virgin, and a maid the Mother of God, *θεοῦ μήτηρ κόρη*." ad Sanct. Coet. p. 480. The idea must have been familiar to Christians before it could thus be paralleled or represented. vid. notes on 29, 33 infr.

vision of Angels, knows that he has seen the Angel and not God. For Zacharias saw an Angel; and Esaias saw the Lord. Manoe, the father of Samson, saw an Angel; but Moses beheld God. Gideon saw an Angel, but to Abraham appeared God. And neither he who saw God, beheld an Angel, nor he who saw an Angel, considered that he saw God; for greatly, or rather wholly, do things by nature generate differ from God the Creator. But if at any time, when the Angel was seen, he who saw it heard God's voice, as took place at the bush; for *the Angel of the Lord was seen in a flame of fire out of the bush, and the Lord called Moses out of the bush, saying, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob*, yet was not the Angel the God of Abraham, but in the Angel God spoke. And what was seen was an Angel; but God spoke in him¹. For as He spoke to Moses in the pillar of a cloud in the tabernacle, so also God appears and speaks in Angels. So again to the son of Nave He spake by an Angel. But what God speaks, it is very plain He speaks through the Word, and not through another. And the Word, as being not separate from the Father, nor unlike² ἀνόμοιος and foreign to the Father's Substance, what He works, those are the Father's works, and His framing of all things is one with His; and what the Son gives, that is the Father's gift. And he who hath seen the Son, knows that, in seeing Him, he has seen, not Angel, nor one merely greater than Angels, nor in short any creature, but the Father Himself. And he who hears the Word, knows that he hears the Father; as he who is irradiated by the radiance, knows that he is enlightened by the sun.

vid. Ex.
3, 2-6.

¹ p. 418,
note h.

² ἀνόμοιος

9. For divine Scripture wishing us thus to understand the matter, has given such illustrations, as we have said above, from which we are able both to press the traitorous Jews, and to refute the allegation of Gentiles who maintain and think, on account of the Trinity, that we profess many gods^k. For, as the illustration shews, we do not introduce three Origins, or three Fathers, as the followers of Marcion and Manichæus; since we have not suggested the image of three suns, but sun

^k Serap. 1, 28 fin. Naz. Orat. 23, 8. Catech. 3. p. 481. Basil. Hom. 24 init. Nyssen. Orat.

Disc.
III.¹ τρόπον² infr. §.
64. Ep.
Æg. 14,
c.³ p. 423,
notes m
and n.⁴ ἕτερο-
ειδές⁵ ἕνα τῶν
πάντων
⁶ εἶδος,
kind or
face⁷ πολυει-
δοῦς

§. 16.

and radiance. And one is the light from the sun in the radiance; and so we know of but one origin; and the All-framing Word we profess to have no other manner¹ of godhead, than that of the Only God, because He is born from Him. Rather then will the Ario-maniacs with reason incur the charge of polytheism or else of atheism², because they idly talk of the Son as external and a creature, and again the Spirit as from nothing. For either they will say that the Word is not God; or saying that He is God³, because it is so written, but not proper to the Father's Substance, they will introduce many because of their difference of kind⁴; (unless forsooth they shall dare to say that by participation only, He, as all things else, is called God; though, if this be their sentiment, their irreligion is the same, since they consider the Word as one among all things⁵.) But let this never even come into our mind. For there is but one face⁶ of Godhead, which is also in the Word; and one God, the Father, existing by Himself according as He is above all, and appearing in the Son according as He pervades all things, and in the Spirit according as in Him He acts in all things through the Word¹. For thus we confess God to be one through the Trinity, and we say that it is much more religious than the godhead of the heretics with its many kinds⁷ and many parts, to entertain a belief of the One Godhead in Trinity.

10. For if it be not so, but the Word is a creature and a work out of nothing, either He is not True God, because He is Himself one of the creatures, or if they name Him God

¹ And so infr. "The Word is in the Father, and the Spirit is given from the Word." 25. "That Spirit is in us which is in the Word which is in the Father." *ibid.* "The Father in the Son taketh the oversight of all." 36 fin. "The sanctification which takes place from Father through Son in Holy Ghost." Serap. i. 20, b. *vid.* also *ibid.* 28, f. a. 30, a. 31, d. iii. 1, b. 5 *init.* et fin. Eulogius says, "The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father, having the Father as an Origin, and proceeding through the Son unto the creation." ap. Phot. cod. p. 865. Damascene speaks of the Holy Spirit as *δύναμις τοῦ πατρὸς προερχομένη καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἀναπαυομένην*, F. O. i. 7. and in the beginning of the ch.

says that "the Word must have Its Breath (Spirit) as our word is not without breath, though in our case the breath is distinct from the one substance." "The way to knowledge of God is from One Spirit through the One Son to the One Father." Basil. de Sp. S. 47, e. "We preach One God by One Son with the Holy Ghost." Cyr. Cat. xvi. 4. "The Father through the Son with the Holy Ghost bestows all things." *ibid.* 24. "All things have been made from Father through the Son in Holy Ghost." Pseudo-Dion. de Div. Nom. i. p. 403. "Through Son and in Spirit God made all things consist, and contains and preserves them." Pseudo-Athan. c. Sab. Greg. 10, e.

from regard for the Scriptures, they must of necessity say that there are two Gods^m, one Creator, the other creature, and must serve two Lords¹, one Ingenerate, and the other generate and a creature; and must have two faiths, one in the True God, and the other in one who is made and fashioned by themselves and called God. And it follows of necessity, in so great blindness, that, when they worship the Ingenerate, they renounce the generate, and when they come to the creature, they turn from the Creator. For they cannot see the One in the Other, because their natures and operations are foreign and distinct². And with such sentiments, they will certainly be going on to more gods, for this will be the essay³ of those who revolt from the One God. Wherefore then, when the Arians have these speculations and views, do they not rank themselves with the Gentiles? for they too, as these, worship the creature more than God the Creator of allⁿ; and though they shrink from the Gentile name, in order to deceive the unskilful, yet they secretly hold⁴ a like sentiment with them.

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¹ κύριοις,
masters

² p. 416,
note f.

³ ἐπιχείρημα, p. 2,
note d.

⁴ ὑποκρίνονται

11. For their subtle saying which they are accustomed to urge, "We say not two Ingenerates⁵," they plainly say to deceive the simple⁶; for in their very professing "We say not two Ingenerates," they imply two Gods, and these with different natures, one generate and one Ingenerate. And though the Greeks worship one Ingenerate and many generate, but these one Ingenerate and one generate, this is no difference from them; for the God whom they call generate is one out of many, and again the many gods of the Greeks have the same nature with this one, for both he and they are creatures. Wretched are they and the more for that

⁵ p. 224,
note a.
⁶ ἀκεραίων

^m vid. p. 118, note m. p. 63, note g. p. 150, note y. The Arians were in the dilemma of holding two gods or worshipping the creature, unless they denied to our Lord both divinity and worship. On the consequent attempt, especially of the Semi-Arians, to consider Our Lord neither as God nor a creature, vid. p. 10, note n. p. 224, note a. But "every substance," says S. Austin, "which is not God, is a creature, and which is not a creature, is God." de Trin. i. 6. And so S. Cyril, "We see God and creation and besides nothing; for whatever falls ex-

ternal to God's nature, is certainly generate; and whatever is clear of the definition of creation, is certainly within the definition of the Godhead." In Joan. p. 52. vid. also Naz. Orat. 31, 6. Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 31.

ⁿ vid. sup. p. 301, note c. Petavius gives a large collection of passages, de Trin. ii. 12. §. 5. from the Fathers in proof of the worship of Our Lord evidencing His Godhead. On the Arians as idolaters vid. sup. p. 191, note d. also Ep. Æg. 4, 13. and Adelp. 3 init. Serap. i. 29, d. Theodor. in Rom. 1, 25.

Disc.
III.¹ συγκα-
λινοται,
vid. Orat.i. 23, e. a.
ii. 1 init.Decr. 9
fin.Gent. 19,
c. cf.2 Pet. 2,
22.² θεοστυ-
γεις, infr.

41. Ath.

Hist. Tr.
p. 211.ref. 2.
John 5,
37.³ τὸ πα-
τρικὸν
εἶδος

their fault is blasphemy against Christ; for they have fallen from the truth, and are greater traitors than the Jews in denying the Christ, and they wallow¹ with the Gentiles, hateful² as they are to God, worshipping the creature and many deities.

12. For there is One God, and not many, and One is His Word, and not many; for the Word is God, and He alone has the Face^o of the Father³. Being then such, the Saviour Himself troubled the Jews with these words, *The Father Himself which hath sent Me, hath borne witness of Me; ye have neither heard His voice at any time nor seen His Face; and ye have not His Word abiding in you; for whom He hath sent, Him ye believe not.* Suitably has He joined the Word to the Face, to shew that the Word of God is Himself Image and Expression and Face of His Father; and that the Jews who did not receive Him who spoke to them, thereby did not receive the Word, which is the Face of God. This too it was that the Patriarch Jacob having seen, received a blessing from Him and the name of Israel instead of Jacob, as divine Scripture witnesses, saying, *And as he passed by the Face of God, the sun rose upon Him.* And This it was who said, *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father, and, I in the Father and the Father in Me, and, I and the Father are*

Gen. 32,
31.John 14,
9; 10, 30.

^o εἶδος, also in Gen. 32, 30, 31. Sept. where translated "face," E. T. though in John 5. "shape." vid. Justin Tryph. 126. and supr. p. 154. where vid. note e. for the meaning of the word. In p. 422. it was just now used for "kind." Athan. says, p. 154, "there is but one face of Godhead;" yet the word is used of the Son as synonymous with "image." It would seem as if there are a certain class of words, all expressive of the One Divine Substance, which admit of more appropriate application either ordinarily or under circumstances, to This or That Divine Person who is also that One Substance. Thus "Being" is more descriptive of the Father as the *πηγή θεότητος*, and He is said to be "the Being of the Son;" yet the Son is really the One Supreme Being also. On the other hand the word "form," *μορφή*, and "face," *εἶδος*, are rather descriptive of the Divine Substance in the Person of the Son, and He is called "the form" and "the face of the Father," yet

there is but one Form and Face of Divinity, who is at once Each of Three Persons; while "Spirit" is appropriated to the Third Person, though God is a Spirit. Thus again S. Hippolytus says *ἐκ [τοῦ πατρὸς] δύναμις λόγος*, yet shortly before, after mentioning the Two Persons, he adds, *δύναμιν δὲ μίαν*. contr. Noet. 7 and 11. And thus the word "Subsistence," *ὑπόστασις*, which expresses the One Divine Substance, has been found more appropriate to express that Substance viewed personally. Other words may be used correlatively of either Father or Son; thus the Father is the Life of the Son, the Son the Life of the Father; or, again, the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father. Others in common, as "the Father's Godhead is the Son's," *ἡ πατρικὴ νοῦ θεότης*, as indeed the word *οὐσία* itself. Other words on the contrary express the Substance in This or That Person only, as "Word," "Image," &c.

one; for thus God is One, and one the faith in the Father and Son; for, though the Word be God, the Lord our God is one Lord; for the Son is proper to that One, and inseparable according to the propriety and peculiarity¹ of His Substance.

СНАР.
XXV.

13. The Arians, however, not even thus abashed, reply, "Not as you say, but as we will²; for, whereas you have overthrown our former expedients³, we have invented a new one, and it is this:—So are the Son and the Father One, and so is the Father in the Son and the Son in the Father, as we too may become one in Him. For this is written in the Gospel according to John, and Christ desired it for us in these words, *Holy Father, keep through Thine own Name, those whom Thou hast given Me, that they may be one, as We are.* And shortly after; *Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on Me through their word; that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me. And the glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them, that they may be one, even as We are one; I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me.*" Then, as having found an evasion, these men of craft^p add, "If, as we become one in the Father, so also He and the Father are one, and thus He too is in the Father, how pretend you from His saying, *I and the Father are One*, and *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, that He is proper and like⁴ the Father's Substance? for it follows either that we too are proper to the Father's Substance, or He foreign to it, as we are foreign."

¹ οἰκειό-
τητα
§. 17.
² p. 414,
note a.
³ ἐπινοίας

John 17,
11.

Ibid.
20—23.

⁴ p. 210,
note e.
infr.
§. 67, d.

14. Thus they idly babble; but in this their perverseness⁵ I see nothing but unreasoning audacity and recklessness from the devil⁶, since it is saying after his pattern, "We will ascend to heaven, we will be like the Most High." For what is given to man by grace, this they would make equal to the Godhead of the Giver. Thus hearing that men are

⁵ κακονοία

⁶ διαβολι-
κήν. vid.
p. 410,
note a.

^p οἱ δόλοιοι, crafty as they are, also infr. 59, b. And so οἱ θεοστρυγεῖς. supr. 16. οἱ κακόφρονες. infr. 26, b. οἱ δέιλαιοι. ibid. d. οἱ παράφρονες. de Decr. 8, a. οἱ ἄθλοιοι. Orat. ii. 39 fin. οἱ δυσσεβεῖς. in illud Omn. 3 fin. οἱ θαυμαστοί. Ep. Aeg. 14, c. 16 init. οἱ πανούργοι. Ep. Aeg.

16, c. οἱ παράνομοι. Ep. Aeg. 16, d οἱ ἄτιμοι. Serap. i. 15, f. οἱ ἀνόητοι. Ora. ii. 11, c. οἱ μηδὲν ἀληθεύοντες. Hist. Ar. 7, b. οἱ ἀπάνθρωποι καὶ μισόκαλοι. ibid. e. οἱ ὑποκτοι. ibid. 9, d. οἱ τολμηροί. ibid. 20, c. οἱ ἄφρονες. ibid. 47, d. &c. &c.

Disc. III. called sons, they thought themselves equal to the True Son
¹ vid. by nature such¹. And now again hearing from the Saviour
supr. *that they may be one as We are*, they deceive themselves,
p. 56, and are arrogant enough to think that they may be such as
note k. the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son; not
John 8, considering the fall of their *father the devil*², which happened
44. upon such an imagination. If then, as we have many times
² p. 386, the Word of God is the same with us, and nothing differs
r. 1. from us except in time, let Him be like us, and have the same
§. 18. place³ with the Father as we have; nor let Him be called
³ *χώραν* Only-begotten, nor Only Word or Wisdom of the Father;
but let the same name be of common application to all us
who are like Him. For it is right, that they who have one
nature, should have their name in common, though they
differ from each other in point of time. For Adam was a
man, and Paul a man, and he who is begotten at this day is
a man, and time is not that which alters the nature of the
race⁴. If then the Word also differs from us only in time,
then we must be as He. But in truth neither we are Word
or Wisdom, nor is He creature or work; else why are we all
sprung from one, and He the Only Word? but though it be
suitable in them thus to speak, in us at least it is unsuitable
to entertain their blasphemies. And yet, needless⁵ though it
be to refine upon⁹ these passages, considering their so clear
and religious sense, and our own orthodox belief, yet that
their religion may be shewn here also, come let us shortly,
as we have received from the fathers⁶, expose their hetero-
doxy from the passage in question.

15. It is a custom⁷ with divine Scripture, to take the
things of nature as images and illustrations for mankind;
and this it does, that from these physical objects the moral
impulses⁸ of man may be explained; and thus their conduct
shewn to be either bad or righteous. For instance, in the
case of the bad, as when it charges, *Be ye not like to horse
and mule which have no understanding*. Or as when it
says, complaining of those who have become such, *Man,*

⁴ supr.
p. 16
init.
p. 218,
note a.

⁵ vid.
Ath.
Hist. Tr.
p. 292,
note n.

⁶ infr. §.
58, note

⁷ p. 355,
note c.
Orat. iv.
33 init.

⁸ τὰ ἐκ
προαιρέ-
σεως κί-
νήματα

Ps. 32,
10;
49, 20.

⁹ περιεργάζεσθαι. vid. p. 328, note k.
p. 386, r. 5. p. 399, r. 4. infr. 43 init.
Orat. iv. 33 init. Serap. i. 15 fin. 17, d.
18, e. περιεργα in Acts 19, 19. is
generally interpreted of magic, though

it is otherwise explained as embracing
various kinds of bad books, in Ortlob.
Dissert. ap. Thesaur. Nov. Theol.-Phil.
in N. T. t. 2.

being in honour, hath no understanding, but is compared unto the beasts that perish. And again, *They were as fed horses in the morning.* And the Saviour to expose Herod said, *Tell that fox*; but, on the other hand, charged His disciples, *Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves.* And He said this, not that we may become in nature beasts of burden, or become serpents and doves; for He hath not so made us Himself, and therefore nature does not allow of it; but that we might eschew the irrational motions of the one, and being aware of the wisdom of that other animal, might not be deceived by it, and might take on us the meekness of the dove. Again, taking patterns for man from divine subjects, the Saviour says; *Be ye merciful, as your Father which is in heaven is merciful*; and, *Be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect.* And He said this too, not that we might become such as the Father; for to become, as the Father, is impossible for us creatures, who have been brought to be out of nothing; but as He charged us, *Be ye not like to the horse*, not lest we should become as draught animals, but that we ought not imitate their want of reason, so, not that we might become as God, did He say, *Be ye merciful as your Father*, but that looking at His beneficent acts, what we do well, we might do, not for men's sake, but for His sake, so that from Him and not from men we may have the reward. For as, although there be one Son by nature, True and Only-begotten, we too become sons, not as He in nature and truth, but according to the grace of Him that calleth, and though we are men from the earth, are yet called gods¹, not as the True God or His Word, but as has pleased God who has given us that grace; so also, as God do we become merciful, not by being made equal to God, nor becoming in nature and truth benefactors, (for it is not our gift² to benefit but belongs to God,) but in order that what has accrued to us from God Himself by grace, these things we may impart to others, without making distinctions, but largely towards all extending our kind service. For only in this way can we any how become imitators, in no other, when we minister to others what comes from Him.

16. And as we put a fair and orthodox³ sense upon these

CHAP.
XXV.
Jer. 5, 8.

Luke 13,
32.
Matt. 10,
16.

§. 19.
Luke 6,
36.
Matt. 5,
48.

15
¹ θεολ,
p. 433,
r. 1.

² εὐερεμα

³ p. 341,
note i.

DISC.
III.1 John
5, 20.John 1,
12.

Ib. 14, 6.

Ib. 17, 17.

¹ ἐνάρετοι
σο πανά-
ρετος

Clem.

Rom.

Ep. i.

§. 20.

² τύπον³ τυπωθή-
ναι⁴ pp. 313,
349.

texts, such again is the sense of the passage in John. For he does not say, that, as the Son is in the Father, such we must become:—whence could it be? when He is God's Word and Wisdom, and we were fashioned out of the earth, and He is by nature and substance Word and true God, (for thus speaks John, *We know that the Son of God is come, and He hath given us an understanding to know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is True, even in His Son Jesus Christ; this is the true God and eternal life;*) and we are made sons through Him by adoption and grace, as partaking of His Spirit, (for *as many as received Him*, he says, *to them gave He power to become children of God, even to them that believe on His Name*,) and therefore also He is the Truth, (saying, *I am the Truth*, and in His address to His Father, *He said, Sanctify them through Thy Truth, Thy Word is Truth*;) but we by imitation^r become virtuous¹ and sons:—therefore not that we might become such as He, did He say *that they may be one as We are*; but that as He, being the Word, is in His proper Father, so that we too, taking an exemplar² and looking at Him, might become one towards each other in concord and oneness of spirit, nor be at variance as the Corinthians, but mind the same thing, as those five thousand in the Acts, who were as one. For it is as *sons*, not as the Son; as *gods*, not as He Himself; and not as the Father, but *merciful as the Father*. And, as has been said, by so becoming one, as the Father and the Son, we shall be such, not as the Father is by nature in the Son and the Son in the Father, but according to our own nature, and as it is possible for us thence to be moulded³ and to learn how we ought to be one, just as we learned also to be merciful. For like things are naturally one with like; thus all flesh is ranked together in kind⁴; but the Word is unlike us and like the Father.^e And therefore, while He is in nature and truth one with His own Father, we, as being

^r κατὰ μίμησιν. Clem. Alex. τῶν εὐκόνων τὰς μὲν ἐκτροπομένους, τὰς δὲ μιμουμένους. Pædag. i. 3. p. 102. ed. Pott. μίμησει τοῦ νοῦς ἐκείνου. Naz. Ep. 102. p. 95. (Ed. Ben.) ut exemplum sequerentur imitando. Leo in various places, supr. p. 357, note e. ut imitatores operum, factorum, sermonum, &c. Iren. Hæc. v. l. exemplum verum et adju-

torium. August. Serm. 101, 6. mediator non solum per adjutorium, verum etiam per exemplum. August. Trin. iv. 17. also ix. 21. and Eusebius, though with an heretical meaning, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μίμησιν. Eccl. Theol. iii. 19, a. For inward grace as opposed to teaching, vid. supr. p. 360, note g. and p. 393, note e.

of one kind¹ with each other, (for from one were all made, and one is the nature of all men,) become one with each other in good disposition², having as our copy³ the Son's natural unity with the Father. For as He taught us meekness from Himself, saying, *Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart*, not that we may become equal to Him, which is impossible, but that looking towards Him, we may remain meek continually, so also here, wishing that our good disposition towards each other should be true and firm and indissoluble, from Himself taking the pattern, He says, *that they may be one as We are*, whose oneness is indivisible⁴; that is, that they learning from us of that indivisible Nature, may preserve in like manner agreement one with another. And this imitation of things which are in nature is especially safe for man, as has been said; for, since they remain and never change, whereas the conduct of men is very changeable, one may look to what is unchangeable by nature, and avoid what is bad and remodel⁵ himself on what is best.

CHAP.
XXV.

¹ ὁμογενεῖς, p. 260, r. 1.

Matt. 11, 29.

² διαθέσει, p. 4, note i. Ep. ad Mon. init.

Hipp. c. Noet. 7.

³ ὑπογραμμῶν
⁴ ἀδιαιρέτος

⁵ ἀναρτοποιῶν

17. And for this reason also the words *that they may be one in Us*, have an orthodox sense. If, for instance, it were possible for us to become as the Son in the Father, the words ought to run, "that they may be one in Thee," as the Son is in the Father; but, as it is, He has not said this; but by saying *in Us* He has pointed out the distance and difference; that He indeed is Only in the Only Father, as Only Word and Wisdom; but we in the Son, and through Him in the Father. And thus speaking, He meant this only, "By Our unity may they also be so one with each other, as We are one in nature and truth; for otherwise they could not be one, except by learning unity in Us." And that *in Us* has this signification, we may learn from Paul, who says, *These things I have in a figure transferred to myself and to Apollos, that ye may learn in us not to be puffed up above that is written.* The words *in Us* then, are not "in the Father," as the Son is in Him; but imply an example and image, instead of saying, "Let them learn of Us." For as Paul to the Corinthians, so is the oneness of the Son and the Father a pattern³ and lesson to all, by which they may learn, looking to that natural unity of the Father and the Son, how they themselves ought to be one in spirit towards each other. Or if it needs to account for the phrase otherwise, the words

§. 21.

16.

1 Cor. 4, 6.

Disc. III. *in Us* may mean the same as saying, that in the power of the Father and the Son they may be one, speaking the same things; for without God this is impossible. And this mode of speech also we may find in the divine writings, as *In God will we do great acts*; and *In God I shall leap over the wall*; and *In Thee will we tread down our enemies*^s. Therefore it is plain, that in the name of Father and Son we shall be able, becoming one, to hold firm the bond of charity.

18. For, dwelling still on the same thought, the Lord says, *And the glory which Thou gavest Me, I have given to them, that they may be one as We are one*. Suitably has He here too said, not, “that they may be in Thee as I am, but as *We are*”; now he who says *as*^t, signifies not identity¹, but an image and example of the matter in hand. The Word then has the real and true identity of nature with the Father; but to us it is given to imitate it, as has been said; for He immediately adds, *I in them and Thou in Me; that they may be made perfect in one*. Here at length the Lord asks something greater and more perfect for us; for it is plain that in us the Word came to be², for He has put on our body. *And Thou Father in Me*; “for I am Thy Word, and since Thou art in Me, because I am Thy Word, and I in them because of the body, and because of Thee the salvation of men is perfected in Me, therefore I ask that they also may become one, according to the body that is in Me and according to its perfection; that they too may become perfect, having oneness with It, and having become one in It³; that, as if all were carried by Me, all may be one body and one spirit, and may grow up unto a perfect man.” For we all, partaking of the Same, become one body, having the one Lord in ourselves. The passage then having this meaning, still more plainly is refuted the heterodoxy⁴ of Christ’s enemies. I repeat it; if He had said simply and absolutely⁵, “that they may be one in Thee,” or “that they and I may be one in Thee,” God’s enemies had had some plea, though a shameless one; but in fact He has not spoken simply, but, *As Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee, that they may be all one*.

^s vid. Olear. de Styl. N. T. p. 4. (ed. 1702.)

^t This remark which comes in abruptly is pursued presently, vid. pp. 431, 432.

¹ ταῦτό-
τητα.
§. 22.

² γέγονεν
ἐν ἡμῖν,
p. 57, r. 1.

³ εἰς αὐτό
vid. Eph.
4, 13.

⁴ ἄλλο-
δοξία
⁵ ἀπολε-
λυμένως,
supr. p.
370,
note 1.

19. Moreover, using the word *as*, He signifies those who become distantly as He is in the Father; distantly not in place but in nature; for in place nothing is far from God^u, but in nature only all things are far from Him. And, as I said before, whoso uses the particle *as* implies, not identity, nor equality, but a pattern of the matter in question, viewed in a certain respect^x. Indeed we may learn also from our Saviour Himself, when He says, *For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.* For Jonas was not as the Saviour, nor did Jonas go down to hell; nor was the whale hell; nor did Jonas, when swallowed up, bring up those who had before been swallowed by the whale, but he alone came forth when the whale was bidden. Therefore there is no identity nor equality signified in the term *as*, but one thing and another; and it shews a certain kind^y of

§. 23.
Matt. 12,
40.

^u vid. p. 18, note n. which is explained by the present passage. When Ath. there says, "without all in nature," he must mean as here "far from all things in nature." He says here distinctly "in place nothing is far from God." S. Clement. loc. cit. gives the same explanation, as there noticed. It is observable that the contr. Sab. Greg. (which the Benedictines consider not Athan.'s.) speaks as Athan. supr. p. 18. "not by being co-extensive with all things, does God fill all; for this belongs to bodies, as air; but He comprehends all as a power, for He is an incorporeal, invisible power, not encircling, not encircled." 10. Eusebius says the same thing, Deum circumdat nihil, circumdat Deus omnia non corporaliter; virtute enim incorporali adest omnibus, &c. de Incorpor. i. init. ap. Sirm. Op. p. 68. vid. S. Ambros. Quomodo creatura in Deo esse potest, &c. de Fid. i. 106. and supr. p. 399, note b.

^x vid. Glass. Phil. Sacr. iii. 5. can. 27. and Dettmars de Theol. Orig. ap. Lump. Hist. Patr. t. 10, p. 212. Vid. also supr. p. 359, note f.

^y *ὑμοιότητά πως*. and so at the end of 22. *κατά τι θεωρούμενον*. "Even when the analogy is solid and well-founded, we are liable to fall into error, if we suppose it to extend farther than it really does . . . Thus because a just analogy has been discerned between the metropolis of a country, and the

heart in the animal body, it has been sometimes contended that its increased size is a disease, that it may impede some of its most important functions, or even be the means of its dissolution." Copleston on Predestination, p. 129. Shortly before the author says, "A remarkable example of this kind is that argument of Toplady against Freewill, who, after quoting the text, 'Ye also as lively stones are built up a spiritual house,' triumphantly exclaims, 'This is giving Free-will a stab under the fifth rib, for can stones hew themselves, and build themselves into a regular house?'" p. 126. The principle here laid down, in accordance with S. Athan., of course *admits* of being made an excuse for denying the orthodox meaning of "Word, Wisdom, &c." under pretence that the figurative terms are not confined by the Church within their proper limits; but here the question is about the *matter of fact*, which interpretation is right, the Church's or the objector's. Thus a later writer says, "The most important words of the N. T. have not only received an indelibly false stamp from the hands of the old Schoolmen, but those words having, since the Reformation, become common property in the language of the country, are, as it were, thickly incrustured with the most vague, incorrect, and vulgar notions . . . Any word . . . if habitually repeated in connexion with

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III.

parallel in the case of Jonas, on account of the three days. In like manner then we too when the Lord says *as*, neither become as the Son in the Father, nor as the Father is in the Son. For we become one as the Father and the Son in mind and agreement¹ of spirit, and the Saviour will be as Jonas in the earth; but as the Saviour is not Jonas, nor, as he was swallowed up, so did the Saviour descend into hell, but it is but a parallel², in like manner, if we too become one, as the Son in the Father, we shall not be as the Son, nor equal to Him; for He and we are but parallel². For on this account is the word *as* applied to us; since things differing from others in nature, become as they, when viewed in a certain relation³.

¹ συμφωνία,
p. 414,
note b.
² ἕλλο
καὶ ἄλλο

³ Cyril in
Joan.
p. 227,
&c.

20. Wherefore the Son Himself, simply and without any condition is in the Father; for this attribute He has by nature; but for us, to whom it is not natural, there is needed an image and example, that He may say of us, *As Thou in Me, and I in Thee*. "And when they shall be so perfected," He says, "then the world knows that Thou hast sent Me, for unless I had come and borne this their body, no one of them had been perfected; but one and all had remained corruptible⁴. Work Thou then in them, O Father; and as Thou hast given to Me to bear this, grant to them Thy Spirit, that they too in It may become one, and may be perfected in Me. For their perfecting shews that Thy Word has sojourned among them; and the world seeing them perfect and full of God⁵, will believe altogether that Thou hast sent Me, and I have sojourned here. For whence is this their perfecting, but that I, Thy Word, having borne their body, and become man, have perfected the work, which Thou gavest Me, O Father? And the work is perfected, because men, redeemed

⁴ p. 374,
note t.

⁵ θεοφο-
ρουμένους
p. 380,
note h.

certain notions, will appear to reject all other significations, as it were, by a natural power." Heresy and Orthod. pp. 21, 47. Elsewhere he speaks of words "which were used in a language now dead to represent objects . . . which are now supposed to express *figuratively* something spiritual and quite beyond the knowledge and comprehension of man." p. 96. Of course Ath. assumes that, *since* the figures and parallels given us in Scripture have but a partial application, *therefore* there is given us also an interpreter to apply them.

² Here too the writer quoted in the

beginning of the foregoing note, follows S. Athanasius: "Analogy does not mean the similarity of two things, but the similarity or sameness of two relations . . . Things most unlike and discordant in their nature may be strictly analogous to one another. Thus a certain *proposition* may be called the *basis* of a system . . . it serves a similar *office* and *purpose* . . . the system *rests* upon it; it is *useless* to proceed with the argument till this is well established: if this were *removed*, the system must fall." On Predest. pp. 122, 3.

from sin, no longer remain dead; but being made gods¹, have in each other, by looking at Me, the bond of charity².”

CHAP.
XXV.

¹ p. 432,
r. 4.

21. We then, by way of giving a rude³ view of the expressions in this passage, have been led into many words; but blessed John in his Epistle will shew the sense of the words, concisely and much more perfectly than we can. And he will both disprove the interpretation of these irreligious men, and will teach how we become in God and God in us; and how again we become One in Him, and how far the Son differs in nature from us, and will stop the Arians from any longer thinking that they shall be as the Son, lest they hear it said to them, *Thou art a man and not God*, and, *Stretch not thyself, being poor, beside the rich*. John then thus writes;

§. 24.
² σύνδεσ-
μον τῆς
ἀγάπης.
21. circ.
fin.
³ ἀπλού-
στερον

Hereby know we that we dwell in Him and He in us, because He hath given us of His Spirit. Therefore because of the grace of the Spirit which has been given to us, in Him we come to be, and He in us⁴; and since it is the Spirit of God, therefore through His becoming in us, reasonably are we, as having the Spirit, considered to be in God, and thus is God in us. Not then as the Son in the Father, so also we become in the Father; for the Son does not merely partake the Spirit, that therefore He too may be in the Father; nor does He receive the Spirit, but rather He supplies It Himself to all; and the Spirit does not unite the Word to the Father, but rather the Spirit receives from the Word^a. And the Son is in the Father, as His proper Word and Radiance; but we, apart from the Spirit, are strange and distant from God, and by the participation of the Spirit we are knit into the Godhead; so that our being in the Father is not ours, but is the Spirit's which is in us and abides in us, while by the true confession we preserve It in us, John again saying, *Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him and he in God*.

Ez. 28, 2.
Prov.
23, 4.
1 John 4,
13.

⁴ p. 430,
r. 2.

1 John 4,
15.

22. What then is our likeness and equality to the Son? rather, are not the Arians confuted on every side? and especially by John, that the Son is in the Father in one way, and we become in Him in another, and that neither we shall ever be as He, nor is the Word as we; except they shall dare, as

^a vid. the end of this section and 25 Cat. xvi. 24. Epiph. Ancor. 67 init. init. supr. pp. 202, 3. also Cyril Hier. Cyril in Joan. pp. 929, 930.

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III.

commonly, so now to say, that the Son also by participation of the Spirit and by improvement of conduct^b became Himself also in the Father. But here again is an excess of irreligion, even in admitting the thought. For He, as has been said, gives to the Spirit, and whatever the Spirit hath, He hath from¹ the Word. The Saviour, then, saying of us, *As Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they too may be one in Us*, does not signify that we were to have identity with Him; for this was shewn from the instance of Jonas; but it is a request to the Father, as John has written, that the Spirit should be vouchsafed through Him to those who believe, through whom we are found to be in God, and in this respect to be united in Him. For since the Word is in the Father, and the Spirit is given from² the Word, He wills that we should receive the Spirit, that, when we receive It, thus having the Spirit of the Word which is in the Father, we too may be found on account of the Spirit to become One in the Word, and through Him in the Father.

23. And if He say, *as we*, this again is only a request that such grace of the Spirit as is given to the disciples may be without failure or revocation³. For what the Word has in the way of nature⁴, as I said, in the Father, that He wishes to be given to us through the Spirit irrevocably; which the Apostle knowing, said, *Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? for the gifts of God and grace of His calling are without repentance*. It is the Spirit then which is in God, and not we viewed in our own selves; and as we are sons and gods⁵ because of the Word in us⁶, so we shall be in the Son and in the Father, and we shall be accounted⁷ to have become one in Son and in Father, because that that Spirit is in us, which is in the Word which is in the Father. When then a man falls from the Spirit for any wickedness, if he repent upon his fall, the grace remains irrevocably to such as are willing⁸; otherwise he who has fallen is no longer in God, (because that Holy Spirit and Paraclete which is in God has deserted him,) but the sinner shall be in him to whom he has subjected himself, as took place in Saul's instance; for the Spirit of God departed from him and an evil spirit afflicted him.

^b βελτιώσει πράξεως, and so ad Afros. it is rather some external advance.
τρόπων βελτιώσις. 8. Supr. pp. 234, 242.

§. 25.
¹ παρὰ,
p. 411,
r. 1.

² ἐκ

³ p. 372,
r. 1.

⁴ κατὰ
φύσιν,
supr.
p. 56,
note k.
Rom. 8,
35.

vid. 11,
29.

⁵ θεοί,
p. 380,
note h.

⁶ p. 366,
note c.

⁷ νομισθη-
σόμεθα

⁸ supr.
p. 234.

1 Kings
16, 14.

God's enemies hearing this ought to be henceforth abashed, and no longer to feign themselves equal to God. But they neither understand (for *the irreligious*, he saith, *does not understand knowledge*) nor endure religious words, but find them heavy even to hear.

CHAP.
XXV.

Prov.
29, 7.
ροει, Ath.
συνήσει,
Sept.

CHAPTER XXVI.

INTRODUCTORY TO TEXTS FROM THE GOSPELS ON THE INCARNATION.

Enumeration of texts still to be explained. Arians compared to the Jews.

We must recur to the *Regula Fidei*. Our Lord did not come into, but became, man, and therefore had the acts and affections of the flesh. The same works divine and human. Thus the flesh was purified; and men were made immortal. Reference to 1 Pet. iv. 1.

Disc.
III.

§. 26.

¹ πατρι-
κῆς θεό-
τητος,
p. 400,
note d.

² ὁμοιος
κατ' οὐ-
σίαν

Mat. 28,

18.

John 5,

22.

John 3,

35 36.

Mat. 11,

27.

John 6,

37.

³ infr. §§.

35—41.

1. FOR behold, as if not wearied in their words of irreligion, but with hardened Pharaoh, while they hear and see the Saviour's human attributes in the Gospels^a, they have utterly forgotten, like Samosatene, the Son's paternal Godhead¹, and with arrogant and audacious tongue they say, "How can the Son be from the Father by nature, and be like Him in substance², who says, *All power is given unto Me*; and *the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son*; and *The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hand*; *he that believeth in the Son hath everlasting life*; and again, *All things are delivered unto Me of My Father, and no one knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him*; and again, *All that the Father hath given unto Me, shall come to Me*³." On this they observe, "If He was, as ye say, Son by nature, He had no need to receive, but He had by nature as a Son."

John 12,
27. 28.

2. "Or how can He be the natural and true Power of the Father, who near upon the season of the passion says, *Now is My soul troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save Me from this hour; but for this came I unto this hour. Father, glorify Thy Name. Then came there a voice from heaven,*

^a This Oration alone, and this entirely, treats of texts from the Gospels; hitherto from the Gospel according to St. John, and now chiefly from the first three. From the subject of these portions of Scripture, it follows that the

objections which remain chiefly relate to our Lord's economy for us. Hence they lead Athan. to treat more distinctly of the doctrine of the Incarnation, and to anticipate a refutation of both Nestorius and Eutyches.

saying, *I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again.* And He said the same another time; *Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me*; and *When Jesus had thus said, He was troubled in spirit and testified and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray Me*¹." Then these perverse² men argue; "If He were Power, He had not feared, but rather He had supplied power to others."

CHAP. XXVI.
 Mat. 26, 39.
 John 13, 21.
 1 infr. §§. 53—56.
 2 κακόφρωνες

3. Further they say; "If He were by nature the true and proper Wisdom of the Father, how is it written, *And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man*³? In like manner, when He had come into the parts of Cæsarea Philippi, He asked the disciples whom men said that He was; and when He was at Bethany He asked where Lazarus lay; and He said besides to His disciples, *How many loaves have ye*⁴? How then," say they, "is He Wisdom, who increased in wisdom, and was ignorant of what He asked of others?"

Luke 2, 52.
 3 infr. §§. 50—53.
 Mat. 16, 13.
 John 11, 34.
 Mark 6, 38.
 4 infr. §. 27.

4. This too they urge; "How can He be the proper Word of the Father, without whom the Father never was, through whom He makes all things, as ye think, who said upon the Cross, *My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me*? and before that had prayed, *Glorify Thy Name*, and, *O Father, glorify Thou Me with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was*. And He used to pray in the deserts and charge His disciples to pray lest they should enter into temptation; and, *The spirit indeed is willing, He said, but the flesh is weak*. And, *Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, nor the Angels, neither the Son*⁵." Upon this again say the miserable men, "If the Son were, according to your interpretation⁶, eternally existent with God, He had not been ignorant of the day, but had known as Word; nor had been forsaken as being co-existent; nor had asked to receive glory, as having it in the Father; nor would have prayed at all; for, being the Word, He had needed nothing; but since He is a creature and one of things generate, therefore He thus spoke, and needed what He had not; for it is proper to creatures to require and to need what they have not."

Mat. 27, 46.
 John 12, 28; 17, 5.
 Mat. 26, 41.
 Mark 13, 32.
 5 infr. §§. 42—50.
 6 διάνοιαν, ii. 44, a. 53, c. iv. 17, d. &c.

5. This then is what the irreligious men allege in their discourses; and if they thus argue, they might consistently speak yet more daringly; "Why in the first instance did the

§. 27.

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Word become flesh?" and they might add; "For how could He, being God, become man?" or, "How could the Immaterial bear a body?" or they might speak with Caiaphas still more Judaically, "Wherefore at all, did Christ, being a man, make Himself God¹?" for this and the like the Jews then muttered when they saw, and now the Ario-maniacs disbelieve when they read, and have fallen away into blasphemies. If then a man should carefully parallel the words of these and those, he will of a certainty find them both arriving at the same unbelief, and the daring of their irreligion equal, and their dispute with us a common one. For the Jews said; "How, being a man, can He be God?" And the Arians, "If He were very God, from God, how could He become man?" And the Jews were offended then and mocked, saying, "Had he been Son of God, He had not endured the Cross;" and the Arians standing over against them, urge upon us, "How dare ye say that He is the Word proper to the Father's Substance, who had a body, so as to endure all this?" Next, while the Jews sought to kill the Lord, because He said that God was His proper Father, and made Himself equal to Him, as working what the Father works, the Arians also, not only have learned to deny, both that He is equal to God and that God is the proper and natural Father of the Word, but those who hold this they seek to kill. Again, whereas the Jews said, "*Is not this the Son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? how then is it that He saith, Before Abraham was, I am, and I came down from heaven?*" the Arians on the other hand make response^b and say conformably, "How can He be Word or God who slept as man, and wept, and inquired?" Thus both parties deny the Eternity and Godhead of the Word in consequence of those human attributes which the Saviour took on Him by reason of that flesh which He bore.

§. 28. 6. Extravagance then like this being Judaic, and Judaic after the mind of Judas the traitor, let them openly confess themselves scholars of Caiaphas and Herod, instead of cloking Judaism with the name of Christianity, and let them deny outright, as we have said before, the Saviour's appearance in the flesh, for this doctrine is akin² to their heresy; or if they

¹ pp. 2.
fin. 183.

John 6,
42; 8, 58.

² οἴκειον

^b ἐπακούουσιν. Montfaucon (Onomas- word. vid. Apol. contr. Ar. 88. (O. T. ticon in t. 2 fin.) so interprets this p. 122, note k.)

fear openly to Judaize and be circumcised¹, from servility towards Constantius and for their sake whom they have beguiled, then let them not say what the Jews say; for if they disown the name, let them in fairness renounce the doctrine². For we are Christians, O Arians, Christians we; ² φρόνημα our privilege is it well to know the Gospels concerning the Saviour, and neither with Jews to stone Him, if we hear of His Godhead and Eternity, nor with you to stumble at such lowly sayings as He may speak for our sakes as man. If then you would become Christians³, put off Arius's madness, and cleanse⁴ with the words of religion those ears of yours which blaspheming has defiled; knowing that, by ceasing to be Arians, you will cease also from the malevolence of the present Jews. Then at once will truth shine on you out of darkness, and ye will no longer reproach us with holding two Eternals^c, but ye will yourselves acknowledge that the Lord is God's true Son by nature, and not as merely⁵ eternal^d, but revealed as co-existing in the Father's eternity. For there are things called eternal of which He is Framer; for in the twenty-third Psalm it is written, *Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors*; and it is plain that through Him

CHAP.
XXVI.
p 235.

³ Hist.
Tr. O. T.
p. 203,
note b.
⁴ p. 6. r. 1.
c. Sab.
Greg. 6
fin.

⁵ ἀπλῶς

Ps. 24, 7.

^c Vid. supr. p. 43, d. The peculiarity of the Catholic doctrine, as contrasted with the heresies on the subject of the Trinity, is that it professes a mystery. It involves, not merely a contradiction in the terms used, which would be little, for we might solve it by assigning different senses to the same word, or by adding some limitation, (e. g. if it were said that Satan was an Angel and not an Angel, or man was mortal and immortal,) but an incongruity in the ideas which it introduces. Not indeed ideas directly and wholly contradictory of each other, as "circulus quadratus," but such as are partially or indirectly antagonist, as perhaps "montes sine valle." To say that the Father is wholly and absolutely the one infinitely-simple God, and then that the Son is also, and yet that the Father is eternally distinct from the Son, is to propose ideas which we cannot harmonize together; and our reason is reconciled to this state of the case only by the consideration (though fully by means of it) that no idea of ours can embrace the simple truth, while we are obliged to separate it into portions, and view it in aspects, and adumbrate it under many

ideas, if we are to make any approximation towards it at all; as in mathematics we approximate to a circle by means of a polygon, great as is the dissimilarity between the two figures.

^d οὐχ ἀπλῶς αἰδιος i. e. αἰδιος is not one of our Lord's highest titles, for things have it which the Son Himself has created, and whom of course He precedes. Instead of two αἰδια then, as the Arians say, there are many αἰδια; and our Lord's high title is not this, but that He is "the Son," and thereby eternal in the Father's eternity, or there was not ever when He was not, and "Image" and "Radiance." The same line of thought is implied throughout his proof of our Lord's eternity in Orat. i. ch. 4—6. pp. 195—210. This is worth remarking, as constituting a special distinction between ancient and modern Scripture proofs of the doctrine, and as coinciding with what was said supr. p. 283, note c. p. 341, note i. His mode of proof is still more clearly brought by what he proceeds to say about the σκοπὸς, or general bearing or drift of the Christian faith, and its availableness as a κανὼν or rule of interpretation.

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these things were made ; but if even of things everlasting He is the Framer, who of us shall be able henceforth to dispute that He is anterior to those things eternal, and in consequence, is proved to be Lord not so much from His eternity, as in that He is God's Son ; for being the Son, He is inseparable¹ from the Father, and never was it when He was not, but He was always ; and being the Father's Image and Radiance, He has the Father's eternity.

¹ ἀχώ-
ριστος

7. Now what has been briefly said above may suffice to shew their misunderstanding of the passages they then alleged ; and that of what they now allege from the Gospels

² δίδοναι,
p. 437,
r. 6.

³ σκωπῶς,
vid. 58
fn.

⁴ κανόνι

they certainly give an unsound interpretation², we may easily see, if we now consider the drift³ of that faith which we Christians hold, and using it as a rule⁴, apply ourselves, as the Apostle teaches, to the reading of inspired Scripture. For Christ's enemies, being ignorant of this drift, have wandered from the way of truth, and have stumbled on a stone of

§. 29.

stumbling, thinking otherwise than they should think. Now the drift and character of Holy Scripture, as we have often said, is this, it contains a double account of the Saviour ; that He was ever God, and is the Son, being the Father's Word and Radiance and Wisdom⁵ ; and that afterwards for us He took flesh of a Virgin, Mary Mother of God^e, and was

⁵ vid.
p. 221,
note e.

^e θεοτόκου. vid. sup. p. 420, note i. Vid. S. Cyril's quotations in his *de Recta Fide*, p. 49, &c. "The fleshless," says Atticus, "becomes flesh, the impalpable is handled, the perfect grows, the unalterable advances, the rich is brought forth in an inn, the coverer of heaven with clouds is swathed, the king is laid in a manger." Antiochus speaks of Him our Saviour "with whom yesterday in an immaculate bearing Mary travailed, the Mother of life, of beauty, of majesty, the Morning Star, &c." "The Maker of all," says S. Amphilochius, "is born to us to-day of a Virgin." "She did compass," says S. Chrysostom, "without circumscribing the Sun of righteousness. To-day the Everlasting is born, and becomes what He was not. He who sitteth on a high and lofty throne is placed in a manger, the impalpable, incomposite, and immaterial is wrapped around by human hands, He who snaps the bands of sin is environed in swathing bands." And in like manner S.

Cyril himself, "As a woman, though bearing the body only, is said to bring forth one who is made up of body and soul, and that will be no injury to the interests of the soul, as if it found in flesh the origin of its existence ; so also in the instance of the Blessed Virgin, though she is Mother of the holy flesh, yet she bore God of God the Word, as being in truth one with It." *Ado. Nest. i. p. 18.* "God dwelt in the womb, yet was not circumscribed ; whom the heaven containeth not, the Virgin's frame did not straiten." *Procl. Hom. i. p. 60.* "When thou hearest that God speaks from the bush, and says to Moses, 'I am the God, &c.' and that Moses falling on his face worships, believest thou, not considering the fire that is seen but God that speaks ; yet, when I mention the Virgin Womb, dost thou abominate and turn away ? . . . In the bush seest thou not the Virgin, in the fire the loving-kindness of Him who came ? &c." *Theodot. ap. Conc. Eph. (p. 1529. Labbe.)* "Not

made man. And this scope is to be found throughout inspired Scripture, as the Lord Himself has said, *Search the Scriptures, for they are they which testify of Me.* But lest I should exceed in writing, by bringing together all the passages on the subject, let it suffice to mention as a specimen, first John saying, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was made not one thing;* next, *And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father;* and next Paul writing, *Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion like a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross.* Any one, beginning with these passages and going through the whole of Scripture upon

CHAP.
XXVI.
John 5,
39.

John 1,
1-3.

v. 14.

Phil. 2,
6-8.

only did Mary bear her Elder," says Cassian in answer to an objector, "but her Author, and giving birth to Him from whom she received it, she became parent of her Parent. Surely it is as easy for God to give nativity to Himself, as to man; to be born of man as to make men born. For God's power is not circumscribed in His own Person, that He should not do in Himself what He can do in all." Incarn. iv. 2. "The One God Only-begotten, of an ineffable origin from God, is introduced into the womb of the Holy Virgin, and grows into the form of a human body. He who contrives all, . . . is brought forth according to the law of a human birth; He at whose voice Archangels tremble . . . and the world's elements are dissolved, is heard in the wailing of an infant, &c." Hil. Trin. ii. 25. "My beloved is white and ruddy; white truly, because the Brightness of the Father, ruddy, because the Birth of a Virgin. In Him shines and glows the colour of each nature; . . . He did not begin from a Virgin, but the Everlasting came into a Virgin." Ambros. Virgin. i. n. 47. "Him, who, coming in His simple Godhead, not heaven, not earth, not sea, not any creature had endured, Him the inviolate womb of a Virgin carried."

Chrysost. ap. Cassian. Incarn. vii. 30. "Happily do some understand by the 'closed gate,' by which only 'the Lord God of Israel enters,' that Prince on whom the gate is closed, to be the Virgin Mary, who both before and after her bearing remained a Virgin." Jerom. in Ezek. 44 init. "Let them tell us," says Capreolus of Carthage, "how is that Man from heaven, if He be not God conceived in the womb?" ap. Sirm. Opp. t. i. p. 216. "He is made in thee," says S. Austin, "who made thee, . . . nay, through whom heaven and earth is made; . . . the Word of God in thee is made flesh, receiving flesh, not losing Godhead. And the Word is joined, is coupled to the flesh, and of this so high wedding thy womb is the nuptial chamber, &c." Serm. 291, 6. "Say, O blessed Mary," says S. Hippolytus, "what was It which by thee was conceived in the womb, what carried by thee in that virgin frame? It was the Word of God, &c." ap. Theod. Eran. i. p. 55. "We have also as a physician," says S. Ignatius, "our Lord God Jesus the Christ, who before the world was Only-begotten Son and Word, and afterwards was man also from Mary the Virgin, the Incorporeal in a body, the Impassible, &c." Ep. and Eph. 7.

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111

¹ *ἑκαστοῖα*,
vid. p.
437, r.
Gen. 1,
3. 6. 26.
² *supr.*
p. 120,
note p.
Matt. 1,
23.

§. 30.

the interpretation ¹ which they suggest, will perceive how in the beginning the Father said to Him, *Let there be light*, and *Let there be a firmament*², and *Let us make man*; but in fulness of the ages, He sent Him into the world, not that He might judge the world, but that the world by Him might be saved, and how it is written, *Behold, a Virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a Son, and they shall call His Name Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, is God with us.* The reader then of divine Scripture may acquaint himself with these passages from the older books; and from the Gospels on the other hand he will perceive that the Lord became man; for *the word*, he says, *became flesh, and dwelt among us.*

John 1,
14.

8. And He became man, and did not come into man; for this it is necessary to know, lest perchance these irreligious men, fall into this notion also, and beguile any into thinking, that, as in former times the Word was used to come into each of the Saints, so now He sojourned ³ in a man, hallowing him also, and manifesting ⁴ Himself as in the others. For if it were so, and He only appeared in a man, it were nothing strange, nor had those who saw Him been startled, saying, Whence is He? and wherefore dost Thou, being a man, make Thyself God? for they were familiar with the idea, from the words, *And the Word of the Lord came to the Prophets* ⁵ one by one. But now, since the Word of God, by whom all things came to be, endured to become also Son of man, and humbled Himself, taking a servant's form, therefore to the Jews the Cross of Christ is a scandal, but to us Christ is *God's power* and *God's wisdom*; for *the Word*, as John says, *became flesh*; (it being the custom ⁶ of Scripture to call man by the name of

³ *ἐπεδή-
μῆσεν*
⁴ *φανερού-
μενος*,
p. 443,
note g.

⁵ *ad*
Epict.
11. 11. *ad*
Max. 2.

1 Cor. 1,
24.

⁶ *infr. iv.*
33 *init.*
Joel 2,
28.
Bel and
Dr. 5.

flesh, as it says by Joel the Prophet, *I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh*; and as Daniel said to Astyages, *I may not worship idols made with hands, but the Living God, who hath created the heaven and the earth, and hath sovereignty over all flesh*; for both he and Joel call mankind flesh.) Of old

§. 31.

⁷ *γνησίως*,
supr.
p. 236,
note c.

time He was wont to come to the Saints individually, and to hallow those who rightly ⁷ received Him; but neither, on their birth, was it said that He had become man, nor, when they suffered, was it said that He Himself suffered. But when He came ³ among us from Mary once in fulness of the ages for the abolition of sin, (for so it was pleasing to the Father,

to send His own Son *made of a woman, made under the Law,*) then it is said, that He took flesh and became man, and in that flesh He suffered for us, (as Peter says, *Christ therefore having suffered for us in the flesh,*) that it might be shewn, and that all might believe, that whereas He was ever God, and hallowed those to whom He came, and ordered all things according to the Father's will^f, afterwards for our sakes He became man, and *bodily*, as the Apostle says, the Godhead dwelt in the flesh; as much as to say, "Being God, He had His own body, and using this as an instrument^g, He became man for our sakes."¹

CHAP.
XXVI.
Gal. 4, 4.
1 Pet. 4,
1.

Col. 2, 9.

9. And on account of this, the properties of the flesh are said to be His, since He was in it, such as to hunger, to thirst, to suffer, to weary, and the like, of which the flesh is capable; while on the other hand the works proper to the Word Himself, such as to raise the dead, to restore sight to the blind, and to cure the woman with an issue of blood, He did through his own body^h. And the Word bore the

^f κατὰ τὸ βούλημα. vid. Orat. i. 63. infr. p. 490, notes m and n. "When God commands others, then the hearer answers, for each of these has the Mediator Word which makes known the will of the Father; but when the Word Himself works and creates, there is no questioning and answer, for the Father is in Him, and the Word in the Father; but it suffices to will, and the work is done." supr. p. 324. where vid. note b. for passages in which Ps. 33, 9. is taken to shew the unity of Father and Son from the instantaneousness of the accomplishment upon the willing, as well as the Son's existence before creation. Hence the Son not only works κατὰ τὸ βούλημα, but is the βουλή of the Father. *ibid.* note c. For the contrary Arian view, even when it is highest, vid. Euseb. *Eccl. Theol.* iii. 3. quoted supr. p. 373, note s. In that passage the Father's *νεύματα* are spoken of, a word common with the Arians. Euseb. *ibid.* p. 75, a. de *Laud. Const.* p. 528, c. *Eunom. Apol.* 20 fin. The word is used of the Son's command given to the creation, in Athan. *contr. Gent.* c. g. 42, 44, 46. S. Cyril. Hier. frequently as the Arians, uses it of the Father. *Catech.* x. xi. *passim.* xv. 25, &c. The difference between the orthodox and Arian views on this point, is clearly drawn out by S. Basil *contr. Eunom.* i. 21.

^g τούτῳ χρώμενος ὄργανῳ infr. 42. and ὄργανον πρὸς τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ τὴν ἐκλαμψιν τῆς θεότητος. 53. This was a word much used afterwards by the Apollinarians, who looked on our Lord's manhood as merely a *manifestation* of God. vid. p. 291, note k. vid. *σχῆμα ὄργανικὸν* in *Apoll.* i. 2, 15. vid. a parallel in Euseb. *Laud. Const.* p. 536. However, it is used freely by Athan. e. g. *infr.* 35, 53. *Incarn.* 8, 9, 43, 44. And he mentions *πρὸς φανέρωσιν καὶ γνῶσιν*, 41 fin. but he also insists upon its being not merely for manifestation, else our Lord might have come in a higher nature. *ibid.* 8. vid. also 44. This use of *ὄργανον* must not be confused with its heretical application to our Lord's Divine Nature, vid. *Basil de Sp. S.* n. 19 fin. of which supr. p. 118, note n. It may be added that *φανέρωσις* is a Nestorian as well as Eutychian idea; vid. p. 442, r. 4. *Facund. Tr. Cap.* ix. 2, 3. and the Syrian use of *parsoya* *Asseman.* B. O. t. 4. p. 219. Thus both parties really denied the Atonement, vid. supr. p. 267, note l. p. 292, note m.

^h Orat. iv. 6. and fragm. ex Euthym. p. 1275. ed. Ben. This interchange is called theologically the *ἀντιδοσις* or *communicatio ιδιωμάτων*. "Because of the perfect union of the flesh which was assumed, and of the Godhead which assumed it, the names are interchanged,

DISC. III. ¹ ὑποῦργει
 Is. 53, 4. well has the Prophet said *carried*; and has not said, "He remedied"² our infirmities, lest, as being external to the body, and only healing it, as He has always done, He should leave men subject still to death; but He carries our infirmities, and He Himself bears our sins, that it might be shewn that He became man for us, and that the body which in Him bore them, was His proper body; and, while He received no hurt^k Himself by *bearing our sins in His body on the tree*, as Peter speaks, we men were redeemed from our own affections³, and were filled with the righteousness⁴ of the Word. Whence it

Is. 53, 4. ² ἐθεράπευσεν
³ παθῶν, vid. p. 446, r. 5.
⁴ supr. p. 254.
 1 Pet. 2, 24.
 §. 32.

so that the human is called from the divine and the divine from the human. Wherefore He who was crucified is called by Paul Lord of glory, and He who is worshipped by all creation of things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth is named Jesus, &c." Nyssen. in Apoll. t. 2. pp. 697, 8. Leon. Ep. 28, 51. Ambros. de fid. ii. 58. Nyssen. de Beat. p. 767. Cassian. Incarn. vi. 22. Aug. contr. Serm. Ar. c. 8 init. Plain and easy as such statements seem in this and some following notes, they are of the utmost importance in the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies.

¹ θεοῦ ἦν σῶμα. also ad Adelph. 3. ad Max. 2. and so τὴν πωχεύσασαν φύσιν θεοῦ ἄλλο γενομένην. c. Apoll. ii. 11. τὸ πάθος τοῦ λόγου. ibid. 16, c. σὰρξ τοῦ λόγου. infr. 34. σῶμα σοφίας infr. 53. also supr. p. 296, r. 1. πάθος Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ μου. Ignat. Rom. 6. ὁ θεὸς πέποιθεν. Melit. ap. Anast. Hodeg. 12. Dei passiones. Tertull. de Carn. Christ. 5. Dei interemptores. ibid. caro Deitatis. Leon. Serm. 65 fin. Deus mortuus et sepultus. Vigil. c. Eut. ii. p. 502. vid. supr. p. 244, notel. Yet Athan. objects to the phrase, "God suffered in the flesh," i. e. as used by the Apollinarians. vid. contr. Apoll. ii. 13 fin.

^k οὐδὲν ἐβλάπτετο. "For He was not shut up in the body, nor was He in such sort in the body, as not to be elsewhere, &c." Incarn. 17. Also ἐβλάπτετο μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς οὐδέν. &c. ibid. 54. μὴ βλαπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἐξαφανίζων. infr. 34, b. "For the Sun too which He made and we see, makes its circuit in the sky, and is not defiled by touching, &c." de Incarn. 17. "As the rays of sun-light would not suffer at all, though filling all things and touching bodies

dead and unclean, thus and much more the spiritual virtue of God the Word would suffer nothing in substance nor receive hurt, &c." Euseb. de Laud. Const. p. 536. and 538. also Dem. Evang. vii. p. 348. "The injuries of the passion even the Godhead bore, but the passion His flesh alone felt; as we rightly say that a sunbeam or a body of flame can be cut indeed by a sword but not divided. I will speak yet more plainly; the Godhead [divinitatis, quæ] was fixed with nails, but could not Itself be pierced, since the flesh was exposed and offered room for the wound, but God remained invisible, &c." Vigil. contr. Eutych. ii. p. 503. (B. P. ed. 1624.) "There were five together on the Cross, when Christ was nailed to it; the sun light, which first received the nails and the spear, and remained undivided from the Cross and unhurt by the nails, next, &c." Anast. Hodeg. c. 12. p. 220. (ed. 1606.) also p. 222. Vid. also the beautiful passage in Pseudo-Basil: "God in flesh, not working with aught intervening as in the prophets, but having taken to Him a manhood connatural with Himself (συμφυῆ), i. e. joined to His nature) and made one, and through His flesh akin to us drawing up to Him all humanity. . . . What was the manner of the Godhead in flesh? as fire in iron, not transitively, but by communication. For the fire does not dart into the iron, but remains there and communicates to it of its own virtue, not impaired by the communication, yet filling wholly its recipient, &c." Hom. in Sanct. Christ. Gen. (t. 2. p. 596. ed. Ben.) also Ruffin. in Symb. 12. Cyril. Quod unus est Christus. p. 776. Damasc. F. O.

was that, when the flesh suffered, the Word was not external to it; and therefore is the passion said to be His: and when He did divinely His Father's works, the flesh was not external to Him, but in the body itself did¹ the Lord do them^l. CHAP.
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Hence, when made man, He said, *If I do not the works of the Father, believe Me not; but if I do, though ye believe not Me, believe the works, that ye may know that the Father is in Me and I in Him.* Υπάλι
ἐποίει
John 10,
37, 28.
vid. In-
carn. 18.

10. And thus when there was need to raise Peter's wife's mother who was sick of a fever, He stretched forth His hand humanly, but He stopped the illness divinely. And in the case of the man blind from the birth, human was the spittle which He gave forth from the flesh, but divinely did He open the eyes through the clay. And in the case of Lazarus, He gave forth a human voice, as man; but divinely, as God, did He raise Lazarus from the dead^m. These things were so done, were so manifested, because He had a body, not in appearance, but in truthⁿ; and it became the Lord, in putting

iii. 6 fin. August. Serm. 7. p. 26 init. ed. 1842. Suppl. 1.

¹ "Two natures," says S. Leo, "met together in our Redeemer, and, while the proprieties of each remained, so great a unity was made of either substance, that from the time that the Word was made flesh in the Blessed Virgin's womb, we may neither think of Him as God without this which is man, nor as man without This which is God. Each nature certifies its own reality under distinct actions, but neither disjoins itself from connexion with the other. Nothing is wanting from either towards other; there is entire littleness in majesty, entire majesty in littleness; unity does not introduce confusion, nor does propriety divide unity. There is one thing passible, another inviolable, yet His is the contumely whose is the glory. He is in infirmity who is in power; the Same is both capable and conqueror of death. God then did take on Him whole man, and so knit Himself into him and him into Himself in pity and in power, that either nature was in other, and neither in the other lost its own propriety." Serm. 54, 2. "Suscepit nos in suam proprietatem illa natura, quæ nec nostris sua, nec suis nostra consumeret, &c." Serm. 72. p. 286. vid. also Ep. 165, 6. Serm. 30, 5. Cyril. Cat. iv. 9. Amphiloeh. ap. Theod. Eran. i. p. 66.

also pp. 30, 87, 8. ed. 1644.

^m "The birth of the flesh is a manifestation of human nature, the bearing of the Virgin a token of divine power. The infancy of a little one is shewn in the lowliness of the cradle, the greatness of the Highest is proclaimed by the voices of Angels. He has the rudiments of men whom Herod impiously plots to kill, He is the Lord of all whom the Magi delight suppliantly to adore, &c. &c. To hunger, thirst, weary, and sleep are evidently human; but to satisfy five thousand on five loaves, and to give the Samaritan living water . . . to walk on the sea and the feet not to sink, and to lay the tossing waves with a rebuke, is unambiguously divine." Leo's Tome (Ep. 28.) 4. "When He touched the leper, it was the man that was seen; but something beyond man, when He cleansed him, &c." Ambros. Epist. i. 46, n. 7. Hil. Trin: x. 23 fin. vid. infr. 56 note, and S. Leo's extracts in his Ep. 165. Chrysol. Serm. 34 and 35. Paul. ap. Conc. Eph. (p. 1620. Labbe.) These are instances of what is theologically called the *θεανδρική ἐνέργεια*, i. e. the union of the energies of both Natures in one act.

ⁿ *μη φαντασία ἀλλ' ἀληθώς*. vid. Incarn. 18, d. ad Epict. 7, c. The passage is quoted by S. Cyril. Apol. adv. Orient. p. 194.

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on human flesh, to put it on whole with the affections proper to it; that, as we say that the body was proper to Him, so also we may say that the affections of the body were only proper to Him, though they did not touch Him according to His Godhead. If then the body had been another's, to him too had been the affections attributed; but if the flesh is the Word's, (for *the Word became flesh*,) of necessity then the affections also of the flesh are ascribed to Him, whose the flesh is. And to whom the affections¹ are ascribed, such namely as to be condemned, to be scourged, to thirst, and the cross, and death, and the other infirmities of the body, of Him too is the triumph² and the grace. For this cause then, consistently and fittingly such affections are ascribed not to another^o, but to the Lord; that the grace also may be from Him^p, and that we may become, not worshippers of any other, but truly devout towards God, because we pray³ to no creature, no ordinary^a man, but the natural and true Son from God, who has become man, yet is not the less Lord and God and Saviour.

¹ πάθη, sufferings² κατόρθωμα³ επικαλύμμεθα

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11. Who will not admire this? or who will not agree that such a thing is truly divine? for if the works of the Word's Godhead had not taken place through the body, man had not been made god⁴; and again, had not the properties of the flesh been ascribed to the Word, man had not been thoroughly delivered from them⁵; but though they had ceased for a little while, as I said before, still sin had remained in him and corruption, as was the case with mankind before Him; and for this reason:—Many for instance have been made holy and clean from all sin; nay, Jeremias was hallowed^r even from

⁴ θεοποιηθή⁵ p. 254, note k. p. 360, note g. p. 378, note e. p. 447, note u.

^o οὐκ ἄλλου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κυρίου: and so οὐχ ἑτέρου τινός, Incarn. 18; also Orat. i. 45. supr. p. 244. and Orat. iv. 35. Cyril. Thes. p. 197. and Anathem. 11. who defends the phrase against the Orientals.

^p "If any happen to be scandalized by the swathing bands, and His lying in a manger, and the gradual increase according to the flesh, and the sleeping in a vessel, and the wearying in journeying, and the hungering in due time, and whatever else happen to one who has become really man, let them know that, making a mock of the sufferings, they are denying the nature;

and denying the nature, they do not believe in the economy; and not believing in the economy, they forfeit the salvation." Procl. ad Armen. p. 516. ed. 1630.

^a κοινόν, opposed to ἴδιον. vid. infr. p. 472, r. 6. Cyril. Epp. p. 23, e. communem, Ambros. de Fid. i. 94.

^r vid. Jer. i. 5. And so S. Jerome, S. Leo, &c. as mentioned in Corn. à Lap. in loc. who adds that S. Ephrem considers Moses also sanctified in the womb, and S. Ambrose Jacob; S. Jerome implies a similar gift in the case of Asella, ad Marcell. (Ep. 24, 2.) And so S. John Baptist, Maldon. in Luc.

the womb, and John, while yet in the womb, leapt for joy at the voice of Mary Mother of God^s; nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression; and thus man remained mortal and corruptible as before, liable to the affections proper to their nature. But now the Word having become man and having appropriated^t the affections of the flesh, no longer do these affections touch the body, because of the Word who has come in it, but they are destroyed^u by Him, and henceforth men no longer remain sinners and dead according to their proper affections, but having risen according to the Word's power, they abide¹ ever immortal and incorruptible. Whence also, whereas the flesh is born² of Mary Mother of God^x, He Himself is said to have been born, who furnishes to others a generation³ of being; in order that He may transfer our generation into Himself, and we may no longer, as mere earth, return to earth, but as being knit into the Word from heaven, may be carried to heaven by Him. Therefore in like manner not without reason has He

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Rom. 5,
14.

¹ διαμέ-
ρουσιν,
p. 380,
r. 1.
p. 449,
note a.
² γεννω-
μένης
³ γένεσιν,
vid. supr.
ii. 52, b.
p. 261,
note c.

1, 16. It is remarkable that no ancient writer, (unless indeed we except S. Austin,) refers to the instance of S. Mary;—perhaps from the circumstance of its not being mentioned in Scripture.

^s θεοτόκου. For instances of this word vid. Origen. ap. Socr. vii. 32. Euseb. V. Const. iii. 43. in Psalm p. 703. Alexandr. Ep. ad Alex. ap. Theodor. Hist. i. 3. p. 745. Athan. (supra) Cyril. Cat. x. 19. Julian Imper. ap. Cyril. c. Jul. viii. p. 262. Amphiloch. Orat. 4. p. 41. (if Amphil.) ed. 1644. Nyssen. Ep. ad Eustath. p. 1093. Chrysost. apud Suicer Symb. p. 240. Greg. Naz. Orat. 29, 4. Ep. 181. p. 85. ed. Ben. Antiochus and Ammon. ap. Cyril. de Rectâ Fid. pp. 49, 50. Pseudo-Dion. contr. Samos. 5. Pseudo-Basil. Hom. t. 2. p. 600. ed. Ben.

^t ἰδιοποιουμένου. vid. also infr. p. 455, r. 6. ad Epict. 6, e. fragm. ex Euthym. (t. i. p. 1275. ed. Ben.) Cyril. in Joann. p. 151, a. For ἰδιον, which occurs so frequently here, vid. Cyril. Anathem. 11. And οἰκείωται, contr. Apoll. ii. 16, c. Cyril. Schol. de Incarn. p. 782, d. Concil. Eph. pp. 1644, d. 1697, b. (Hard.) Damasc. F. O. iii. 3. p. 203. ed. Ven. Vid. Petav. de Incarn. iv. 15.

^u vid. pp. 245, 247, &c. p. 374, note t. Vid. also iv. 33. Incarn. c. Arian. 12. contr. Apoll. i. 17. ii. 6. "Since God the Word willed to annul the passions,

whose end is death, and His deathless nature was not capable of them, . . . He is made flesh of the Virgin, in the way He knoweth, &c." Procl. ad Armen. p. 616. also Leon. Sermon. 22. pp. 69, 71. Sermon. 26. p. 88. Nyssen. contr. Apoll. t. 2. p. 696. Cyril. Epp. p. 138, 9. in Joan. p. 95. Chrysol. Sermon. 148.

^x θεοτόκου. supr. p. 420, note i. p. 440, note e. and just above, note s. For "mater Dei" vid. before S. Leo, Ambros. de Virg. ii. 7. Cassian. Incarn. ii. 5. vii. 25. Vincent. Lir. Commonit. 21. It is obvious that θεοτόκος, though framed as a test against Nestorians, was equally effective against Apollinarians and Eutychians, who denied that our Lord had taken human flesh at all, as is observed by Facundus Def. Trium Cap. i. 4. And so S. Cyril, "Let it be carefully observed, that nearly this whole contest about the faith has been created against us for our maintaining that the Holy Virgin is Mother of God; now, if we hold," as was the calumny, "that the Holy Body of Christ our common Saviour was from heaven, and not born of her, how can she be considered as Mother of God?" Epp. pp. 106, 7. Yet these sects, as the Arians, maintained the term. vid. supr. p. 292, note n.

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transferred to Himself the other affections of the body also; that we, no longer as being men, but as proper to the Word, may have share in eternal life. For no longer according to that former generation in Adam do we die; but henceforward our generation and all infirmity of flesh being transferred to the Word, we rise from the earth, the curse from sin being removed, because of Him who is in us¹ and who has become a curse for us. And with reason; for as we are all from earth and die in Adam, so being regenerated from above of water and Spirit, in the Christ we are all quickened; the flesh being no longer earthly, but being henceforth made the Word^y, by reason of God's Word who for our sake *became flesh*.

¹ p. 366,
not c.

§. 34. 12. And that one may attain to a more exact knowledge of the impassibility of the Word's nature and of the infirmities ascribed to Him because of the flesh, it will be well to listen to the blessed Peter; for he will be a trustworthy witness concerning the Saviour. He writes then in his Epistle thus; *Christ then having suffered for us in the flesh*. Therefore also when He is said to hunger and thirst and to toil and not to know, and to sleep, and to weep, and to ask, and to flee, and to be born, and to deprecate the cup, and in a word to undergo all that belongs to the flesh^z, let it be said, as is congruous, in each case, "*Christ then hungering and thirsting for us in the flesh;*" and "*saying He did not know, and being buffeted, and toiling for us in the flesh;*" and "*being exalted too, and born, and growing in the flesh;*" and "*fearing and hiding in the flesh;*" and "*saying, If it be possible let this cup pass from Me, and being beaten, and receiving, for us in the flesh;*" and in a word all such things *for us in the flesh*. For on this account has the Apostle himself said,

¹ Pet. 4,
1.

Mat. 26,
39.

^y λογωθελσης τῆς σαρκός. This strong term is here applied to human nature generally; Damascene speaks of the λόγωσις of the flesh, but he means especially our Lord's flesh. F. O. iv. 18. p. 286. (Ed. Ven.) for the words θεοῦσθαι, &c. vid. supr. p. 380, note h.

^z "All this belongs to the Economy, not to the Godhead. On this account He says, 'Now is My soul troubled,' . . . so troubled as to seek for a release, if escape were possible. . . . As to hunger is no blame, nor to sleep, so is it none to desire the present life. Christ had a body pure from sins, but not exempt

from physical necessities, else it had not been a body." Chrysost. in Joann. Hom. 67. 1 and 2. "He used His own flesh as an instrument for the works of the flesh and physical infirmities and whatever such is blameless, &c." Cyril. de Rect. Fid. p. 13. "As a man He doubts, as a man He is troubled; it is not His Power (virtus) that is troubled, not His Godhead, but His soul, &c." Ambros. de Fid. ii. n. 56. vid. a beautiful passage in S. Basil's Hom. iv. 5. in which he insists on our Lord's having wept to shew us how to weep neither too much nor too little.

Christ then having suffered, not in His Godhead, but for us in the flesh, that these affections may be acknowledged as, not proper to the very Word by nature, but proper by nature to the very flesh.

13. Let no one then stumble at these human affections, but rather let a man know that in nature the Word Himself is impassible, and yet because of that flesh which He put on, these things are ascribed to Him, since they are proper to the flesh, and the body itself is proper to the Saviour. And while He Himself, being impassible in nature, remains as He is, not harmed¹ by these affections, but rather obliterating and destroying them, men, their passions as if changed and abolished² in the Impassible, henceforth become themselves also impassible and free^a from them for ever, as John teaches when he says, *And ye know that He was manifested to take away our sins, and in Him is no sin.* And this being so, no heretic shall object, "Wherefore rises the flesh, being by nature mortal? and if it rises, why not hunger too and thirst, and suffer, and remain mortal? for it came from the earth, and how can its natural condition pass from it?" since the flesh is able now to make answer to this so contentious heretic, "I am from earth, being by nature mortal, but afterwards I became the Word's flesh, and He carried my affections, though He is without them³; and so I became free from them, being no more abandoned to their service because of the Lord who has made me free from them. For if thou objectest that I am rid of that corruption which is by nature, see that thou objectest not that God's Word took my form of servitude; for as the Lord, putting on the body, became man, so we men are made gods⁴ by the Word as being taken to Him through His flesh, and henceforward inherit life everlasting."

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¹ βλαπτό-
μενος,
p. 444,
note k.
² p. 447,
note u.

³ John 3,
5.

³ ἀπαθής

⁴ θεοποιού-
μεθα

^a vid. p. 360, note g. "As since the flesh has become the all-quickenng Word's, it overbears the might of corruption and death, so, I think, since the soul became His who knew not error, it has an unchangeable condition for all good things established in it, and far more vigorous than the sin that of old time tyrannized over us. For, first and only of men on the earth, Christ

did no sin, nor was guile found in His mouth; and He is laid down as a root and firstfruit of those who are refashioned unto newness of life in the Spirit, and unto immortality of body, and He will transmit to the whole human race the firm security of the Godhead, as by participation and by grace." Cyril. de Rect. Fid. p. 18.

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III.
§. 35.
¹ ὀργάνου,
p. 443,
note g.

² ὁρθῶς

³ vid. Is.
1, 22.
Sept.
² Cor. 2,
17.
⁴ p. 17,
r. 2. p.
394, r. 5.
⁵ γένησιν
⁶ pp. 130,
189. infr.
iv. 23. c.
Facund.
Tr. C. ix.
1 init. 3
fin.
⁷ σκοπόν,
supr.

p. 440.
⁸ p. 442.
r. 1.

14. These points we have found it necessary first to examine, that, when we see Him doing or saying aught divinely through the instrument¹ of His own body, we may know that He so works, being God, and also, if we see Him speaking or suffering humanly, we may not be ignorant that He bore flesh and became man, and hence He so acts and so speaks. For if we recognise what is proper to each, and see and understand that both these things and those are done by One^b, we are right² in our faith, and shall never stray. But if a man looking at what is done divinely by the Word, deny the body, or looking at what is proper to the body, deny the Word's presence in the flesh, or from what is human entertain low thoughts concerning the Word, such a one, as a Jewish vintner³, mixing water with the wine⁴, shall account the cross an offence, or as a Gentile, will deem the preaching folly. This then is what happens to God's enemies the Arians; for looking at what is human in the Saviour, they have judged Him a creature. Therefore they ought, looking also at the divine works of the Word, to deny^c the generation of His body⁵, and henceforth to rank themselves with Manichees⁶. But for them learn they, however tardily, that *the Word became flesh*; and let us, retaining the general scope⁷ of the faith, acknowledge that what they interpret ill, has a right interpretation⁸.

^b vid. infr. 39—41. and p. 479, note b. "Being God, and existing as Word, while He remained what He was, He became flesh, and a child, and a man, no change profaning the mystery. The Same both works wonders and suffers, by the miracles signifying that He is what He was, and by the sufferings giving proof that He had become what He had framed." Procl. ad Armen. p. 615. "Without loss then to the propriety of either nature and substance," (salvâ proprietate, and so Tertullian, *Salva est utriusque proprietatis substantiæ, &c.* in Prax. 27.) "yet with their union in one Person, Majesty takes on it littleness, Power infirmity, Eternity mortality, and, to pay the debt of our estate, an inviolable Nature is made one with a nature that is

passible; that, as was befitting for our cure, One and the Same Mediator between God and man, the man Jesus Christ, might both be capable of death from the one, and incapable from the other." Leo's Tome (Ep. 28, 3.) also Hil. Trin. ix. 11 fin. "Vagit infans, sed in cœlo est, &c." *ibid.* x. 54. Ambros. de Fid. ii. 77. *Erat vermis in cruce sed dimittebat peccata. Non habebat speciem, sed plenitudinem divinitatis, &c.* Id. Epist. i. 46, n. 5. Theoph. Ep. Pasch. 6. ap. Conc. Ephes. p. 1404. Hard.

^c Thus heresies are *partial* views of the truth, starting from some truth which they exaggerate, and disowning and protesting against other truth, which they fancy inconsistent with it. vid. supr. p. 219, note b.

CHAPTER XXVII.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; TENTHLY, MATTHEW xxviii. 18.
JOHN iii. 35. &c.

These texts intended to preclude the Sabellian notion of the Son; they fall in with the Catholic doctrine concerning the Son; they are explained by "so" in John 5, 26. (Anticipation of the next chapter.) Again they are used with reference to our Lord's human nature; for our sake, that we might receive and not lose, as receiving in Him. And consistently with other parts of Scripture, which shew that He had the power, &c., before He received it. He was God and man, and His actions are often at once divine and human.

1. FOR, *The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hand*; and, *All things are given unto Me of My Father*; and, *I can do nothing of Myself, but as I hear, I judge*; and the like passages, do not shew that the Son once had not these prerogatives,—(for had not He eternally what the Father has, who is the Only Word and Wisdom of the Father in substance, who also says, *All that the Father hath are Mine*, and what are Mine, are the Father's? for if the things of the Father are the Son's and the Father hath them ever, it is plain that what the Son hath, being the Father's, were ever in the Son,)—not then because once He had them not, did He say this, but because, whereas the Son hath eternally what He hath, yet He hath them from the Father. For lest a man, perceiving that the Son has all that the Father hath, from the unvarying likeness¹ and identity of that He hath, should wander into the irreligion of Sabellius, considering Him to be the Father², therefore He has said *Is given unto Me*, and *I have received*, and *Are delivered to Me*, only to shew that He is not the Father, but the Father's Word, and the Eternal Son, who because of His likeness to the Father, hath eternally what He hath from Him, and because He is the Son, hath from the Father what eternally He hath.

John 3,
35.
Matt.
11, 27.
John 5,
30.

John 26,
15; 17,
10.

§. 36.
¹ ἀπα-
ραλλάκ-
του
² note on
iv. 13.
Matt.
28, 18.
John 10,
18.

DISC.
III.
ἰ ἐλαττοί,
p. 244,
r. 1.
2 p. 307,
note d.

Heb. 1,
2.

2. Moreover that *Is given* and *Are delivered*, and the like, do not impair¹ the Godhead of the Son, but rather shew Him to be truly² Son, we may learn from the passages themselves. For if all things are delivered unto Him, first, He is other than that all which He has received; next, being Heir of all things, He alone is the Son and proper according to the Substance of the Father. For if He were one of all, then He were not *heir of all*, but every one had received according as the Father willed and gave. But now, as receiving all things, He is other than them all, and alone proper to the Father.

John 5,
26.

3 p. 359,
note f.

3. Moreover that *Is given* and *Are delivered* do not shew that once He had them not, we may conclude from a similar passage, and in like manner concerning them all; for the Saviour Himself says *As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given also to the Son to have life in Himself*. Now from the words *Hath given*, He signifies that He is not the Father; but in saying *so*, He shows the Son's natural likeness and propriety towards the Father. If then once the Father had not, plainly the Son once had not; for as the Father, *so* also the Son has. But if this is irreligious to say, and religious on the contrary to say that the Father had ever, is it not extravagant in them when the Son says that, *as the Father has, so also the Son has*, to say that He has not *so*³, but otherwise? Rather then is the Word faithful, and all things which He says that He has received, He has always, yet has from the Father; and the Father indeed not from any, but the Son from the Father. For as in the instance of the radiance, if the radiance itself should say, "All places the light hath given me to enlighten, and I do not enlighten from myself, but as the light wills," yet, in saying this, it does not imply that it once had not, but it means, "I am proper to the light, and all things of the light are mine;" so, and much more, must we understand in the instance of the Son. For the Father, having given all things to the Son, in the Son still^a hath all things; and the Son having,

^a πάλιν. vid. p. 203, note d. Thus iteration is not duplication in respect to God; though *how* this is, is the inscrutable Mystery of the Trinity in Unity. Nothing can be named which

the Son is in Himself, as distinct from the Father; we are but told His *revelation* towards the Father, and thus the sole meaning we are able to attach to Person is a relation of the Son towards

still the Father hath them; for the Son's Godhead is the Father's Godhead, and thus the Father in the Son takes the oversight¹ of all things.

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¹πρόνοιαν
p. 416,
note f.
p. 422,
note l.

the Father; and distinct from and beyond that relation, He is but the One God, who is also the Father. This sacred subject has been touched upon supr. p. 412, note d. In other words, there is an indestructible essential relation existing in the One Indivisible infinitely simple God, such as to constitute Him, viewed on each side of that relation, (what in human language we call) Two, (and in like manner Three) yet without the notion of number really coming in. When we speak of "Person," we mean nothing more than the One God in substance, viewed relatively to Him the One God, as viewed in that Correlative which we therefore call another Person. These various statements are not here intended to explain, but to bring home to the mind *what* it is which faith receives. We say "Father, Son, and Spirit," but when we would abstract a general idea of Them in order to number Them, our abstraction really does but carry us back to the One Substance. There will be different ways of expressing this, but such seems the meaning of such passages as the following. "Those who taunt us with tritheism, must be told that we confess One God not in number, but in nature. For what is one in number is not really one, nor single in nature; for instance, we call the world one in number, but not one in nature, for we divide it into its elements; and man again is one in number, but compounded of body and soul. If then we say that God is in nature one, how do they impute number to us, who altogether banish it from that blessed and spiritual nature? For number belongs to quantity, and number is connected with matter, &c." Basil. Ep. 8, 2. "That which saveth us, is faith, but number has been devised to indicate quantity . . . We pronounce Each of the Persons once, but when we would number Them up, we do not proceed by an unlearned numeration to the notion of a polytheism." (vid. the whole passage,) *ibid.* de Sp. S. c. 13. "Why passing by the First Cause, does he [S. John] at once discourse to us of the Second? We will decline to speak of 'first' and 'second;' for the Godhead is higher than number and succession

of times." Chrysost. in Joan. Hom. ii. 3 fin. "In respect of the Adorable and most Royal Trinity, 'first' and 'second' have no place; for the Godhead is higher than number and times." Isid. Pel. Ep. 3, 13. "He calls," says S. Maximus commenting on Pseudo-Dionysius, "fecundity, the Father's incomprehensible progression to the production of the Son and the Holy Ghost; and suitably does he say 'as a Trinity,' since not number, but glory is expressed in 'The Lord God is One Lord.'" in Dionys. Opp. t. 2. p. 101. "We do not understand 'one' in the Divine Substance, as in the creatures; in whom what is properly one is not to be seen; for what is one in number, as in our case, is not properly one. It is not one in number, or as the beginning of number, any more than it is as magnitude or as the beginning of magnitude . . . That One is ineffable and indescribable; since It is the cause of what is one itself, *πάσης ἐνάδος ἐνοποιόν.*" Eulog. ap. Phot. 230. p. 864. "Three what? I answer, Father and Son and Holy Ghost. See, he urges, you have said Three; but explain Three what? Nay, do you number, I have said all about the Three, when I say, Father and Son and Holy Ghost. Not, as there are two men, so are They two Gods; for there is here something ineffable, which cannot be put into words, that there should both be number in Three, and not number. For see if there does not seem to be number, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, a Trinity. If Three, Three what? number fails. Then God neither is without number, nor is under number. . . They imply number, only relatively to Each Other, not in Themselves." August. in Joan. 39, 3 and 4. "We say Three 'Persons,' as many Latins of authority have said in treating the subject, because they found no more suitable way of declaring an idea in words which they had without words. Since the Father is not the Son, and the Son not the Father, and the Holy Ghost neither Father nor Son, there are certainly Three; but when we ask, Three what? we feel the great poverty of human language. However, we say Three 'Persons,' not for the sake of saying that, but of

Disc.
III.

§. 37.

¹ vid.
infr. 46.
John 11,
34.
Matt.
16, 13.
Mark 6,
38.
Matt.
20. 32.
² ὁρθῶν,
p. 341,
note i.

John 6,
6.

4. And while such is the sense of these passages, those too which speak humanly concerning the Saviour, admit of a religious meaning also. For with this end have we examined them beforehand, that, if we should hear Him asking where Lazarus is laid ¹, or when He asks on coming into the parts of Cæsarea, *Whom do men say that I am?* or, *How many loaves have ye?* and, *What will ye that I shall do unto you?* we may know, from what has been already said, the orthodox ² sense of the passages, and may not stumble as Christ's enemies the Arians. First then we must put this question to the irreligious, why they consider Him ignorant? for one who asks, does not for certain ask from ignorance; but it is possible for one who knows, still to ask concerning what he knows. Thus John was aware that Christ, when asking, *How many loaves have ye?* was not ignorant, for he says, *And this He said to prove him, for He Himself knew what He would do.* But if He knew what He was doing, therefore not in ignorance, but with knowledge did He ask. From this instance we may understand similar ones; that, when the Lord asks, He does not ask in ignorance, where Lazarus lies, nor again, whom men do say that He is; but knowing the thing which He was asking, aware what He was about to do.

5. And thus with ease is their sophism overthrown; but if they still persist ^b on account of His asking, then they must be told that in the Godhead indeed ignorance is not, but to the flesh ignorance is proper, as has been said. And that this is really so, observe how the Lord who inquired, where Lazarus lay, Himself said, when He was not on the spot but a great way off, *Lazarus is dead*, and where he was dead;

John 11,
14.

not saying nothing." de Trin. v. 10. "Unity is not number, but is itself the principle of all things." Ambros. de Fid. i. n. 19. "That is truly one, in which there is no number, nothing in It beyond That which is. . . There is no diversity in It, no plurality from diversity, no multitude from accidents, and therefore not number . . . but Unity only. For when God is thrice repeated, and Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is named, three Unities do not make plurality of number in Him which They are. . . This repetition of Unities is iteration rather than numeration . . . As if I say, Sun, Sun, Sun,

I have not made three Suns, but named one so many times. . . A trine numeration then does not make number, which they rather run into, who make some difference between the Three." Boeth. Trin. unus Deus, p. 959. The last remark is found in Naz. Orat. 31, 18. Many of these passages are taken from Thomassin de Trin. 17.

^b Petavius refers to this passage in proof that S. Athanasius did not in his real judgment consider our Lord ignorant, but went on to admit it in argument after having first given his own real opinion. vid. p. 464, note f.

and how that He who is considered by them as ignorant, is He Himself who foreknew the reasonings of the disciples, and was aware of what was in the heart of each, and of *what was in man*, and, what is greater, alone knows the Father and says, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*. Therefore this is plain to every one, that the flesh indeed is ignorant, but the Word Himself, considered as the Word¹, knows all things even before they come to be. For He did not, when He became man, cease to be God²; nor, whereas He is God does He shrink from what is man's; perish the thought; but rather, being God, He has taken to Him the flesh, and being in the flesh makes the flesh God³. For as He asked questions in it, so also in it did He raise the dead; and He shewed to all that He who quickens the dead and recals the soul, much more discerns the secrets of all. And He knew where Lazarus lay, and yet He asked; for the All-holy Word of God, who endured all things for our sakes, did this, that so carrying our ignorance, He might vouchsafe to us the knowledge of His own only and true Father, and of Himself sent because of us for the salvation of all, than which no grace could be greater.

John 2, 25; 14, 11.

§. 38.

¹ ἢ λόγος ἐστὶ

² p. 291, note k.

³ θεοποιεῖ

6. When then the Saviour uses the words which they allege in their defence, *Power is given to Me*, and, *Glorify Thy Son*, and Peter says, *Power is given unto Him*, we understand all these passages in the same sense, that humanly because of the body He says all this. For though He had no need, nevertheless He is said to have received what He received humanly, that on the other hand, inasmuch as the Lord has received, and the grant is lodged with Him, the grace may remain sure. For while mere man receives, he is liable to lose again, (as was shewn in the case of Adam, for he received and he lost⁴,) but that the grace may be irrevocable, and may be kept sure⁵ by men, therefore He Himself appropriates⁶ the gift; and He says that He has received power, as man, which He ever had as God, and He says, *Glorify Me*, who glorifies others, to shew that He hath a flesh which has need of these things. Wherefore, when the flesh receives, since that which receives is in Him, and by taking it He hath become man, therefore He is said Himself to have received. If then, (as has many times been said,) §. 39.

⁴ p. 379.

⁵ supr. pp. 254, 386. p. 380.

r. l. ⁶ ἰδιοποιεῖται,

supr. p. 447, note t.

§. 39.

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III.

the Word did not become man, then ascribe to the Word, as you would have it, to receive, and to need glory, and to be ignorant; but if He has become man, (and He has become,) and it is man's to receive, and to need, and to be ignorant, wherefore do we consider the Giver as receiver, and the Dispenser to others do we suspect to be in need, and divide the Word from the Father as imperfect and needy, while we strip human nature of grace? For if the Word Himself, considered as Word¹, has received and been glorified for His own sake, and if He according to His Godhead is He who is hallowed and has risen again, what hope is there for men? for they remain as they were, naked, and wretched, and dead, having no interest in the things given to the Son. Why too did the Word come among us, and become flesh? if that He might receive these things, which He says that He has received, He was without them before that, and of necessity will rather owe thanks Himself to the body², because, when He came into it, then He receives these things from the Father, which He had not before His descent into the flesh. For on this shewing He seems rather to be Himself promoted³ because of the body⁴, than the body promoted because of Him. But this notion is Judaic. But if that He might redeem mankind⁵, the Word did come among us; and that He might hallow them and make them gods, the Word became flesh, (and for this He did become,) who does not see that it follows, that what He says that He received, when He became flesh, that He mentions, not for His own sake, but for the flesh? for to it, in which He was speaking, pertained the gifts given through Him from the Father.

7. But let us see what He asked, and what the things altogether were which He said that He had received, that in this way also they may be brought to feeling. He asked then glory, yet He had said, *All things are delivered unto Me*. And after the resurrection, He says that He has received all power; but even before that He had said, *All things are delivered unto Me*, He was Lord of all, for *all things were made*

1 Cor. 8, *by Him*; and *there is One Lord by whom are all things*. And

6. when He asked glory, He was as He is, the Lord of glory;

1 Cor. 2, as Paul says, *If they had known it, they would not have*

8. *crucified the Lord of glory*; for He had that glory which

¹ ἡ λόγος
ἑστῆ

² infr. 51.

³ βελτιω-
θεῖς

⁴ vid.

supr. p.
235.

⁵ re-

demp-
tion an
internal
work.

vid. supr.

p. 357,
note e.

⁶ εσοποιή-

ση

Luke 10,
22.

He asked when He said, *the glory which I had with Thee before the world was*. Also the power which He said He received after the resurrection, that He had before He received it, and before the resurrection. For He of Himself rebuked Satan¹ saying, *Get thee behind Me, Satan*; and to the disciples He gave the power against him, when on their return He said, *I beheld Satan, as lightning, fall from heaven*. And again, that what He said that He had received, that He possessed before receiving it, appears from His driving away the devils, and from His unbinding what Satan had bound, as He did in the case of the daughter of Abraham; and from His remitting sins, saying to the paralytic, and to the woman who washed His feet, *Thy sins be forgiven thee*; and from His both raising the dead, and repairing the first nature of the blind, granting to him to see. And all this He did, not waiting till He should receive, but being *possessed of power*.

CHAP. XXVII.
§. 40.

¹ ἐπιτίμα,
p. 485,
note c.
Luke 4,
8.

Luke 10,
13. 19.

vid.
Luke 13,
16.
Matt. 9,
5.
Luke 7,
48.

Is. 9, 6.
Sept.
ἐξουσιασ-
τής.

8. From all this it is plain that what he had as Word, that when He had become man and was risen again, He says that He received humanly²; that for His sake men might henceforward upon earth have power against devils, as having become partakers of a divine nature; and in heaven, as being delivered from corruption, might reign everlastingly. Thus we must acknowledge this once for all, that nothing which He says that He received, did He receive as not possessing before; for the Word, as being God, had them always; but in these passages He is said humanly to have received that, whereas the flesh received in Him, henceforth from it the gift might abide³ surely for us. For what is said by Peter, *receiving from God honour and glory, Angels being made subject unto Him*, has this meaning; for as He inquired humanly, and raised Lazarus divinely, so He received is spoken of Him humanly, but the subjection of the Angels marks the Word's Godhead.

² p. 245.

³ διαμεί-
νῃ, p.
380, r. 1.
2 Pet. 1,
17.
1 Pet. 3,
22.

§. 41.
⁴ θεοστου-
γείς,
supr. p.
424, r. 2.
infr. p.
484, r. 3.

de Mort.
Ar. 1.
In illud
Omn. ii,
b.
⁵ p. 400,
note d.
⁶ ἢ λόγος

9. Cease then, O ye abhorred of God¹, and degrade not the Word; nor detract from His Godhead, which is the Father's⁵, as though He needed or were ignorant; lest ye be casting your own arguments against the Christ, as the Jews who once stoned Him. For these are not the Word's, as the Word⁶; but are proper to men; and, as when He spat, and stretched

Disc.
III.¹κατορθώματα²θεοφορεῖται ἐν τῷ λόγῳJohn 2,
4.

forth the hand, and called Lazarus, we did not say that the triumphs¹ were human, though they were done through the body, but were God's, so, on the other hand, though human things are ascribed to the Saviour in the Gospel, let us, considering the nature of what is said and that they are foreign to God, not impute them to the Word's Godhead, but to His manhood. For though *the Word became flesh*, yet to the flesh are the affections proper; and though the flesh is possessed² by God in the Word, yet to the Word belong the grace and the power. He did then the Father's works through the flesh; and as truly contrariwise were the affections of the flesh displayed in Him; for instance, He inquired and He raised Lazarus, He chid^c His Mother, saying, *My hour is not yet come*, and then at once He made the water wine. For He was Very God in the flesh, and He was true flesh in the Word. Therefore from His works He revealed both Himself as Son of God, and His own Father, and from the affections of the flesh He shewed that He bore a true body, and that it was proper to Him.

^c ἐπέπληττε; and so ἐπετίμησε, Chrysost. in loc. Joann. and Theophyl. ὡς δεσπότης ἐπιτιμᾷ, Theodor. Eran. ii. p. 106. ἐντρέπει, Anon. ap. Corder. Cat. in loc. μέμφεται, Alter Anon. ibid. ἐπιτιμᾷ οὐκ ἀτιμάζων ἀλλὰ διορθούμενος, Euthym. in loc. οὐκ ἐπέπληξεν, Pseudo-Justin. Quæst. ad Orthodox. 136. It is remarkable that Athan. dwells on these words as implying our Lord's humanity, (i. e. because Christ appeared to *decline* a miracle,) when one reason assigned for them by the Fathers is that He wished, in the words τί μοι καί σοι, to remind S. Mary that He was the Son of God and must be "about His Father's business." "Repellens ejus intempestivam festinationem," Iren. Hær.

iii. 16, n. 7. who thinks S. Mary desired to drink of His cup; others that their entertainer was poor, and that she wished to befriend him. Nothing can be argued from S. Athan.'s particular word here commented on how he would have taken the passage. That the tone of our Lord's words is indeed (judging humanly and speaking humanly) cold and distant, is a simple fact, but it may be explained variously. It is observable that ἐπιπλήττει and ἐπιτιμᾷ are the words used (infr. p. 477, note a.) for our Lord's treatment of His own sacred body. But they are very vague words, and have a strong meaning or not, as the case may be.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; ELEVENTHLY, MARK xiii. 32, AND
LUKE ii. 52.

Arian explanation of the former text is against the *Regula Fidei*; and against the context. Our Lord said He was ignorant of the Day, by reason of His human nature; from sympathy with man. If the Holy Spirit knows the Day, therefore the Son knows; if the Son knows the Father, therefore He knows the Day; If He has all that is the Father's, therefore knowledge of the Day; if in the Father, He knows the Day in the Father; if the Father's Image, He knows the Day; if He created and upholds all things, He knows the Day when they will cease to be. He knows not, as representing us, argued from Matt. 24, 42. As He asked about Lazarus's grave, &c. yet knew, so He knows; as S. Paul says, "whether in the body I know not," &c. yet knew, so He knows. He said He knew not for our profit, that we be not curious, (as in Acts 1, 7. where on the contrary He did not say He knew not;) that we be not secure and slothful. As the Almighty asks of Adam and of Cain, yet knew, so the Son knows. Again, He advanced in Wisdom also as man, else He made Angels perfect before Himself. He advanced, in that the Godhead was manifested in Him \ more fully as time went on.

1. THESE things being so, come let us now examine into §. 42.
But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, neither the Mark 13,
Angels of God nor the Son^a; for being in great ignorance as 32.
regards these words, and being stupified¹ about them, they 1 σκοποδι-
think they have in them an important argument for their νιῶντες,
heresy. But I, when the heretics allege it and prepare de Decr.
themselves with it, see in them the giants² again fighting §. 18 mit.
p. 336,
r. 2.

^a S. Basil takes the words οὐδ' ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, to mean, "nor does the Son know, except the Father knows," or "nor would the Son but for, &c." or "nor does the Son know, except as the Father knows." "The cause of the Son's knowing is from the Father." Ep. 236, 2. S. Gregory alludes to the same interpretation, οὐδ' ὁ υἱός ἢ ὡς ὅτι ὁ πατήρ, "Since the Father knows, therefore the Son." Naz. Orat.

30, 16. S. Irenæus seems to adopt the same when he says, "The Son was not ashamed to refer the knowledge of that day to the Father;" Hær. ii. 28, n. 6. as Naz. supr. uses the words ἐπὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναφερέσθω. And so Photius distinctly, εἰς ἀρχὴν ἀναφέρεται. "Not the Son, but the Father, that is, whence knowledge comes to the Son as from a fountain." Epp. p. 342. ed. 1651.

² γίγαντας θεομαχοῦντας, p. 325, note d.

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against God. For the Lord of heaven and earth, by whom all things were made, has to litigate before them about day and hour; and the Word who knows all things, is accused by them of ignorance about a day; and the Son who knows the Father, is said to be ignorant of an hour of a day; now what can be spoken more contrary to sense, or what madness can be likened to this? Through the Word all things were made, times and seasons and night and day and the whole creation; and is the Framer of all said to be ignorant of His work? And the very context¹ of the passage shews that the Son of God knows that hour and that day, though the Arians fall headlong in their ignorance. For after saying, *nor the Son*, He relates to the disciples the approaches of the day, saying, "This and that shall be, and then the end." But He who speaks of the antecedents of the day, knows certainly the day also, which shall be manifested subsequently to the things foretold. But if He had not known the hour, He had not signified the events before it, as not knowing when it should be. And as any one, who, by way of pointing out a house or city to those who were ignorant of it, gave an account of the things that preceded the house or city, and having described all particulars, said, "Then immediately comes the city or the house," would know of course, where the house or the city was, (for had he not known, he had not described these antecedents, lest from ignorance he should throw his hearers far out of the way, or in speaking he should unawares go beyond the object,) so the Lord saying what shall precede that day and that hour, knows exactly, not is ignorant, when the hour and the day are at hand.

¹ εἰρημός

§. 43.

² περιεργάσασθαι,
p. 426,
note q.
Rom. 11,
34.

2. Now why it was that, though He knew, He did not tell His disciples plainly at that time, no one may be curious² where He has been silent; *for who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His counsellor?* but why, though He knew, He said, *no, not the Son knows*, this I think none of the faithful is ignorant, viz. that He made this as those other declarations as man by reason of the flesh. For this as before is not the Word's deficiency³, but of that human nature⁴ whose property it is to be ignorant. And this again will be well seen by honestly examining into the occasion, when and to whom the Saviour spoke thus. Not then when

³ ἐλάττωμα,
p. 244,
r. l.
⁴ φύσις εἰς ἑαυτὸν,
vid.
p. 345,
note g.

the heaven was made by Him, nor when He was with the Father Himself, the Word *disposing all things*, nor before He became man did He say it, but when *the Word became flesh*. On this account it is reasonable to ascribe to His manhood every thing which, after He became man, He speaks humanly. For it is proper to the Word to know what was made, nor be ignorant either of the beginning or the end of these, (for the works are His,) and He knows how many things He has wrought, and the limit of their consistence. And knowing of each the beginning and the end, He knows surely the general and common end of all.

3. Certainly when He says in the Gospel concerning Himself in His human character, *Father, the hour is come, glorify Thy Son*, it is plain that He knows also the hour of the end of all things, as the Word, though as man He is ignorant of it, for ignorance is proper to man^b, and especially ignorance of these things. Moreover this is proper to the Saviour's love of man; for since He was made man, He is not ashamed, because of the flesh which is ignorant¹, to say "I know not,"¹ that He may shew that knowing as God, He is but ignorant

CHAP.
XXVIII.
Prov. 3,
27. Sept.
John 1,
14.

John 17,
1.

¹ p. 469,
r. 1.

^b Though our Lord, as having two natures, had a human as well as a divine knowledge, and though that human knowledge was not only limited because human, but liable to ignorance in matters in which greater knowledge was possible; yet it is the doctrine of the Church, that *in fact* He was not ignorant even in His human nature, according to its capacity, since it was from the first taken out of its original and natural condition, and "deified" by its union with the Word. As then (*supra* p. 344, note f.) His manhood was created, yet He may not be called a creature even in His manhood, and as (*supra* p. 300, note b.) His flesh was in its abstract nature a servant, yet He is not a servant in fact, even as regards the flesh; so, though He took on Him a soul which left to itself had been partially ignorant, as other human souls, yet as ever enjoying the beatific vision from its oneness with the Word, it never was ignorant really, but knew all things which human soul can know. *vid. Eulog. ap. Phot.* 230. p. 384. As Pope Gregory expresses it, "Novit in naturâ, non ex naturâ

humanitatis." *Epp. x.* 39. However, this view of the sacred subject was received by the Church after S. Athanasius's day, and it cannot be denied that he and others of the most eminent Fathers use language which *primâ facie* is inconsistent with it. They certainly seem to impute ignorance to our Lord as man, as Athan. in this passage. Of course it is not meant that our Lord's soul has the same perfect knowledge as He has as God. This was the assertion of a General of the Hermits of S. Austin at the time of the Council of Basil, when the proposition was formally condemned, *animam Christi Deum videre tam clarè et intensè quàm clarè et intensè Deus videt seipsum. vid. Berti Opp. t. 3. p. 42.* Yet Fulgentius had said, "I think that in no respect was full knowledge of the Godhead wanting to that Soul, whose Person is one with the Word: whom Wisdom so assumed that it is itself that same Wisdom." *ad Ferrand. iii. p. 223. ed. 1639.* Yet, *ad Trasmund. i. 7.* he speaks of ignorance attaching to our Lord's human nature.

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§. 44.

according to the flesh^c. And therefore He said not, “no, not the Son of God knows,” lest the Godhead should seem ignorant, but simply, *no, not the Son*, that the ignorance might be the Son’s as born from among men. On this account, He alludes to the Angels, but He did not go further and say, “not the Holy Ghost,” but He was silent, with a double intimation; first that if the Spirit knew, much more must the Word know, considered as the Word¹, from whom the Spirit receives²; and next by His silence about the Spirit, He made it clear, that He said of His human ministry³, *no, not the Son*.

¹ ἦ λόγος
ἐστι
² p. 248.
Serap. i.
³ 20 fin.
³ λειτούρ-
γίας

4. And a proof of it is this; that, when He had spoken humanly^d *No, not the Son knows*, He yet shews that divinely He knew all things. For that Son whom He declares not

^c And so Athan. ad Serap. ii. 9. S. Basil on the question being asked him by S. Amphilochius, says that he shall give him the answer he had “heard from a boy from the fathers,” but which was more fitted for pious Christians than for cavillers, and that is, that “our Lord says many things to men in His human aspect; as ‘Give me to drink,’ . . . yet He who asked was not flesh without a soul, but Godhead using flesh which had one.” Ep. 236, 1. He goes on to suggest another explanation which has been mentioned p. 459, note a. And S. Cyril, “Let them then [the Arians] strip the Word openly of the flesh and what it implies, and destroy outright the whole Economy, and then they will clearly see the Son as God; or, if they shudder at this as impious and absurd, why blush they at the conditions of the manhood, and determine to find fault with what especially befits the economy of the flesh?” Trin. pp. 623, 4. vid. also Thes. p. 220. “As He submitted as man to hunger and thirst, so . . . to be ignorant.” p. 221. vid. also Greg. Naz. Orat. 30, 15. Theodoret expresses the same opinion very strongly, speaking of a gradual revelation to the manhood from the Godhead, but in an argument where it was to his point to do so; in Anath. 4. t. v. p. 23. ed. Schutze. Theodore of Mopsuestia also speaks of a revelation made by the Word, ap. Leont. c. Nest. (Canis. i. p. 579.)

^d Leporius, in his Retraction, which S. Augustine subscribed, writes, “That I may in this respect also leave nothing to be cause of suspicion to any one, I then said, nay I answered when

it was put to me, that our Lord Jesus Christ was ignorant as He was man, (secundum hominem.) But now not only do I not presume to say so, but I even anathematize my former opinion expressed on this point, because it may not be said, that the Lord of the Prophets was ignorant even as He was man.” ap. Sirm. t. i. p. 210. A subdivision also of the Eutychnians were called by the name of Agnoetæ from their holding that our Lord was ignorant of the day of judgment. “They said,” says Leontius, “that He was ignorant of it, as we say that He underwent toil.” de Sect. 5. circ. fin. Felix of Urgela held the same doctrine according to Agobard’s testimony, as contained p. 466, note g. The Ed. Ben. observes on the text, that the assertion of our Lord’s ignorance “seems to have been condemned in no one in ancient times, unless joined to other error.” And Petavius, after drawing out the authorities for and against it, says, “Of these two opinions, the latter, which is now received both by custom and by the agreement of divines, is deservedly preferred to the former. For it is more agreeable to Christ’s dignity, and more befitting His character and office of Mediator and Head, that is, Fountain of all grace and wisdom, and moreover of Judge, who is concerned in knowing the time fixed for exercising that function. In consequence, the former opinion, though formerly it received the countenance of some men of high eminence, was afterwards marked as a heresy.” Incarn. xi. 1. §. 15.

to know the day, Him He declares to know the Father; for *No one*, He says, *knoweth the Father save the Son*. And all men but the Arians would join in confessing, that He who knows the Father, much more knows the whole history¹ of the creation; and in that whole, its end. And if already the day and the hour be determined by the Father, it is plain that through the Son are they determined, and He knows Himself what through Him has been determined²; for there is nothing, but has come to be and has been determined through the Son. Therefore, He, being the Framer of the universe, knows of what nature, and of what magnitude, and with what limits, the Father has willed it to be made; and in the how much and how far is included its period³. And again, if all that is the Father's, is the Son's, (and this He Himself has said,) and it is the Father's attribute to know the day, it is plain that the Son too knows it, having this proper to Him from the Father. And again, if the Son be in the Father and the Father in the Son, and the Father knows the day and the hour, it is clear that the Son, being in the Father and knowing the things of the Father, knows Himself also the day and the hour. And if the Son is also the Father's Very Image, and the Father knows the day and the hour, it is plain that the Son has this likeness^e also to the Father of knowing them. And it is not wonderful if He, through whom all things were made, and in whom the universe consists, Himself knows what has been brought to be, and when the end will be of each and of all together; rather is it wonderful that this audacity, suitable as it is to the madness of the Ario-manics, should have forced us to have recourse to so long an explanation. For ranking the Son of God, the Eternal Word, among things generate, they are not far from venturing to maintain that the Father Himself is second to the creation; for if He who knows the Father knows not the day nor the hour, I fear lest knowledge of the creation, or rather of the lower portion of it, be greater, as they in their madness would say, than knowledge concerning the Father.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
Matt. 11,
27.

¹ τὸ ὅλον

² pp. 338,
412, 466,
r. 2.
p. 337,
note c.

³ ἀλλαγὴ
John 16,
15.

^e Basil. Ep. 236, 1. Cyril. Thes. p. 220. Quomodo vultis hæc fecisse Dei filium? numquid quasi annulum qui non sentit quod exprimit? Ambros. de fid. v. 197. Hence the force of the

word "living" commonly joined to such words as εἰκὼν, σφραγίς, βουλή, ἐνέργεια, when speaking of our Lord, e. g. Naz. Orat. 30. 20, c. Vid. p. 491, note n.

Disc.
III.§. 45.
1 p. 252,
note h.
2 χριστο-
φόρου
3 ἢ λόγος
ἐστίν.

5. But for them, when they thus blaspheme the Spirit, they must expect no remission ever of such irreligion, as the Lord has said¹; but let us, who love Christ and bear Christ within us², know that the Word, not as ignorant, considered as Word³, has said *I know not*, for He knows, but as shewing His manhood^f, in that to be ignorant is proper to man, and

^f It is a question to be decided, whether our Lord speaks of actual ignorance in His human Mind, or of the natural ignorance of that Mind considered as human; ignorance in or ex naturâ; or, which comes to the same thing, whether He spoke of a real ignorance, or of an economical or professed ignorance, in a certain view of His incarnation or office, as when He asked, "How many loaves have ye?" when "He Himself knew what He would do," or as He is called sin, though sinless. Thus it has been noticed, supra p. 359, note f. that Ath. seems to make His infirmities altogether but imputative, not real, as if shewing that the subject had not in his day been thoroughly worked out. In like manner S. Hilary, who, if the passage be genuine, states so clearly our Lord's ignorance, de Trin. ix. fin. yet, as Petavius observes, seems elsewhere to deny to Him those very affections of the flesh to which he has there paralleled it. And this view of Athan.'s meaning is favoured by the turn of his expressions. He says such a defect belongs to "that human nature whose property it is to be ignorant;" §. 43. that "since He was made man, He is not ashamed, because of the flesh which is ignorant, to say 'I know not;'" ibid. and, as here, that "as shewing His manhood, in that to be ignorant is proper to man, and that He had put on a flesh that was ignorant, being in which, He said according to the flesh, 'I know not;'" "that He might shew that as man He knows not;" §. 46. that "as man," (i. e. on the ground of being man, not in the capacity of man,) "He knows not;" ibid. and that "He asks about Lazarus humanly," even when "He was on His way to raise him," which implied surely knowledge in His human nature. The reference to the parallel of S. Paul's professed ignorance when He really knew, §. 47. leads us to the same suspicion. And so "for our profit, as I think, did He this." §. 48—50. The natural want of precision on such questions in the early ages was shewn or

fostered by such words as *οἰκονομικῶς*, which, in respect of this very text, is used by S. Basil to denote both our Lord's Incarnation, Ep. 236, 1 fin. and His gracious accommodation of Himself and His truth, Ep. 8, 6. and with the like variety of meaning, with reference to the same text, by Cyril. Trin. p. 623. and Thesaur. p. 224. (And the word *dispensatio* in like manner, Ben. note on Hil. x. 8.) In the latter Ep. S. Basil suggests that our Lord "economizes by a feigned ignorance." §. 6. And S. Cyril in Thesaur. l. c. in spite of his strong language quoted above, "The Son knows all things, though economically He says He is ignorant of something." Thesaur. p. 224. And even in de Trin. vi. he seems to recognise the distinction laid down just now between the natural and actual state of our Lord's humanity; "God would not make it known even to the Son Himself, were he a mere man upon earth, as they say, and not having it in His nature to be God." p. 629. And S. Hilary arguing that He must as man know the day of judgment, for His coming is as man, says, "Since He is Himself a sacrament, let us see whether He be ignorant in the things which He knows not. For if in the other respects a profession of ignorance is not an intimation of not knowing, so here too He is not ignorant of what He knows not. For since His ignorance, in respect that all treasures of knowledge lie hid in Him, is rather an economy (dispensation) than an ignorance, you have a cause why He is ignorant without an intimation of not knowing" Trin. ix. 62. And he gives reasons why He professed ignorance, n. 67. viz. as S. Austin words it, *Christum se dixisse nescientem, in quo alios facit occultando nescientes*. Ep. 180, 3. S. Austin follows him, saying, *Hoc nescit quod nescienter facit*. Trin. i. 23. Pope Gregory says that the text "is most certainly to be referred to the Son not as He is Head, but as to His body which we are." Ep. x. 39. And S. Ambrose distinctly; "The Son which took on Him the flesh, assumed our

that He had put on a flesh that was ignorant¹, being in which, CHAP. XXVIII. p. 469, r. 1. He said according to the flesh, *I know not*. And for this reason, after saying, *No not the Son knows*, and mentioning the ignorance of the men in Noe's day, immediately He added, "*Watch therefore, for ye know not in what hour your Lord doth come*, and again, *In such an hour as ye think not, the Son of man cometh*. For I too, having become as you for you, said *no, not the Son*." For, had He been ignorant divinely, He must have said, "*Watch therefore, for I know not*," and, "*In an hour when I think not*;" but in fact this hath He not said; but by saying *Ye know not* and *When ye think not*, He has signified that it belongs to man to be ignorant; for whose sake He too having a flesh like theirs and having become man, said *No, not the Son knows*, for He knew not in flesh, though knowing as Word.

6. And again the example from Noe exposes the shamelessness of Christ's enemies; for there too He said, not, "*I knew not*," but *They knew not until the flood came*. For men Matth. 24, 39. did not know, but He who brought the flood (and it was the Saviour Himself) knew the day and the hour, in which He opened the windows of heaven, and broke up the fountains of the great deep, and said to Noe, *Come thou and all thy house into the ark*. For were He ignorant, He had not foretold to Noe, *Yet seven days and I will bring a flood upon the earth*. Gen. 7, 1. v. 4. But if in describing the day, He makes use of the parallel of Noe's time, and He did know the day of the flood, therefore He knows also the day of His own appearing. Moreover, after §. 46. narrating the parable² of the Virgins, again He shows more 2 δμολοσι clearly who they are who are ignorant of the day and the hour, saying, *Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour*. He who said shortly before, *No one knoweth, no not the Son*, now says not "*I know not*," but *ye know not*. Matth. 25, 13. In like manner then, when His disciples asked about the end, suitably said He then, *no, nor the Son*, according to the

affections, so as to say that He knew not with our ignorance; not that He was ignorant of any thing Himself, for, though He seemed to be man in truth of body, yet He was the life and light, and virtue went out of Him, &c." de fid. v. 222. And so Cæsarius, Qu. 20. and Photius Epp. p. 366. Chrysost. in

Matth. Hom. 77, 3. Theodoret, however, but in controversy, is very severe on the principle of Economy. "If He knew the day, and wishing to conceal it, said He was ignorant, see what a blasphemy is the result. Truth tells an untruth." l. c. pp. 23, 4.

Disc. III. — flesh because of the body; that He might shew that, as man, He knows not; for ignorance is proper to man ^g. If however He is the Word, if it is He who is to come, He to be Judge, He to be the Bridegroom, He knoweth when and in what hour He cometh, and when He is to say, *Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.* For as, on becoming man, He hungers and thirsts and suffers with men, so with men, as man He knows not, though divinely, being in the Father Word and Wisdom, He knows, and there is nothing which He knows not.

Eph. 5,
14.

¹ vid.
p. 454.

7. In like manner also about Lazarus ¹ He asks humanly, who was on His way to raise him, and knew whence He should recall Lazarus's soul; and it was a greater thing to know where the soul was, than to know where the body lay; but He asked humanly, that He might raise divinely. So too He asks of the disciples, on coming into the parts of Cæsarea, though knowing even before Peter made answer. For if the Father revealed to Peter the answer to the Lord's question, it is plain that through the Son ² was the revelation, for *No one knoweth the Son, saith He, but the Father, neither the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son shall reveal Him.* But if through the Son is revealed the knowledge both of the Father and the Son, there is no room for doubting that the Lord who asked, having first revealed it to Peter from the Father, next asked humanly; in order to shew, that asking after the flesh, He knew divinely what Peter was about to say. The Son then knew, as knowing all things, and knowing His own Father, than which knowledge nothing can be greater or more perfect.

² p. 463,
r. 2.
Luke 10,
22.

§. 47. 8. This is sufficient to confute them; but to shew still

^g The mode in which Athan. here expresses himself, is as if he did not ascribe ignorance literally, but apparent ignorance, to our Lord's soul, vid. supr. p. 464. note f; not certainly in the broad sense in which heretics have done so. As Leontius, e. g. reports of Theodore of Mopsuestia, that he considered Christ "to be ignorant so far, as not to know, when He was tempted, who tempted Him;" contr. Nest. iii. (Canis. t. i. p. 579.) and Agobard of Felix the Adoptionist that he held "Our Lord Jesus Christ according to the flesh *truly*

to have been ignorant of the sepulchre of Lazarus, when He said to his sisters, 'Where have ye laid him?' and was *truly* ignorant of the day of judgment; and was *truly* ignorant what the two disciples were saying, as they walked by the way, of what had been done at Jerusalem; and was *truly* ignorant whether He was more loved by Peter than by the other disciples, when He said, 'Simon Peter, Lovest thou Me more than these?'" B. P. t. 9. p. 1177. The Agnoetæ have been noticed just above.

further how hostile they are to the truth and Christ's enemies, I could wish to ask them a question. The Apostle in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians writes, *I knew a man in Christ, above fourteen years ago, whether in the body I do not know, or whether out of the body I do not know; God knoweth*^h. What now say ye? Knew the Apostle what had happened to him in the vision, though he says *I know not*, or knew he not? If he knew not, see to it, lest, being familiar with error, ye err in the trespass¹ of the Phrygiansⁱ who say that the Prophets and the other ministers of the Word know neither what they do nor concerning what they announce. But if he knew when he said *I know not*, for he had Christ within him revealing to him all things, is not the heart of

² Cor.
12, 2.

¹ παρανο-
μίας, p.
401,
note f.

^h S. Augustine understands the passage differently, i. e. that S. Paul really did not know whether or not he was in the body. Gen. ad lit. xii. 14.

ⁱ S. Jerome on the first words of the book of Nahum says, "He speaks not in ecstasy, as Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla rave; but what he prophesies, is a book of vision of one who understands all that he says, and a burden of enemies of one who has a vision among his people." Præf. in Naum. In like manner Tertullian in one of his Montanistic works speaks of "amentia, as the spiritualis vis qua constat prophætia;" and he considers Adam's sleep as an ecstasy, and "This is bone of my bone, &c." as his prophecy. de Anim. 21. And a contemporary writer in Eusebius, says that Montanus "had suddenly a seizure and ecstasy, and was in a transport, and began to speak and to utter an unknown language, ξειροφωνεῖν, prophesying beside the custom of the Church, as received by tradition and succession from antiquity." Hist. v. 16. Epiphanius too, noticing the failure of Maximilla's prophecies, says, "Whatever the prophets have said, they spoke with understanding, following the sense." Hær. 48. p. 403. And he proceeds to speak of their "settled mind," and their "self-possession," and their not being "carried away as if in ecstasy," which gained them the name of "Seers;" and he instances Moses, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. And so S. Cyril of the True Spirit: "His coming is gentle, the perception of Him is fragrant, most light is His burden, beams of light and knowledge gleam forth before His coming, &c." Cat. xvi. 16. "It is to be observed," says Leslie, "that the beginnings of

several heresies and sects have been attended with these sort of violent and preternatural transports, as in John of Leyden, Knipperdolling, and some later enthusiasts among ourselves, besides the Quakers. Such punishments did in the primitive Church often follow the sentence of excommunication upon notorious offenders." Works, vol. 5. p. 64. Since his time the Wesleyans furnish an instance not very dissimilar. "Many of those that heard," says Wesley, "began to call upon God with strong cries and tears; some sank down, and there remained no strength in them; others exceedingly trembled and quaked; some were torn with a kind of convulsive motion in every part of their bodies, and that so violently, that often four or five persons could not hold one of them." Southey's Wesley, vol. i. p. 271. And so the French Prophets; "She leaned back in her chair, and had strong workings in her breast, and uttered deep sighs. Her head, and her hands, and by turns every part of her body, were affected with convulsive motions, &c." *ibid.* p. 279. And so of the Irvingite prophetesses, Mr. Pilkington says, "The 'Tongue' . . . burst forth . . . with an astonishing and terrible crash, so suddenly and in such short sentences, that I seldom recovered the shock before the English commenced . . . Her whole frame was in violent agitation, but principally the body from the hips to the shoulders, which worked with a lateral motion, &c." The Unknown Tongues, pp. 5 and 17. "With an appearance of surprise he asked me what I intended by it? I replied, 'It is what I understand the 'Tongues to mean.' 'How can you, Sir, undertake to interpret the words of God? &c.'" Bacchatur vates, magnum si pec-

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Tit. 3.

God's enemies indeed perverted and *self-condemned*? for when the Apostle says, *I know not*, they say that he knows; but when the Lord says, "I know not," they say that He does not know. For if since Christ was within him, Paul knew that of which he says, *I know not*, does not much more Christ Himself know, though he say, "I know not?" The Apostle then, the Lord revealing it to him, knew what happened; for on this account he says, *I knew a man in Christ*; and knowing the man, he knew also how the man was caught away. Thus Eliseus, who beheld Elias, knew also how he was taken up; but though knowing, yet when the sons of the Prophets thought that Elias was cast upon one of the mountains by the Spirit, he knowing from the first what he had seen, tried to persuade them; but when they urged it, he was silent, and suffered them to go after him. Did he then not know, because he was silent? he knew indeed, but as if not knowing, he suffered them, that they being convinced, might no more doubt about the assumption of Elias. Therefore much more Paul, himself being the person caught away, knew also how he was caught; for Elias knew; and had any one asked, he would have said how. And yet Paul says *I know not*, for these two reasons, as I think at least, one, as he has said himself, lest because of the abundance of the revelations any one should think of him beyond what he saw; the other, because, our Saviour having said "I know not," it became him also to say *I know not*, lest the servant should appear above his Lord, and the disciple above his Master. Therefore He who gave to Paul to know, much rather knew Himself; for since He spoke of the antecedents of the day, He also knew, as I said before, when the Day and when the Hour, and yet though knowing, He says, *No, not the Son knoweth.*

§. 48.

9. Why then said He at that time "I know not," what He, as Lord^l, knew? as we may by searching conjecture, for our profit^k, as I think at least, did He this; and may He

^l δεσπο-
της, p.
479, r. 5.

tore possit Excussisse Deum, &c. Virg. Æn. vi. 78. p. 19. In thede Syn. 4. supr. p. 78. Athan. speaks of the Montanists as making a fresh beginning of Christianity; i. e. they were the first heretics who professed to prophesy and to introduce a new or additional revelation. vid. Neander's Church History, (Rose's tr.) vol. 2. pp. 176—187.

^k This expression, which repeatedly occurs in this and the following sections, surely implies that there was something economical in our Lord's profession of ignorance. He said with a purpose, not as a mere plain fact or doctrine. And so S. Cyril, "He says that He is ignorant *for our sake*, and among us, as man;" Thes. p. 221. "economically

grant to what we are now proposing a true meaning! On both sides did the Saviour secure our advantage; for He hath made known what comes before the end, that, as He said Himself, we might not be startled nor scared, when they happen, but from them may expect the end after them. And concerning the day and the hour He was not willing to say according to His Divine nature, "I know," but after the flesh, "I know not," for the sake of the flesh which was ignorant¹, ^{r. 1.} ^{p. 461,} as I have said before; lest they should ask Him further, ^{p. 465,} and then either He should have to pain the disciples by not speaking, or by speaking might act to the prejudice of them and us all. For whatever He does, that altogether He does for our sakes, since also for us *the Word became flesh*. For us therefore He said *No, not the Son knoweth*; and neither was He untrue in thus saying, (for He said humanly, as man, "I know not,") nor did He suffer the disciples to force Him to speak, for by saying "I know not." He stopped their inquiries.

10. And so in the Acts of the Apostles it is written, when He went upon the Angels, ascending as man, and carrying up to heaven the flesh which He bore, on the disciples seeing this, and again asking, "When shall the end be, and when wilt Thou be present?" He said to them more clearly, *It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in His own power.* ^{Acts 1, 7.} And He did not then say, *No, not the Son*, as He said before humanly, but, *It is not for you to know.* For now the flesh had risen and put off its mortality and been made God²; and no longer did ² θεοποιη-
θείσα

effecting, *οικονομῶν*, something profitable and good." *ibid.* And again, after stating that there was an objection, and paralleling His words with His question to S. Philip about the loaves, he says, "Knowing as God the Word, He *can*, as man, be ignorant." p. 223. "It is not a sign of ignorance, but of wisdom, for it was inexpedient that we should know it." *Ambros. de Fid. v. 209.* S. Chrysostom seems to say the same, denying that the Son was ignorant. in *Matt. 24, 36.* And Theophylact, "Had He said, 'I know, but I will not tell you,' they had been cast down, as if despised by Him; but now in saying 'not the Son but the Father only,' He

hinders them asking . . . for how can the Son be ignorant of the day?" Theophyl. in *loc. Matt.* "Often little children see their fathers holding something in their hands, and ask for it, but they will not give it. Then the children cry as not receiving it. At length the fathers hide what they have got and shew their empty hands to their children, and so stop their crying . . . For our profit hath He hid it." *ibid.* in *loc. Marc.* "For thee He is ignorant of the hour and day of judgment, though nothing is hid from the Very Wisdom . . . But He economizes this because of thy infirmity, &c." *Basil. Ep. 8, 6.*

Disc.
111.

it become Him to answer after the flesh when He was going into the heavens; but henceforth to teach after a divine manner, *It is not for you to know times or seasons which the Father hath put in His own power; but ye shall receive Power*¹. And what is that Power of the Father but the Son? §. 49. for Christ is *God's Power and God's Wisdom*. The Son then did know, as being the Word; for He implied this in what He said,—“I know but it is not for you to know; for it was for your sakes that sitting also on the mount I said according to the flesh, *No, not the Son knoweth*,” for the profit of you and all. For it is profitable to you to hear so much both of the Angels and of the Son, because of the deceivers which shall be afterwards; that though devils should be transfigured as Angels, and should attempt to speak concerning the end, you should not believe, since they are ignorant; and that, if Antichrist too, disguising himself, should say, “I am Christ,” and should try in his turn to speak of that day and end, to deceive the hearers, ye, having these words from Me, *No not the Son*, may believe him no more than the rest.

11. And further, not to know when the end is, or when the day of the end, is expedient for man, lest knowing, they may become negligent of the time between, awaiting the days near the end; for they will argue that then only must they attend to themselves^m. Therefore also has He been silent of the time when each shall die, lest men, being elated on the ground of knowledge, should forthwith neglect themselves for the greater part of their time. Both then, the end of all things and the limit of each of us hath the Word concealed from us, (for in the end of all is the end of each, and in the end of each the end of all is comprehended,) that, whereas it is uncertain and always in prospect, we may advance day by day as if summoned, reaching forward to the things before us and forgetting the things behind. For who, knowing the day of the end, would not be dilatory with the interval? but if ignorant, would not be ready day by day? It was on this account that the Saviour added,

vid.
Phil. 3,
13.
Mat. 24,
42.

¹ vid. Basil. Ep. 8, 6. Cyril. Thes. p. 222. Ambros. de fid. v. 212. Chrysost. and Hieron. in loc. Matt.

^m vid. Hilar. in Matt. Comment.

26, 4. de Trin. ix. 67. Ambros. de Fid. v. c. 17. Isidor. Pelus. Epp. i. 117. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 77, 2 and 3.

doth come; and, *In such an hour as ye think not, the Son of man cometh.* For the advantage then which comes of ignorance has He said this; for in saying it, He wishes that we should always be prepared; "for you," He says, "know not; but I, the Lord, know when I come, though the Arians do not wait for Me, who am the Word of the Father." The Lord then¹, knowing what is good for us beyond ourselves, thus secured the disciples; and they, being thus taught, set right those of Thessalonica when likely on this point to run into error.

CHAP. XXVIII.
Lukē 12, 40.

§. 50.

¹ ὁ μὲν οὖν . . .

vid.
2 Thes.
2, 1.

² . . . ἐπει-
δὴ δέ

12. However², since Christ's enemies do not yield even to these considerations, I wish, though knowing that they have a heart harder than Pharaoh, to ask them again concerning this. In Paradise God asks, *Adam, where art thou*ⁿ? and He inquires of Cain also, *Where is Abel, thy brother*^o? What then say you to this? for if you think Him ignorant and therefore to have asked, you are already of the party of the Manichees, for this is their bold thought; but if, fearing the open name, ye force yourselves to say, that He asks knowing, what is there extravagant or strange in the doctrine, that ye should thus fall, on finding that the Son,

Gen. 3,
9; 4, 9.

ⁿ This seems taken from Origen. "He who knows what is in the heart of men, Christ Jesus, as He has taught us in the Gospel of John, asks, yet is not ignorant. But since He has now taken on Him man, He adopts all that is man's, and among them the asking questions. Nor is it strange that the Saviour should do so, since the very God of all, accommodating Himself to the habits of man, as a father might to his son, inquires, for instance, 'Adam, where art thou?' and 'Where is Abel thy brother?'" in Matt. t. 10. §. 14. vid. also Pope Gregory and Chrysost. *infr.*

^o S. Chrysostom, S. Ambrose, and Pope Gregory, in addition to the instances in the text, refer to "I will go down now, and see whether they have done, &c. and if not, I will know." Gen. 18, 21. "The Lord came down to see the city and the tower, &c." Gen. 11, 5. "God looked down from heaven upon the children of men to see, &c." Ps. 53, 3. "It may be they will reverence My Son." Matt. 21, 37. Luke 20, 13. "Seeing a fig tree afar off,

having leaves, He came, *if haply He might find, &c.*" Mark 11, 13. "Simon, lovest thou Me?" John 21, 15. vid. Ambros. de Fid. v. c. 17. Chrys. in Matt. Hom. 77, 3. Greg. Epp. x. 39. Vid. also the instances *supr.* §. 37. Other passages may be added, such as Gen. 22, 12. vid. Berti Opp. t. 3. p. 42. But the difficulty of the passage lies in its signifying that there is a sense in which the Father knows what the Son knows not. Petavius, after S. Augustine, meets this by explaining it to mean that our Lord, *as sent* from the Father on a mission, was not to reveal all things, but observed a silence and professed an ignorance on those points which it was not good for His brethren to know. *As* Mediator and Prophet He was ignorant. He refers in illustration of this view to such texts as, 'I have not *spoken of Myself*, but the Father which sent Me, He gave Me commandment *what* I should say and *what* I should speak. . . . *Whatsoever* I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto Me, *so* I speak." John 12, 49. 50.

Disc. in whom God then inquired, that same Son who now is clad
 111. in flesh, inquires of the disciples as man? unless forsooth,
 ——— having become Manichees, you are willing to blame¹ the
 1 p. 189, question then put to Adam, and all that you may give full
 note a. play² to your perverseness.

2 νεανιεύ-
 ησθε, vid.
 Decr. 18
 13. For being exposed on all sides, you still make a
 in it. de whispering³ from the words of Luke, which are appropriately
 Fug. 4, b. said, but ill understood by you⁴. And what is this, we must
 3 τονθορύ- state, that so also their corrupt⁵ meaning may be shewn.
 ζετε, vid.
 Decr. 16.
 §. 51. Now Luke says, *And Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature,*
 Luke 2, *and in grace with God and man.* This then is the passage,
 52. and since they stumble in it, we are compelled to ask them,
 4 p. 341, as the Pharisees and the Sadducees, of the person concerning
 note i. whom Luke speaks. And the case stands thus. Is Jesus
 5 διεφθαρ- Christ man, as all other men, or is He God, bearing flesh?
 μένη, r. 484, If then He is an ordinary⁶ man as the rest, then let Him, as
 r. 1. a man, advance; this however is the sentiment of Samosatene,
 6 κούδος, which virtually indeed you entertain also, though in name you
 p. 446, deny it because of men. But if He be God bearing flesh⁷, as
 note q. He truly is, and *the Word became flesh*, and being God
 7 σάρκα descended upon earth, what advance⁸ had He who existed
 φερών equal to God? or how had the Son increase, being ever in
 8 προκο- the Father? For if He who was ever in the Father, advanced,
 πήν what, I ask, is there beyond the Father from which His ad-
 vance might be made? Next it is suitable here to repeat what
 9 vid was said upon the point of His receiving and being glorified.
 supr. If He advanced⁹ when He became man, it is plain that,
 p. 108, before He became man, He was imperfect⁶; and rather the
 note l. flesh became to Him a cause of perfection, than He to the
 vid. supr. flesh. And again, if, as being the Word, He advances, what
 §. 39. has He more to become than Word and Wisdom and Son
 Orat. iv. and God's power? For the Word is all these, of which if one
 11. can any how partake as it were one ray, such a man becomes
 all-perfect among men, and equal to Angels. For Angels,
 and Archangels, and Dominions, and all the Powers, and
 Thrones, as partaking the Word, behold always the face of
 His Father. How then does He who to others supplies
 perfection, Himself advance later than they? For Angels
 10 γέεσιw even ministered to His human birth¹⁰, and the passage from
 Luke comes later than the ministration of the Angels. How

then at all can it even come into thought of man? or how did Wisdom advance in wisdom? or how did He who to others gives grace, (as Paul says in every epistle¹, knowing that through Him grace is given, *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all*,) how did He advance in grace? for either let them say that the Apostle is untrue², and presume to say that the Son is not Wisdom, or else if He is Wisdom, as Solomon has said, and if Paul has written, *Christ God's Power and God's Wisdom*, of what advance did Wisdom admit further?

CHAP. XXVIII. p. 417.

14. For men, creatures as they are, are capable in a certain way of reaching forward and advancing in virtue^p. Enoch, for instance, was thus translated, and Moses increased and was perfected; and Isaac *by advancing became great*; and the Apostle said that he *reached forth* day by day to what was before him. For each had room for advancing, looking to the step before him. But the Son of God, who is One and Only, what room had He for reaching forward? for all things advance by looking at Him; and He, being One and Only, is in the Only Father, out of whom never does He reach, but in him abideth ever³. To men then belongs advance; but the Son of God, since He could not advance, being perfect in the Father, humbled Himself for us, that in His humbling we on the other hand might be able to increase. And our increase is no other than the renouncing things sensible, and coming⁴ to the Word himself; since His humbling is nothing else than His taking our flesh. It was not then the Word, considered as the Word⁵, who advanced, who is perfect from the perfect Father⁶, who needs nothing, nay brings forward others to an advance; but humanly is He here also said to advance, since advance belongs to man⁷. Hence

§. 52. vid. Gen. 26, 13. προκοπήτων Ath. προβαίνων Sept. vid. Phil. 3, 13. 3 p. 403, note 1.

4 γενέσθαι εἰς 5 ὃ λόγος ἐστὶ p. 291, note 1. 6 τέλ. ἐκ τε λ. p. 331, note p. 7 vid.

^p It is the doctrine of the Church that Christ, as man, was perfect in knowledge from the first, as if ignorance were hardly separable from sin, and were the direct consequence or accompaniment of original sin. "That ignorance," says S. Austin, "I in no wise can suppose existed in that Infant, in whom the Word was made flesh to dwell among us; nor can I suppose that that infirmity of the mind belonged to Christ as a babe, which we see in

babe. For in consequence of it, when they are troubled with irrational emotions, no reason, no command, but pain sometimes and the alarm of pain restrains them, &c." de Pecc. Mer. ii. 48. As to the limits of Christ's perfect knowledge as man, Petavius observes, that we must consider "that the soul of Christ knew all things that are or ever will be or ever have been, but not what are only *in posse*, not *in fact*." Incarn. xi. 3, 6.

Serm. Maj. de Fid. 18.

Disc.
III.
1 p. 298,
note a.

2 φανέ-
ρωσις,
p. 443,
note g.

Matt.
16, 16;
27, 54.
3 p. 282,
note a.

§. 53.
4 isolated
sen-
tence.
5 θεοποίη-
σις, p.
380,
note h.

6 ναὸς
θεοῦ,
p. 482,
r. 4.
7 p. 296,
r. 1.

the Evangelist, speaking with cautious exactness¹, has mentioned stature in the advance; but being Word and God He is not measured by stature, which belongs to bodies. Of the body then is the advance; for, it advancing, in it advanced also the manifestation² of the Godhead to those who saw it. And, as the Godhead was more and more revealed, by so much more did His grace as man increase before all men. For as a child He was carried to the Temple; and when He became a boy, He remained there, and questioned the priests about the Law. And by degrees His body increasing, and the Word manifesting Himself³ in it, He is confessed henceforth by Peter first, then also by all, *Truly this is the Son of God*; however wilfully the Jews, both the ancient and these modern³, blink with their eyes, lest they see that to advance in wisdom is not the advance of Wisdom Itself, but rather the manhood's advance in It. For *Jesus advanced in Wisdom and grace*; and, if we may speak what is explanatory as well as true, He advanced in Himself; for *Wisdom hath builded Herself an house*, and in Herself She gave the house advancement. (What moreover⁴ is this advance that is spoken of, but, as I said before, the deifying⁵ and grace imparted from Wisdom to men, sin being obliterated in them and their inward corruption, according to their likeness and relationship to the flesh of the Word?) For thus, the body increasing in stature, there progressed in and with it the manifestation of the Godhead also, and to all was it displayed that the body was God's Temple⁶, and that God was in the body⁷.

Q It is remarkable, considering the tone of his statements in the present chapter, that here and in what follows Athan. should resolve our Lord's advance in wisdom merely to its gradual manifestation through the flesh; and it increases the proof that his statements are not to be taken in the letter, and as if fully brought out and settled. Naz. says the same, Ep. ad Cleod. 101. p. 86. which is the more remarkable since he is chiefly writing against the Apollinarians who considered a φανέρωσις the great end of our Lord's coming; and Cyril. c. Nest. iii. p. 87. Theod. Hor. v. 13. On the other hand, S. Epiphanius speaks of Him as growing in wisdom as man. Her. 77. p. 1019—24. and S.

Ambrose, Incarn. 71—74. Vid. however Ambr. de fid. as quoted supr. p. 465, note f. The Ed. Ben. in Ambr. Incarn. considers the advancement of knowledge spoken of to be that of the "scientia experimentalis" alluded to in Hebr. 5, 8. which is one of the three kinds of knowledge possessed by Christ as man. vid. Berti Opp. t. 3. p. 41. Petavius, however, omits the consideration of this knowledge, which S. Thomas first denied in our Lord, and in his Summa ascribes to Him, as lying beyond his province. "De hac lite neutram in partem pronuntiare audeo. Hujusmodi enim questiones ad Scholas relegandæ sunt; de quibus nihil apud antiquos liquidi ac definiti reperitur." Incarn. xi. 4. §. 9.

15. And if they urge, that *The Word become flesh* is called Jesus, and refer to Him the term *advanced*, they must be told that neither does this impair¹ the Father's Light², which is the Son, but that it still shews that the Word has become man, and bore true flesh. And as we said³ that He suffered in the flesh, and hungered in the flesh, and was fatigued in the flesh, so also reasonably may He be said to have advanced in the flesh; for neither did the advance, such as we have described it, take place with the Word external to the flesh, for in Him was the flesh which advanced and His is it called, and that as before, that man's advance might abide⁴ and fail not, because of the Word which is with it. Neither then was the advance the Word's, nor was the flesh Wisdom, but the flesh became the body of Wisdom⁵. Therefore, as we have already said, not Wisdom, as Wisdom⁶, advanced in respect of Itself; but the manhood advanced in Wisdom, transcending by degrees human nature, and made God⁷, and becoming and appearing to all as the organ⁸ of Wisdom for the operation and the shining forth⁹ of the Godhead. Wherefore neither said he, "The Word advanced," but Jesus, by which name the Lord was called when He became man; so that the advance is of the human nature in such wise as we have above explained.

CHAR. XXVIII.

¹ p. 244, r. 1.

² p. 424,

note o.

³ p. 448.

⁴ p. 380, r. 1.

⁵ p. 444,

note i.

⁶ ἡ σοφία

⁷ θεοποιούμενον

⁸ ὄργανον,

p. 443,

note g.

⁹ ἐκλαμ-

ψιν, p.

355, r. 1.

CHAPTER XXIX.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; TWELFTHLY, MATTHEW XXVI. 39;
JOHN xii. 27. &c.

Arian inferences are against the Regula Fidei, as before. He wept and the like, as man. Other texts prove Him God. God could not fear. He feared because His flesh feared.

DISC. 1. THEREFORE as, when the flesh advanced, He is said to
111. have advanced, because the body was proper¹ to Him, so also
§. 54. what is said at the season of His death, that He was troubled,
1 ἰδιότητα that He wept, must be taken in the same sense². For they,
2 διανοία, p. 437, that He went up and down³, as if thereby recommending their heresy
r. 6. anew, allege; “Behold, *He wept*, and said, *Now is My soul*
et pas- *troubled*, and He besought that the cup might pass away;
sim. *troubled*, and He besought that the cup might pass away;
3 ἔνω καὶ κἀτω, how then, if He so spoke, is He God, and Word of the
vid. p. 22, Father?” Yea, it is written that He wept, O God’s enemies,
note y. and that He said, “I am troubled,” and on the Cross He
p. 323, said, *Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani*, that is, *My God, My God,*
note k. *why hast Thou forsaken Me?* and He besought that the cup
John 11, might pass away. Thus certainly it is written; but again I
35. Matt. 26, would ask you, (for the same rejoinder must of necessity be
27. made to each of your objections⁴;) If the speaker is mere⁵ man,
39. let him weep and fear death, as being man; but if He is the
Mark 15, 34. Word in flesh⁶, (for one must not be reluctant to repeat⁴;) whom
4 p. 394, had He to fear being God? or wherefore should He fear death,
note g. who was Himself Life, and was rescuing others from death?
5 ψιλός. 6 p. 475, or how, whereas He said, “Fear not him that kills the body,”
r. l. should He Himself fear him? And how should He who said
Luke 12, to Abraham, *Fear not, for I am with thee*, and encouraged
4. Moses against Pharaoh, and said to the son of Nun, *Be*
Gen. 15, *strong, and of a good courage*, Himself feel terror before
1; 26, 24. Herod and Pilate? Further, He who succours others against
Exod. 4. strong, and of a good courage, Himself feel terror before
Josh 1, Herod and Pilate? Further, He who succours others against
6.

fear, (for *the Lord*, says Scripture, *is on my side, I will not fear what man doeth unto me*;) did He fear governors, mortal men? did He who Himself was come against death, feel terror of death? Is it not both extravagant and irreligious to say that He was terrified at death or hell, whom the keepers of hell's gates¹ saw and shuddered? But if, as you would hold, the Word was in terror, wherefore, when He spoke long before of the conspiracy of the Jews, did He not flee, nay said when actually sought, *I am He?* for He could have avoided death, as He said, *I have power to lay down My life, and I have power to take it again;* and *No one taketh it from Me*².

2. But these affections were not proper to the nature of the Word, as far as He was Word³; but in the flesh which was thus affected was the Word, O Christ's enemies and unthankful Jews! For He said not all this prior to the flesh; but when the *Word became flesh*, and became man, then is it written that He said this, that is, humanly. Surely He of whom this is written, was He who raised Lazarus from the dead, and made the water wine, and vouchsafed sight to the man born blind, and said, *I and My Father are one*. If then they make His human attributes a ground for grovelling thoughts concerning the Son of God, nay consider Him altogether man from the earth, and not⁴ from heaven, wherefore not from His divine works recognise the Word who is in the Father, and henceforward renounce their self-willed irreligion? For they are given to see, how He who did the works, is the same as He who shewed that His body was passible by His permitting^a it to weep and hunger, and to

^a This our Lord's suspense or permission, at His will, of the operations of His manhood is a great principle in the doctrine of the Incarnation. "That He might give proof of His human nature," says Theophylact, on John 11, 34. "He allowed It to do Its own work, and chides It and rebukes It by the power of the Holy Spirit. The Flesh then, not bearing the rebuke, is troubled and trembles and gets the better of Its grief." And S. Cyril: "When grief began to be stirred in Him, and His sacred flesh was on the verge of tears, He suffers it not to be affected freely, as is our custom, but 'He was vehement (*ἐνεβριμήσατο*) in

the Spirit,' that is, He in some way chides His own Flesh in the power of the Holy Ghost; and It, not bearing the movement of the Godhead united to It, trembles, &c. . . . For this I think is the meaning of 'troubled Himself.'" fragm. in Joan. p. 635. Sensus corporei vigeant sine lege peccati, et veritas affectionum sub moderamine Deitatis et mentis. Leon. Ep. 35, 3. "Thou art troubled against thy will; Christ is troubled, because He willed it. Jesus hungered, yes, but because He willed it; Jesus slept, yes, but because He willed it; Jesus sorrowed, yes, but because He willed it; Jesus died, yes, but because He willed it.

CHAP. XXIX.
Ps. 118,

¹ supr. p. 83.
infr. p. 479.

John 18, 5; 10, 18.

² p. 431, note e.

§. 55.

³ p. 291, note 1.

John 10, 30.

⁴ ἀνθρώπων ὄλον, Orat. iv.

⁵ 35 fin.

⁵ ἰδίαν p. 236, note o.

Disc.
III.John 10,
38; 14,
10.John 10,
30.

§. 56.

¹ p. 241-3,
notes h
and i.
p. 375,
note u.
Serm.
Maj. de
Fid. 9.
Tertull.
de Carn.
Chr. 6.
² ἡ λόγος

shew other properties of a body. For while by means of such He made it known that God, though impassible, had taken a passible flesh; yet from the works He shewed Himself the Word of God, who had afterwards become man, saying, "Though ye believe not Me, beholding Me clad in a human body, yet believe the works, that ye may know that *I am in the Father and the Father in Me.*" And Christ's enemies seem to me to shew plain shamelessness and blasphemy; for, when they read *I and the Father are one*, they violently distort the sense, and separate the unity of the Father and the Son; but reading of His tears or sweat or sufferings, they do not advert to His body, but on account of these rank in the creation Him by whom the creation was made. What then is left for them to differ from the Jews in? for as the Jews blasphemously ascribed God's works to Beelzebub, so also will these, ranking with the creatures the Lord who wrought those works, undergo the same condemnation as theirs without mercy. But they ought, when they read *I and the Father are one*, to see in Him the oneness of the Godhead and the propriety of the Father's Substance; and again when they read, *He wept* and the like, to say that these are proper to the body; especially since on each side they have an intelligible ground, viz. that this is written as of God and that with reference to His manhood. For in the incorporeal, the properties of body had not been, unless He had taken a body corruptible and mortal¹; for mortal was Holy Mary, from whom was His body. Wherefore of necessity when He was in a body suffering, and weeping, and toiling, these things which are proper to the flesh, are ascribed to Him together with the body. If then He wept and was troubled, it was not the Word, considered as the Word², who wept and was troubled, but it was proper to the flesh; and if too He besought that the cup might pass away, it was not the Godhead that was in terror, but this affection too was proper to the manhood.

It was in His power to be affected so or so, or not to be affected." Aug. in Joan. xlix. 18. vid. infr. p. 481, note e. The Eutychians perverted this doctrine, as if it implied that our Lord was not subject to the laws of human nature; vid. supr. p. 243, note i. and

that He suffered *merely* "by permission of the Word." Leont. ap. Canis. t. 1. p. 563. In like manner Marcion or Manes said that His "flesh appeared from heaven in resemblance, ὡς ἠθέλησεν." Athan. contr. Apoll. ii. 3.

3. And that the words *Why hast Thou forsaken Me?* are His, according to the foregoing explanations; though He suffered nothing, (for the Word was impassible,) is notwithstanding declared by the Evangelists; since the Lord became man, and these things are done and said as from a man, that He might Himself lighten¹ these very sufferings of the flesh, and free it from them². Whence neither can the Lord be forsaken by the Father, who is ever in the Father, both before He spoke, and when He uttered these words. Nor is it lawful to say that the Lord was in terror, at whom the keepers of hell's gates shuddered³ and set open hell, and the graves did gape, and many bodies of the saints arose and appeared to their own people⁴. Therefore be every heretic dumb, nor dare to ascribe terror to the Lord whom death, as a serpent, flees, at whom devils tremble, and the sea is in alarm; for whom the heavens are rent and all the powers are shaken. For behold when He says, *Why hast Thou forsaken Me*, the Father shewed that He was ever and even then in Him; for the earth knowing its Lord⁵ who spoke, straightway trembled, and the veil was rent, and the sun was hidden, and the rocks were torn asunder, and the graves, as I have said, did gape, and the dead in them arose; and, what is wonderful, they who were then present and had before denied Him, then seeing these signs, confessed that *truly He was the Son of God*^b.

¹ pp. 448,
9, notes
z and a.
² p. 360,
note g.

³ pp. 83.
477.

⁴ vid.
Matt. 27,
52. 53.
similar
passage
In illud
Omn. 2.
c.

⁵ δεσπο-
τήν, p.
420, r. 2.

vid.
Matt. 27,
54.

^b Vid. p. 303 init. p. 450, note b. "Each form acts, in communion with the other, those acts which belong to itself; the Word working what is the Word's, and the flesh executing what is of the flesh. One of them is glorious in miracles, the other succumbs to injuries. . . . He is One and the Same, truly Son of God, and truly Son of man It belongs not to the same nature to weep with pity over a dead friend, and removing the stone of a fourth-day burial, to rouse him to life at the bidding of His voice; or to hang on the wood, and to turn day into night and make the elements shudder; or to be pierced through with nails, and to open the gates of paradise to the faith of the robber, &c." Leo's Tome, (Ep. 28.) 4. "The flesh is of a passible nature, but the Word of an operative. . . . Neither does the human nature quicken Lazarus, nor does the impassible Power weep over

him in the grave; but the tear is proper to the man, and the life to the True Life. Human poverty doth not feed the thousands, nor doth Almighty Power run to the fig-tree. Who is the wearied from His journeying, and who the giver of subsistence to the universe without effort? What is that out-streaming of glory, what that nailed thing? What form is buffeted upon His passion, and what form is glorified from everlasting, &c." Nyssen. contr. Eunom. iv. p. 161. "When He wept dead Lazarus, He wept as a man; but He was more than a man, when He bade the dead shake off his fetters and come forth. He was seen as a man when He hung at the cross, but as more than a man when He unlocked the tombs and raised the dead." Ambros. Epist. i. 46. n. 7. vid. Hil. Trin. x. 48. Also vid. Athan. Sent. D. 9 fin. Serm. Maj. de Fid. 24.

Disc.
III.
§. 57.
Matt.
16, 23.
¹ ἐμετίμα,
p. 457,
r. l.
p. 458,
note c.

4. And as to His saying, *If it be possible, let the cup pass*, observe how, though He thus spake, He rebuked¹ Peter, saying, *Thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men*. For He willed^c what He deprecated, for therefore had He come; but His was the willing, (for for it He came,) but the terror belonged to the flesh. Wherefore as man He utters this speech also, and yet both were said by the Same, to shew that He was God, willing in Himself, but when He had become man, having a flesh that was in terror. For the sake of this flesh He combined His own will with human weakness^d, that destroying this affection He might in

^c "I say not, perish the thought, that there are two wills in Christ at variance with each other, as you consider, and in opposition; nor at all a will of flesh, or of passion, or evil. . . But, since it was perfect man that He took on Him, that He might save him whole, and He is perfect in manhood, therefore we call that sovereign disposal of His orders and commands by the name of the Divine will in Christ, and we understand by human will the intellectual soul's power of willing, given it after the image and likeness of God, and breathed into it by God, when it was made, by means of this power to prefer and to obey, and to do the divine will and the divine orders. If then the soul of Christ was destitute of the power of reason, will, and preference, it is not indeed after the image of God, nor consubstantial with our souls. . . . and Christ cannot be called perfect in manhood. Christ then, being in the form of God, has according to the Godhead that lordly will which is common in Father and Holy Ghost; and, as having taken the form of a servant, He does also the will of His intellectual and immaculate soul, &c. . . . Else if this will be taken away, He will according to the Godhead be subject, and fulfil the Father's will as a servant. . . . as if there were two wills in the Godhead of Father and of Son, the Father's that of a Lord, the Son's that of a servant." Anast. Hodeg. i. p. 12.

^d It is observable that, as elsewhere we have seen Athan. speak of the *nature* of the Word, and of, not the *nature* of man as united to Him, but of *flesh, humanity*, &c. (vid. p. 345, note g.) so here, instead of speaking of two wills, he speaks of the Word's

willing and human weakness, terror, &c. In another place he says still more pointedly, "The *will* was of the Godhead alone; since the whole *nature* of the Word was manifested in the second Adam's *human form* and visible *flesh*." contr. Apoll. ii. 10. Yet elsewhere he distinctly expresses the Catholic view; "When He says, 'Father, if it be possible, &c.' and 'the spirit is willing, &c.' He mentions *two* wills, the one human, which belongs to the flesh, the other Divine, which belongs to God; for the human, because of the weakness of the flesh, prays against the passion, but His divine will is ready." de Incarn. c. Ar. 21. S. Leo on the same passage begins like Athan. in the text vaguely, but ends, as in Athan.'s second passage, distinctly; "The first request is one of infirmity, the second of power; the first He asked in our [character], the second in His own. . . . The inferior will gave way to the superior, &c." Serm. 56, 2. vid. a similar passage in Nyssen. Antirr. adv. Apol. 32. vid. also 31. An obvious objection may be drawn from such passages, as if the will "of the flesh" were represented as contrary (vid. foregoing note) to the will of the Word. It is remarkable, as Petavius observes, Incarn. ix. 9. that Athan. compares (as in the text) the influence of our Lord's divine will on His human, in the passage from the Incarn. quoted above, to His rebuke of S. Peter, "Get thee behind Me, &c." vid. sup. p. 477, note a. But this is but an analogous instance, not a direct resemblance. The whole of our Lord's prayer is offered by Him as man, because it is a prayer; the first part is not from Him as man, but the second which corrects it is from Him

turn make man undaunted in the thought of death. Behold then a thing strange indeed! He to whom Christ's enemies impute words of terror, He by that so-called¹ terror renders men undaunted and fearless. And so the Blessed Apostles after Him from such words of His conceived so great a contempt of death, as not even to care for those who questioned them, but to answer, *We ought to obey God rather than men.* And the other Holy Martyrs were so bold, as to think that they were rather passing to life than undergoing death. Is it not extravagant then, to admire the courage of the servants of the Word, yet to say that the Word Himself was in terror, through whom they despised death? But from that most enduring purpose and courage of the Holy Martyrs is shewn, that the Godhead was not in terror, but the Saviour took away our terror. For as He abolished death by death, and by human means all human evils, so by this so-called¹ terror did He remove our terror, and brought about that never more should men fear death. His word and deed go together. For human were the sounds, *Let the cup pass,* and *Why hast Thou forsaken Me?* and divine the act whereby the Same did cause the sun to fail and the dead to rise. Again He said humanly, *Now is My soul troubled;* and He said

divinely, *I have power to lay down My life, and power to take it again.* For to be troubled was proper to the flesh, and to have power to lay down His life^e and take it again,

СНАР.
XXIX.

¹ νομιζο-
μένην, vid.
Orat. i.
10. c. p.
339, r. 4.

Acts 5,
29.

John 12,
27; 10,
18.

as God; but the former part is from the sinless infirmity of our nature, the latter from His human will expressing its acquiescence in His Father's, that is, in His Divine Will. "His Will," says S. Greg. Naz. "was not contrary to God, being all deified, θεωθὲν ἔλον." ^c

This might be taken as an illustration of the ut voluit supr. p. 243, note i. And so the expressions in the Evangelists, "Into Thy hands I commend My Spirit," "He bowed the head," "He gave up the ghost," are taken to imply that His death was His free act. vid. Ambros. in loc. Luc. Hieron. in loc. Matt. also Athan. Serm. Maj. de Fid. 4. It is Catholic doctrine that our Lord, as man, submitted to death of His free will, and not as obeying an express command of the Father. "Who," says S. Chrysostom on John 10, 18. "has not power to lay down

His own life? for any one who will may kill himself. But He says not this, but how? 'I have power to lay it down in such sense that no one can do it against My will. . . . I alone have the disposal of My life,' which is not true of us." And still more appositely Theophylact, "It was open to Him not to suffer, not to die; for being without sin, He was not subject to death. . . . If then He had not been willing, He had not been crucified." in Hebr. 12, 2. "Since this punishment is contained in the death of the body, that the soul, because it has deserted God with its will, deserts the body against its will . . . the soul of the Mediator proved, how utterly clear of the punishment of sin was its coming to the death of the flesh, in that it did not desert it unwillingly, but because it willed, and when it willed, and as it willed. . . .

Disc. III. when He will, was no property of men but of the Word's power. For man dies, not by his own power, but by necessity of nature and against his will; but the Lord, being Himself immortal, but having a mortal flesh, had power, as God, to become separate from the body and to take it again, when He would. Concerning this too speaks David in the Psalm, *Thou shalt not leave My soul in hell, neither shalt Thou suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption.* For it beseeemed, that the flesh, corruptible as it was, should no longer after its own nature remain mortal, but because of the Word who had put it on, should abide incorruptible. For as He, having come in our body, was conformed¹ to our condition, so we, receiving Him, partake of the immortality that is from Him.

Ps. 16,
11.

¹ ἐμιμή-
σατο

§. 58.

5. Idle then is the excuse for stumbling, and narrow the notions concerning the Word, of these Ario-maniacs, because it is written, *He was troubled,* and *He wept.* For they seem not even to have human feeling, if they are thus ignorant of man's nature and properties; which do but make it the greater wonder, that the Word should be in such a suffering flesh, and neither prevented those who were conspiring against Him, nor took vengeance of those who were putting Him to death, though He was able, He who hindered some from dying, and raised others from the dead. And He let His own body suffer, for therefore did He come, as I said before, that in the flesh He might suffer, and thenceforth the flesh might be made impassible and immortal², and that, as we have many times said, contumely and other troubles might determine upon Him and come short of others after Him, being by Him annulled utterly; and that henceforth men might for ever abide³ incorruptible, as a temple of the Word⁴. Had Christ's enemies thus dwelt on these thoughts, and recognised the ecclesiastical scope as an anchor for the faith, they would not have of the faith made shipwreck, nor been so shameless as to resist those who would fain recover them from their fall, and to deem those as enemies who are admonishing them to be religious^f.

² p. 374,
note t.

³ διαμεί-
νωσι, p.
360, r. 1.

⁴ p. 474,
r. 6.

And this did they specially admire, who were present, says the Gospel, that after that work, in which He set forth a figure of our sin, He forthwith gave up the ghost. For crucified men

were commonly tortured by a lingering death. . . . But He was a wonder, (miraculo fuit,) because He was found dead." August. de Trin. iv. 16.

^f Thus ends the exposition of texts,

which forms the body of these Orations. It is remarkable that he ends as he began, with reference to the ecclesiastical scope, or *Regula Fidei*, which has so often come under our notice, vid. p. 328, note l. p. 341, note i. as if distinctly to tell us, that Scripture did not so force its meaning on the individual as to dispense with an interpreter, and as if his own deductions were not to be viewed merely in their own logical power, great as that power often is, but as under the authority of the Catholic doctrines which they subserve. Vid. p. 426, n. 14 fin. It is hardly a paradox to say that in patristical works of controversy the conclusion in a certain sense proves the premisses. As then he here speaks of the ecclesiastical scope "as an anchor for the faith;" so supr. p. 233. where the discussion of texts began, he introduces it by saying, in

accordance with the above remark, "since they allege the divine oracles and force on them a misinterpretation according to their private sense, it becomes necessary to meet them *just so far* as to lay claim to these passages, and to shew that they bear an orthodox sense, and that our opponents are in error." Again supr. p. 410. he says, "What is the difficulty, that one must need take such a view of such passages?" He speaks of the *σκοπος* as a *κανών* or rule of interpretation, supr. §. 28. vid. also §. 29 init. 35, c. Serap. ii. 7, a. Hence too he speaks of the "ecclesiastical sense," e. g. Orat. i. 44. Serap. iv. 15. and of the *φρόνημα* Orat. ii. 31 init. Decr. 17 fin. In ii. p. 326. supr. he makes the general or Church view of Scripture supersede inquiry into the force of particular illustrations.

CHAPTER XXX.

OBJECTIONS CONTINUED, AS IN CHAPTERS vii—x.

Whether the Son is begotten of the Father's will? This virtually the same as whether once He was not? and used by the Arians to introduce the latter question. The *Regula Fidei* answers it at once in the negative by contrary texts. The Arians follow the Valentinians in maintaining a precedent will; which really is only exercised by God towards creatures. Instances from Scripture. Inconsistency of Asterius. If the Son by will, there must be another Word before Him. If God is good, or exist, by His will, then is the Son by His will. If He willed to have reason or wisdom, then is His Word and Wisdom at His will. The Son is the Living Will, and has all titles which denote connaturality. That will which the Father has to the Son, the Son has to the Father. The Father wills the Son and the Son wills the Father.

Disc.
III.

1. BUT^a, as it seems, a heretic is a wicked thing in truth, and in every respect his heart is depraved¹ and irreligious.

¹ διεφθαρμένην,
p. 485,
r. 4.
p. 472,
r. 3.
Serap. i.
18, e.
² p. 485,
r. 5.
³ θεοστυγείς,
p. 424,
r. 2.
⁴ p. 492,
note p.
§. 59.
⁵ p. 386,
r. 1.

For behold, though convicted on all points, and shewn to be utterly bereft of understanding, they feel no shame; but as the hydra² of Gentile fable, when its former serpents were destroyed, gave birth to fresh ones, contending against the slayer of the old by the production of new, so also they, hostile^b and hateful to God³, as hydras⁴, losing their life in the objections which they advance, invent for themselves other questions Judaic and foolish, and new expedients, as if Truth were their enemy, thereby to shew the rather that they are Christ's opponents in all things. After so many proofs against them, at which even the devil who is their father⁵ had himself been abashed and gone back, again as from their perverse heart they mutter forth other expedients, sometimes in whispers,

^a This chapter is in a very different style from the foregoing portions of this Book, and much more resembles the former two; not only in its subject and the mode of treating it, but in the words introduced, e. g. ἐπισπείρουσι, ἐπινοοῦσι, γογγύζουσι, καθ' ἑμᾶς, ἄτοπον, λεξείδιον,

εἰς τῶν πάντων, &c. And the references are to the former Orations.

^b θεομάχοι vid. p. 6, note n. p. 325, note d. Vid. Dissert. by Bucher on the word in Acts 5, 39. ap. Thesaur. Theol. Phil. N. T. t. 2.

sometimes with the drone^c of gnats; "Be it so," say they; "interpret these places thus, and gain the victory in reasonings and proofs; still you must say that the Son has been begotten by the Father at His will and pleasure;" for thus they deceive many, putting forward the will and the pleasure of God. Now if any orthodox believer^d were to say this in simplicity¹, there would be no cause to be suspicious of the expression, the orthodox intention² prevailing over that somewhat simple¹ use of words^e. But since the phrase is from the heretics^f, and the words of heretics are suspicious, and, as it is written, *The wicked are deceitful*, and *The words of the wicked are deceit*, even though they but make signs³, for their heart is depraved⁴, come let us examine this phrase also, lest, though convicted on all sides, still, as hydras⁵, they invent a fresh word, and by such clever language and specious evasion, they scatter again that irreligion of theirs in another way. For he who says, "The Son came to be at the Divine will," has the same meaning as another who says, "Once He was not," and "The Son came to be out of nothing," and "He is a creature." But since they are now ashamed of these phrases, these crafty ones have endeavoured to convey their meaning in another way, putting forth the word "will," as cuttlefish their blackness, thereby to benighten the innocent⁶, and to make sure of their peculiar⁷ heresy.

¹ ἀπλούστερον p. 433, r. 3.
² διανοίας interpretation, p. 437, r. 6. Prov. 12, 5. 6. Sept. 3 p. 34.
³ p. 484, r. 1.
⁴ p. 461, r. 2.

⁶ ἀκεραίους Hist. T. p. 299, note g.
⁷ ἰδίαις

^c περιβομβοῦσι. p. 22, note y. Also de fug. 2, 6. Naz. Orat. 27, 2. c.

^d S. Ignatius speaks of our Lord as "Son of God according to the will (θέλημα) and power of God." ad Smyrn. 1. S. Justin as "God and Son according to His will, βουλήν." Tryph. 127. and "begotten from the Father at His will, θελήσει." ibid. 61. and he says, δυνάμει καὶ βουλῇ αὐτοῦ. ibid. 128. S. Clement, "issuing from the Father's will itself quicker than light." Gent. 10 fin. S. Hippolytus, "Whom God the Father, willing, βουληθεῖς, begat as He willed, ὡς ἠθέλησεν." contr. Noet. 16. Origen, ἐκ θελήματος. ap. Justin ad Menn. vid. also cum filius charitatis etiam voluntatis. Periarch. iv. 28.

^e In like manner he says elsewhere, "Had these expositions of theirs proceeded from the orthodox, from such as the great confessor Hosius, Maximinus, Philogonius, Eustathius, Julius, &c." Ep. Æg. 8. and supr. "Terms do not

disparage His Nature; rather that Nature draws to Itself those terms and changes them." p. 285. Also de Mort. Ar. fin. Vid. supr. p. 17, note m. And vid. Leont. contr. Nest. iii. 41. (p. 531. Canis.) He here seems alluding to the Semi-Arians, Origen, and perhaps the earlier Fathers

^f Of these Tatian had said θελήματι προπηδᾷ ὁ λόγος. Gent. 5. Tertullian had said, Ut primum voluit Deus ea edere, ipsum primum protulit sermonem. adv. Prax. 6. Novatian, Ex. quo, quando ipse voluit, Sermo filius natus est. de Trin. 31. And Constit. Apost. τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων εὐδοκία τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα. vii. 41. Pseudo-Clem. Genuit Deus voluntate præcedente, Recognit. iii. 10. Eusebius, κατὰ γνώμην καὶ προαίρεσιν βουληθεῖς ὁ θεός· ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς βουλήσ καὶ δυνάμεως. Dem. iv. 3. Arius, θελήματι καὶ βουλῇ ὑπέστη. ap. Theod. Hist. i. 4. p. 750. vid. also supr. p. 97.

- Disc. III. 2. For whence^g bring they "by will and pleasure?" or from what Scripture? let them say who are so suspicious in their words and so inventive of irreligion. For the Father who revealed from heaven His own Word, declared, *This is My beloved Son*; and by David He said, *My heart has burst with a good Word*; and John He bade say, *In the beginning was the Word*; and David says in the Psalm, *With Thee is the well of life, and in Thy light shall we see light*; and the Apostle¹ writes, *Who being the Radiance of Glory*, and again, *Who being in the form of God*, and, *Who is the Image of the invisible God*. All every where tell us of the being of the Word, but none of His being "by will," or at all of His making; but they, where, I ask, did they find will or pleasure "precedent"^h to the Word of God, unless forsooth, leaving the Scriptures, they simulate the perverseness² of Valentinus? For Ptolemy the Valentinian said that the Ingenerate had a pair³ of attributes, Thought and Will, and first He thought
- ^g And so supr. p. 30. "by what Saint have they been taught 'at will?'" That is, no one ever taught it in the sense in which they explained it; thus he has just said, "He who says 'at will,' has the same meaning as he who says 'Once He was not.'" Again infr. "Since it is all one to say 'at will' and 'Once He was not,' let them make up their minds to say 'Once He was not,'" p. 488; also pp. 492, 495. Certainly as the earlier Fathers had used the phrase, so those which came after Arius. Thus Nyssen in the passage in contr. Eum. vii. referred to in the next note. And S. Hilary, "Nativitatis perfecta natura est, ut qui ex substantiâ Dei natus est, etiam ex consilio ejus et voluntate nascatur." Hilar. Syn. 37. The same father says, unitate Patris et virtute. Psalm 91, 8. and ut voluit, ut potuit, ut scit qui genuit. Trin. iii. 4. And he addresses Him as non invidum bonorum tuorum in Unigeniti tui nativitate. ibid. vi. 21. S. Basil too speaks of our Lord as *αὐτοζῶν καὶ αὐτοάγαθον*, "from the quickening Fountain, the Father's goodness, ἀγαθότητος." contr. Eum. ii. 25. And Cæsarius calls Him *ἀγάπην πατρός*. Quæst. 39. Vid. Ephrem. Syr. adv. Scrut. R. vi. l. O. T. and note there. Maximus Taurin. says, that God is per omnipotentiam Pater Hom. de trad. Symb. p. 270. ed. 1784. vid. also Chrysol. Serm. 61. Ambros. de Fid.
- iv. 8. Petavius refers in addition to such passages as one just quoted from S. Hilary, as speak of God as not invidus, so as not to communicate Himself, since He was able. Si non potuit, infirmus; si voluit, invidus. August. contr. Maxim. iii. 7.
- ^h προηγουμένην and 61 fin. The antecedens voluntas has been mentioned in Recogn. Clem. supr. note f. For Ptolemy vid. Epiph. Hær. p. 215. The Catholics, who allowed that our Lord was *θελήσει*, explained it as a *σύνδρομος θέλησις*, and not a *προηγουμένη*; as Cyril. Trin. ii. p. 56. And with the same meaning S. Ambrose, nec voluntas ante Filium nec potestas. de Fid. v. 224. And S. Gregory Nyssen, "His immediate union, ἀμεσος συνάφεια, does not exclude the Father's will, βούλησιν, nor does that will separate the Son from the Father." contr. Eunom. vii. p. 206, 7. vid. the whole passage. The alternative which these words, σύνδρομος and προηγουμένη, expressed was this; whether an act of Divine Purpose or Will took place before the Generation of the Son, or whether both the Will and the Generation were eternal, as the Divine Nature was eternal. Hence Bull says, with the view of exculpating Novatian, Cum Filius dicitur ex Patre, quando ipse voluit, nasci, velle illud Patris æternum fuisse intelligendum." Defens. F. N. iii. 8. §. 8.

Disc. III.

Matt. 3,

17.

Ps. 45, 1.

John 1,

1.

Ps. 36,

9.

1 p. 131,

note d.

§. 60.

² κακό-
νοιαν³ δύο ζυ-
γούς, Co-
tellercorr. συ-
ζύγους

and then He willed; and what He thought, He could not put forth¹, unless when the power of the Will was added. Thence the Arians taking a lesson, wish will and pleasure to precede the Word. For them then, let them rival the doctrine of Valentinus; but we, when we read the divine discourses, found *He was* applied to the Son, but of Him only did we hear as being in the Father and the Father's Image; while in the case of things generate only, since also by nature these things once were not, but afterwards came to be², did we recognise a precedent will and pleasure, David saying in the hundred and thirteenth Psalm, *As for our God He is in heaven, He hath done whatsoever pleased Him*, and in the hundred and tenth, *The works of the Lord are great, sought out unto all His good pleasure*; and again, in the hundred³ and thirty-fourth, *Whatsoever the Lord pleased, that did He in heaven, and in earth, and in the sea, and in all deep places*.

3. If then He be work and thing made, and one among others⁴, let Him, as others, be said "by will" to have come to be, and Scripture shews that these are thus brought into being. And Asterius, the hired pleader⁵ for the heresy, acquiesces, when he thus writes, "For if it be unworthy of the Framer of all, to make at pleasure, let His being pleased be removed equally in the case of all, that His Majesty be preserved unimpaired. Or if it be befitting God to will, then let this better way obtain in the case of the first Offspring. For it is not possible that it should be fitting for one and the same God to make things at His pleasure, and not at His will also." In spite of the Sophist having introduced abundant irreligion in his words, namely, that the Offspring and the thing made are the same, and that the Son is one offspring out of all offsprings that are, He ends with the conclusion that it is fitting to say that the works are by will and pleasure. Therefore if He be other than all things, as has been above shewn⁶, and through Him the works rather came to be, let not "by will" be applied to Him, or He has similarly come to be as the things consist which through Him come to be. For Paul, whereas he was not before, became afterwards an Apostle *by the will of God*; and our own calling, as itself once not being, but now taking place afterwards⁷, is preceded by will, and, as Paul himself says again, has been made *according to the good*

CHAP. XXX.
¹ προβάλλειν, developé, p. 97, note h.
² ἐπιγέγαυε, p. 216, r. 4.
³ p. 222, r. 1. p. 406, r. 7.
⁴ Ps. 115, 3.
⁵ Ps. 111, 2. Sept.
⁶ ἐκατοστῶ om. Ps. 135, 6.
⁷ εἶς τῶν πάντων
⁸ ἐξ ἡνίκα-ρος, p. 401, r. 1.
 §. 61.
⁹ e. g. ch. xvi—xviii.
¹⁰ 1 Cor. 1, 1.
¹¹ ἡ ἐπιγενόμενή Eph. 1, 5.

Disc.
III.

pleasure of His will. And what Moses relates, *Let there be light,* and *Let the earth appear,* and *Let Us make man,* is I think, according to what has gone before¹, significant of the will of the Agent. For things which once were not but happened afterwards from external causes, these the Framer counsels² to make; but His proper Word begotten from Him by nature, concerning Him He did not counsel² beforehand; for in Him the Father makes, in Him frames, other things whatever He counsels²; as also James the Apostle teaches, saying, *Of His own will³ begat He us with the Word of Truth.* Therefore the Will⁴ of God concerning all things, whether they be begotten again or are brought into being at the first, is in His Word, in whom He both makes and begets again what seems right to Him; as the Apostle⁵ again signifies, writing to the Thessalonians; *for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning you.*

4. But if, in whom He makes, in Him also is the will, and in Christ is the pleasure of the Father, how can He, as others, come into being by will and pleasure? For if He too came to be, as you maintain, by will, it follows that the will concerning Him consists in some other Word, through whom He in turn comes to be; for it has been shewn that God's will is not in the things which He brings into being, but in Him through whom and in whom all things made are brought to be. Next, since it is all one to say "By will" and "Once He was not," let them make up their minds to say "Once He was not," that, perceiving with shame that times are signified by the latter, they may understand that to say "by will" is to place times before the Son; for counselling goes before things which once were not, as in the case of all creatures. But if the Word is the Framer of the creatures, and He co-exists with the Father, how can to counsel precede the Everlasting as if He were not? for if counsel⁶ precedes, how through Him are all things? For rather He too, as one among others⁷ is by will begotten to be a Son, as we too were made sons by the Word of Truth; and it rests, as was said, to seek another Word, through whom He too was brought to be, and was begotten together with all things, which were according to God's pleasure.

§. 62. 5. If then there is another Word of God, then be the Son brought into being by a Word; but if there be not, as is the

¹ supr.
ch. xviii.² βουλεύε-
ται³ βουλη-
θείς.James
1, 18.⁴ βούλη-
σις⁵ p. 131,
note d.

1 Thes.

5, 18.

⁶ βουλή⁷ εἰς τῶν
πάντων

case, but all things by Him were brought to be, which the Father has willed, does not this expose the many-headed¹ craftiness of these men? that feeling shame at saying "work," and "creature," and "God's Word was not before His generation," yet in another way they assert that He is a creature, putting forward "will," and saying, "Unless He has by will come to be, therefore God had a Son by necessity and against His good pleasure." And who is it then who imposes necessity on Him, O men most wicked, who draw every thing to the purpose of your heresy? for what is contrary to will they see; but what is greater and transcends² it, has escaped their perception. For as what is beside purpose is contrary to will, so what is according to nature transcends and precedes counselling³. A man by counsel⁴ builds a house, but by nature he begets a son; and what is in building at will began to come into being, and is external to the maker; but the son is proper offspring of the father's substance, and is not external to him; wherefore neither does he counsel concerning him, lest he appear to counsel about himself. As far then as the Son transcends the creature, by so much does what is by nature transcend the will^k. They then, on hearing of Him, ought

CHAP.
XXX.
¹ p. 492,
note p.

² ὑπερ-
κείμενον

³ βουλευ-
εσθαι
⁴ βουλευό-
μενος

¹ Thus he makes the question a nugatory one, as if it did not go to the point, and could not be answered, or might be answered either way, as the case might be. Really Nature and Will go together in the Divine Being, but in order, as we regard Him, Nature is first, Will second, and the generation belongs to Nature, not to Will. And so supr. "A work is external to the nature, but a son is the proper offspring of the substance. The workman frames the work when he will; but $\epsilon\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ offspring is not subject to the will, but is proper to the substance." p. 222. Again; "Whereas they deny what is by nature, do they not blush to place before it what is by will? If they attribute to God the willing about things which are not, why recognise they not that in God which lies above the will? now it is a something that surpasses will that He should be by nature, and should be Father of His proper Word." p. 284. In like manner S. Epiphanius: "He begat Him neither willing $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\nu$ nor not willing, but in nature, which is above will, $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu$. For He has the nature of the Godhead, neither needing

will, nor acting without will." Hær. 69, 26. vid. also Ancor. 51. vid. also Ambros. de Fid. iv. 4. vid. others, as collected in Petav. Trin. vi. 8. §. 14—16.

^k Two distinct meanings may be attached to "by will," (as Dr. Clark observes, Script. Doct. p. 142. ed. 1738.) either a concurrence or acquiescence, or a positive act. S. Cyril uses it in the former sense, when he calls it $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\delta\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$, as quoted p. 486, note h; and when he says (with Athan. infr.) that "the Father wills His own subsistence, $\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\tau\eta\acute{\varsigma}\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$, but is not what He is from any will, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \tau\iota\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$," Thes. p. 56.; Dr. Clark would understand it in the latter sense, with a view of inferring that the Son was subsequent to a Divine act, i. e. not eternal; but what Athan. says leads to the conclusion that it does not matter which sense is taken. He does not meet the Arian objection, "if not by will therefore by necessity," by speaking of a concomitant will, or merely saying that the Almighty exists or is good, by will, with S. Cyril, but he says that "nature transcends will and necessity also." Accordingly, Petavius

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not to measure by will what is by nature ; forgetting however that they are hearing about God's Son, they dare to apply human contrarieties in the instance of God, "necessity" and "beside purpose," to be able thereby to deny that there is a true Son of God.

6. For let them tell us themselves,—that God is good and merciful, does this attach to Him by will or not ? if by will, we must consider that He began to be good, and that His not being good is possible ; for to counsel and choose implies an inclination¹ two ways, and is the property² of a rational nature.

¹ ῥοπήν, p. 495 r. l.

² πάθος

But if it be too extravagant that He should be called good and merciful upon will, then what they have said themselves must be retorted on them,—“therefore by necessity and not at His pleasure He is good;” and, “who is it which imposes this necessity on Him?” But if it be extravagant to speak of necessity in the case of God, and therefore it is by nature that He is good, much more is He, and more truly, Father of

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the Son by nature and not by will. Moreover let them answer us this:—(for against their recklessness I wish to urge a further question, bold indeed, but with a religious intent ; be propitious, O Lord!)—the Father Himself, does

³ βουλευ-
σάμενος

He exist, first having counselled³, then being pleased, or before counselling ? For since they are as bold in the instance of the Word, they must receive the like answer, that they may know that this their presumption reaches even to the Father Himself. If then they shall themselves take counsel about will, and say that even He is from will, what then was He before He counselled, or what gained He, as ye consider, after counselling ?

⁴ ἀσύν-
στατος
⁵ οὐ θέμις
⁶ ἄλογον

But if such a question be extravagant and self-destructive⁴, and shocking⁵ even to ask, (for it is enough only to hear God's Name for us to know and understand that He is He that Is,) will it not also be against reason⁶ to have parallel thoughts concerning the Word of God, and to make pretences of will and pleasure ? for it is enough in like manner only to hear the Name of the Word, to know and understand

is even willing to allow that the ἐκ βουλήs is to be ascribed to the γέννησιs in the sense which Dr. Clark wishes, i. e. he grants that it may precede the γέννησιs, i. e. in order, not in time, in the succession of our ideas, Trin. vi. 8. §. 20, 21 ; and follows S. Austin, Trin. xv. 20. in preferring to speak of our Lord rather

as voluntas de voluntate, than, as Athan. is led to do, as the voluntas Dei.

¹ vid. p. 216, note c. Also Serap. i. 15, b. 16 init. 17, c. 20, e, a. iv. 8, 14. Ep. Æg. 11 fin. Didym. Trin. iii. 3. p. 341. Ephr. Syr. adv. Hær. Serm. 55 init. (t. 2. p. 557.) Facund. Tr. Cap. iii. 3 init.

that He who is God not by will, has not by will but by nature His proper Word. And does it not surpass all conceivable madness, to entertain the thought only, that God Himself counsels and considers and chooses and proceeds to have a good pleasure, that He be not without Word and without Wisdom, but have both? for He seems to be considering about Himself, who counsels about what is proper to His Substance.

7. There being then much blasphemy in such a thought, it will be religious to say that things generate have come to be "by favour¹ and will," but the Son is not a work of will, nor has come after², as the creation, but is by nature the proper Offspring of God's Substance. For being the proper Word of the Father, He allows us not to account³ of will as before Himself, since He is Himself the Father's Living Counsel^m, and Power, and Framer of the things which seemed good to the Father. And this is what He says of Himself in the Proverbs; *Counsel⁴ is Mine and security, Mine is understanding, and Mine strength.* For as, although Himself the *Understanding*, in which He prepared the heavens, and Himself *Strength and Power*, (for Christ is *God's Power and God's Wisdom*,) He here has altered the terms and said, *Mine is understanding and Mine strength*, so while He says, *Mine is counsel⁴*, He must Himself be the Livingⁿ Counsel of the Father; as we have learned from the Prophet also, that He is become *the Angel of great Counsel*, and is called the good pleasure of the Father; for thus we must refute them, using human illustrations⁵ concerning God. Therefore if the works subsist "by will and favour," and the whole creature is made "at God's good pleasure," and Paul was called to be an Apostle

¹ εὐδοκία
² ἐπιγε-
γονώς, p.
487, r. 2.
³ λογίσα-
σθαί τινα
βούλησιν
p. 494,
r. 4. malè
vers.
Lat.
⁴ βουλή.
Prov. 8,
14.

1 Cor. 1,
24.

Is. 9. 6.

⁵ p. 326,
note f.
§. 64.

^m ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἀγαθὸν βούλημα. Clem. Pæd. iii. circ. fin. σοφία, χρηστότης, δύναμις, θέλημα παντοκρατορικόν. Strom. v. p. 547. Voluntas et potestas patris. Tertull. Orat. 4. Natus ex Patri quasi voluntas ex mente procedens. Origen. Periarcb. i. 2. §. 6. S. Jerome notices the same interpretation of "by the will of God" in the beginning of Comment. in Ephes. S. Austin on the other hand, as just now referred to, says, "Some divines, to avoid saying that the Only-Begotten Word is the Son of God's counsel or will, have named Him the very Counsel or Will of the

Father. But I think it better to speak of Him as Counsel from Counsel, Will from Will, as Substance from Substance, Wisdom from Wisdom." Trin. xv. 20. And so Caesarius, ἀγάπη ἐξ ἀγάπης. Qu. 39. vid. for other instances Tertullian's Works, O. Tr. Note 1.

ⁿ ζῶσα βουλή. supr. 284, r. 3. Cyril in Joan. p. 213. ζῶσα δύναμις. Sabell. Greg. 5. c. ζῶσα εἰκὼν. Naz. Orat. 30, 20. c. ζῶσα ἐνέργεια. Syn. Antioch. ap. Routh. Reliqu. t. 2. p. 469. ζῶσα ἰσχύς. Cyril. in Joan. p. 951. ζῶσα σοφία. Origen. contr. Cels. iii. fin. ζῶν λόγος. Origen. ibid. ζῶν ὄργανον. (heretically) Eus. Dem. iv. 2.

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by the will of God, and our calling has come about by His good pleasure and will, and all things have been brought into being through the Word, He is external to the things which have come to be by will, but rather is Himself the Living Counsel of the Father, by which all these things were brought to be; by which David also gives thanks in the seventy-second Psalm, Thou hast holden me by my right hand; Thou shalt guide me with Thy Counsel.

Ps. 73.
22. 23.

8. How then can the Word, being the Counsel and Good Pleasure of the Father, come into being Himself "by good pleasure and will" as every thing else? unless, as I said before, in their madness they repeat that He was brought into being by Himself, or by some other°. Who then is it by whom He came to be? let them fashion another Word; and let them name another Christ, rivalling the doctrine of Valentinus¹; for Scripture it is not. And though they fashion another, yet assuredly he too comes into being through some one; and so, while we are thus reckoning up and investigating the succession of them, the many-headed^p heresy of the Atheists² is discovered to issue in polytheism³ and madness unlimited; in the which, wishing the Son to be a creature and from nothing, they imply the same thing in other words by pretending the words will and pleasure, which rightly belong to things generate and creatures. Is it not irreligious then to impute the characteristics of things generate to the Framer of all? and is it not blasphemous to say that will was in the Father before the Word? for if will precedes in the Father, the Son's words are not true, *I in the Father*; or even if He is in the Father, yet He will hold but a second place, and it became Him not to say *I in the Father*, since will was before Him, in which all things were brought into being and He Himself subsisted, as you hold. For though He excel in glory, He is not the less one of the things which by will come into being. And, as we have said before, if it be so, how is He Lord and they servants⁴? but He is Lord of all, because He is one with the Father's Lordship; and the creation is all in servitude,

⁴ κύριος...
δοῦλα,
supr. p.
260, &c.
p. 313.

ο δι' ἐτέρου τινός. This idea has been urged against the Arians again and again, as just above, p. 488, n. 4. E. g. p. 13. p. 41. fin. p. 203. vid. p. 494. r. 1. also Epiph. Hær. 76. p. 951. Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 11. c. 17, a. &c.

^p πολυκέφαλος αἱρεσις. And so πολυκ.

πανουργία, p. 489, r. 1. The allusion is to the hydra, with its ever-springing heads, as introduced p. 484, r. 4. and with a special allusion to Asterius who is mentioned, p. 487. and in de Syn. 18. supr. p. 100. is called πολυκ. σοφιστής.

since it is external to the Oneness of the Father, and, whereas it once was not, was brought to be.

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9. Moreover, if they say that the Son is by will, they should say also that He came to be by understanding; for I consider understanding and will to be the same. For what a man counsels, about that also he has understanding; and what he has in understanding, that also he counsels. Certainly the Saviour Himself has made them correspond, as being cognate, when He says, *Counsel is Mine and security; Mine is understanding, and Mine strength.* For as strength and security are the same, (for they mean one attribute¹;) so we may say that Understanding and Counsel are the same, which is the Lord. But these irreligious men are unwilling that the Son should be Word and Living Counsel; but they fable that there is with God², as if a habit³, coming and going⁴, after the manner of men, understanding, counsel, wisdom; and they leave nothing undone, and they put forward the "Thought" and "Will" of Valentinus, so that they may but separate the Son from the Father, and may call Him a creature instead of the proper Word of the Father. To them then must be said what was said to Simon Magus; "the irreligion of Valentinus perish with you;" and let every one rather trust to Solomon, who says, that the Word is Wisdom and Understanding. For he says, *The Lord by Wisdom hath founded the earth, by Understanding hath He established the heavens.* And as here by Understanding, so in the Psalms, *By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made.* And as by the Word the heavens, so He hath done whatsoever pleased Him. And as the Apostle writes to the Thessalonians, *the will of God is in Christ Jesus*⁵.

¹ δύναμις

Acts 3,
20.

Prov. 3,
19.

Ps. 33, 6.

Ps. 135,
6. Sept.

1 Thess.
5, 18.

² p. 488.

10. The Son of God then, He is the *Word* and the *Wisdom*; He the *Understanding* and the *Living Counsel*; and in Him is the *Good pleasure of the Father*; He is *Truth* and *Light* and *Power* of the Father. But if the Will of God is Wisdom and Understanding, and the Son is Wisdom, he who says that the Son is "by will," says virtually that Wisdom has come into being in Wisdom, and the Son is made in the Son, and

¹ περι τὸν θεόν. vid. p. 38, r. 1. p. 202, r. 3. Also Orat. i. 27, d. where (supr. p. 220.) it is mistranslated. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. iii. p. 150. vid. p. 131, note c. and περιβολή, p. 38, note z.

² ἐξεν vid. p. 334, note y. infr. p. 515, note r.

³ συμβαίνουσαν καὶ ἀποσυμβαίνουσαν. vid. p. 37, note y. σύμβαμα, Euseb. Eccl. Theol. iii. p. 150. in the same, though a technical sense. vid. also supr. p. 18, note p. p. 37, note y. Serap. i. 26, c. Naz. Orat. 31, 15 fin.

Disc.
III.1 ^{supr.}
p. 401,
r. 4.
2 p. 155,
note g.
Heb. 1,
3.

the Word created through the Word¹; which is incompatible with God and is opposed to His Scriptures. For the Apostle proclaims the Son to be the proper Radiance and Expression, not of the Father's will², but of His Substance⁴ Itself, saying, *Who being the Radiance of His Glory and the Expression of His Subsistence.* But if, as we have said before, the Father's Substance and Subsistence⁴ be not from will, neither, as is very plain, is what is proper to the Father's Subsistence from will; for such as, and so as, that Blessed Subsistence, must also be the proper Offspring from It. And accordingly the Father Himself said not, "This is the Son brought into being at My will," nor "the Son whom I have by My favour," but simply *My Son*, or rather, *in whom I am well pleased*; meaning by this, This is the Son by nature; and "in Him is lodged My will about those things which please Me."

§. 66.

3 ἀθέλη-
τωςJchn 3,
35; 5, 20.

11. Since then the Son is by nature and not by will, is He without the pleasure³ of the Father and not with the Father's will? No, verily; but the Son is with the pleasure of the Father, and, as He says Himself, *The Father loveth the Son, and sheweth Him all things.* For as not "from will" did He begin to be good, nor yet is good without will and pleasure, (for what He is, that also is His pleasure,) so also that the Son should be, though it came not "from will," yet it is not without His pleasure or against His purpose. For as His own subsistence⁴ is by His pleasure, so also the Son, being proper to His Substance, is not without His pleasure. Be then the Son the subject of the Father's pleasure and love; and thus let every one religiously account of⁴ the pleasure and the not unwillingness of God. For by that good pleasure wherewith the Son is the subject of the Father's pleasure, is the Father the subject of the Son's love, pleasure, and honour; and one is the good pleasure which is from Father in Son, so that here too we may contemplate the Son in the Father and the Father in the Son. Let no one then, with Valentinus, introduce a precedent will; nor let any one, by this pretence of

4 λογι-
ζέσθω τις
p. 491,
r. 3.

^t οὐσία and ὑπόστασις are in these passages made synonymous; and so infr. Orat. iv. 1; f. And in iv. 33 fin. to the Son is attributed ἡ πατρικὴ ὑπόστασις. Vid. also ad Afros. 4. quoted supr. p. 70. Ἰπ. might have been expected too in the discussion in the beginning of Orat. iii. did Athan. distinguish between them. It is remarkable how

seldom it occurs at all in these Orations, except as contained in Heb. 1, 3. Vid. also Hist. Tr. O. Tr. p. 300, note m. Yet the phrase τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις is certainly found in Illud Omn. fin. and in Incarn. c. Arian. 10. (if genuine) and apparently in Expos. Fid. 2. Vid. also Orat. iv. 25. init.

“counsel,” intrude between the Only Father and the Only Word; for it were madness to place will and consideration between them. For it is one thing to say, “Of will He came to be,” and another, that the Father has love and good pleasure towards His Son who is proper to Him by nature. For to say, “Of will He came to be,” in the first place implies that once He was not; and next it implies an inclination¹ two ways, as has been said, so that one might suppose that the Father could even not will the Son. But to say of the Son, “He might not have been,” is an irreligious presumption reaching even to the Substance of the Father, as if what is proper to Him might not have been. For it is the same as saying, “The Father might not have been good.” And as the Father is always good by nature, so He is always generative² by nature; and to say, “The Father’s good pleasure is the Son,” and “The Word’s good pleasure is the Father,” implies, not a precedent will, but genuineness of nature, and propriety and likeness of Substance. For as in the case of the radiance and light one might say, that there is no will preceding radiance in the light, but it is its natural offspring, at the pleasure of the light which begat it, not by will and consideration, but in nature and truth, so also in the instance of the Father and the Son, one would be orthodox to say, that the Father has love and good pleasure towards the Son, and the Son has love and good pleasure towards the Father.

12. Therefore call not the Son a work of good pleasure; nor bring in the doctrine of Valentinus into the Church; but be He the Living Counsel, and Offspring in truth and nature, as the Radiance from the Light. For thus has the Father spoken, *My heart has burst with a good Word*; and the Son conformably, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*. But if the Word be in the heart, where is will? and if the Son in the Father, where is good pleasure? and if He be Will Himself, how is counsel in Will? it is extravagant; else the Word come into being in a word, and the Son in a Son, and Wisdom in a wisdom, as has been repeatedly³ said. For the Son is the Father’s All⁴; and nothing was in the Father before the Word; but in the Word is Will also, and through Him the subjects of will are carried into effect, as holy Scriptures have shewn. And I could wish that the irreligious men, having fallen into such want of reason⁵ as to

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XXX.

¹ ῥοπήν,
p. 490,
r. l.

² γεννη-
τικός, i. e.
ἀεὶ γεννᾷ,
vid.
p. 201,
note b.
p. 284,
note e.

Ps. 45,
l.
John 14,
10.

³ p. 494,
r. l.
⁴ πάντα
τοῦ πα-
τρός.

⁵ ἀλογίαν
p. 2,
note e.

§. 67.

Disc. III. be considering about will, would now ask their childbearing women no more, whom they used to ask, "Hadst thou a Son before conceiving Him¹?" but the father, "Do ye become fathers by counsel, or by the natural law of your will?" or "Are your children like your nature and substance^u?" that, even from fathers they may learn shame, from whom they assumed this proposition² about generation, and from whom they hoped to gain knowledge in point. For they will reply to them, "What we beget, is like, not our good pleasure³, but like ourselves; nor become we parents by previous counsel, but to beget is proper to our nature; since we too are images of our fathers." Either then let them condemn themselves⁴, and cease asking women about the Son of God, or let them learn from them, that the Son is begotten not by will, but in nature and truth. Becoming and suitable to them is a refutation from human instances⁵, since the perverse-minded men dispute in a human way concerning the Godhead.

13. Why then are Christ's enemies still mad? for this, as well as their other pretences, is shewn and proved to be mere fantasy and fable; and on this account, they ought, however late, contemplating the precipice of folly down which they have fallen, to rise again from the depth and to flee the snare of the devil, as we admonish them. For Truth is loving unto men, and cries continually, "If because of My clothing of the body¹ ye believe Me not, yet believe the works, that ye may know that *I am in the Father and the Father in Me*, and *I and the Father are one*, and *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father*⁶. But the Lord according to His wont is loving to man, and would fain *help them that are fallen*, as the lauds of David speak; but the irreligious men, not desirous to hear the Lord's voice, nor bearing to see Him acknowledged by all as God and God's Son, go about, miserable men, as beetles, seeking with their father the devil⁷ pretexts for irreligion. What pretexts then, and whence will they be able next to find? unless they borrow blasphemies of Jews and Caiaphas, and take atheism⁸ from Gentiles? for the divine Scriptures are closed to them, and from every part of them they are refuted as insensate and Christ's enemies.

^u τῆς οὐσίας ὁμοία. vid. p. 210, notee. p. 4, r. 4.
Also ii. 42, b. p. 416, r. 2. p. 421, r. 2.

John 10,
38, 30,
14, 9.
⁶ p. 405,
note m.
Ps. 146,
8.

⁷ p. 434,
r. 5.

⁸ p. 492,
r. 2.

Disc.
III.

¹ p. 218.

² λῆμμα
p. 283.
note c.

³ p. 494,
r. 2.

⁴ p. 6,
note o.
Orat. i.
27, d.
ii. 4, b.
Apol. c.
Ar. 36.
⁵ p. 491,
r. 5.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

ON

DISCOURSE IV.

§. 1. *On the Structure of the Book.*

THERE is a general agreement among Critics that the "Four Orations" or "Discourses against the Arians," as they are styled in the Benedictine Edition, and also in this Translation, are parts of one work. Nay, such might seem to have been the opinion of Photius when he speaks of Athanasius's "five books against Arius and his doctrines¹." Montfaucon even goes so far as to consider external evidence unnecessary, and appeals to the structure of the Orations, as even determining their number. "Nihil opus est longiore disputatione," he says, "cùm clarum sit ex hisce ipsis Quatuor Orationibus, nihil eas commune cum ullo alio opere habere, sed ita inter se coherere, ut unum ipsæ opus simul conficiant. quarum prima sit principium, quarta autem omnium sit finis; quam sane ob causam sola hæc última solitâ terminatur conclusione." t. i. pp. 403, 4. However he so far modifies or explains this statement, in his *Præf.* p. xxxv, and *Vit. Ath.* p. lxxii, as to allow that they were not written on any exactly determined previous plan, but that the later Orations are in one sense amplifications or defences of what had gone before, in consequence of the continuance of the controversy. This view of their structure is principally derived from the commencement of the Second and Third, in which S. Athanasius, according to his custom on other occasions, speaks of himself as resuming a discussion which he considered already sufficiently extended.

¹ ἡ πεντά-
βιβλος,
cod. 140.

Tillemont speaks as decidedly of the unity and integrity of the Four Orations. "Les quatre oraisons," he says, "sont toutes liées ensemble, et en un même corps, comme il paroît principalement, parce-qu'il n'y a que la dernière qui finisse par la glorification ordinaire." *Mem. Eccl.* t. 8. p. 701. And again, "Il est certain que ces quatre discours... semblent... ne faire qu'une seule pièce, qu'on aura partagée tantôt en quatre, tantôt en cinq." p. 191.

Ceillier follows Tillemont almost word for word. *Aut. Eccl.* t. v. pp. 217, 218, observing with Montfaucon that the later Discourses are successively defences of the earlier.

Petavius had already incidentally expressed the same opinion in his work de Incarnatione; and that the more strongly, though indirectly, because, like Tillemont, he is at the very time engaged in shewing that the *Epist. ad Ep. Æg. et Lib.* does not form part of the general Treatise, as the editions of his day considered it, inasmuch as it is but partly engaged with the subject of Arian doctrine; vid. *Ep. Æg. (O. T.)* p. 125. "Non est ejusdem cum sequentibus argumenti, nam in istis adversus Arianam hæresim disputat, &c. . . prima autem (i. e. ad *Ep. Æg. et Lib.*) nihil horum facit." de *Incarn.* v. 15. §. 9.

INTROD.
TO
DISC.
IV.

Yet in spite of authorities so great and so concordant, I think it may be made plain with very little trouble, that the Fourth of these Oration, which is now to follow, is not written against the Arians, nor is an Oration, nor is even a continuous discussion, but is a collection of fragments or memoranda of unequal lengths, and on several subjects, principally on the Photinian heresy, partly on the Sabellian and Samosatene, and partly indeed, but least of all, on the Arian. Some remarks shall now be made in behalf of this representation.

1. And here it may be premised, that no passage in the so-called Fourth Oration is quoted, I believe, by any early writer or authority, as a part of S. Athanasius's work "against the Arians," or "on the Trinity;" whereas the Second and Third are quoted by Theodoret¹, Justinian², S. Cyril³, Facundus⁴, the Lateran Council under Pope Martin I.⁵ Pope Agatho⁶, and others, and designated too by the numbers they respectively bear in the Benedictine Edition. And though Photius, as has already been observed, speaks of the whole work as consisting of five parts, while the Seventh General Council⁷ and the Greek version of Pope Agatho's Epistle in the Sixth⁸, certainly speak of the Benedictine Third as the Fourth, this furnishes no proof that the Book which is here to follow under the name of the Fourth formed the concluding portion or Fifth of Photius's Pentabiblus. For in one MS. this Fourth is called the Sixth; and this obliges us to look out for another Fifth, which Montfaucon considers he has discovered in the *De Incarn. contra Arian.*, which in some MSS. is actually so named. It may be added that the *Epist. ad Ep. Æg. et Lib.* which was once commonly regarded as the First, is in some MSS. called the Fourth, while in one of Montfaucon's MSS. the so-called Fourth is altogether omitted. In a MS. in the Bodleian Library (Roe 29, dated 1410.) the *Incarn. c. Arian.* comes after the first Three in the place of the present Fourth. In others the present Fourth is called the Fifth; and in others the *Epist. ad Ep. Æg. et Lib.* is numbered as the "Third against the Arians," the *de Sent. Dion.*, divided into two parts, being apparently reckoned as the First and Second. With variations then so considerable, no evidence can be drawn from these titles on any side.

2. Next, the very opening of the Book shews that it is no Oration or Discourse of a character like the Three which precede it. The Second and Third begin with a formal introduction, in which allusion is made to the general argument of which they profess to be the continuation; but there is no pretence of composition or method in the commencement of the Fourth. It enters abruptly into its subject, whatever that be, for it does not propose it, with a categorical statement supported by a text; "The Word is God from God, for 'the Word was God,'"—a mode of treating so sacred a subject most unlike the ceremoniousness, as it may be called, which is observable in the Author's finished works.

Abrupt transitions of a similar character are also found in the course of it, and are introductory of fresh subjects; for instance, in §§. 6, 9, and 25, as the commencement of Subjects ii. v. and

¹ Eran. ii. p. 136. and supr. p. 381.
² ad Menanam. and supr. p. 308.
³ Ep. i. p. 4. and supr. p. 440.
⁴ Tr. Cap. iii. 3. and supr. p. 481.
⁵ Secr. 5. and supr. p. 443.
⁶ Ep. ad Imp. and supr. p. 449.
⁷ Act iv. and supr. p. 405.
⁸ supr. r. 3.

viii. in the Translation will shew. And so little idea of any continuity of subject was entertained by transcribers, that in five MSS. a place is apparently assigned between §§. 12 and 13. to the Tract de Sabbatis et Circumcisione, doubtfully ascribed to S. Athanasius, and contained in the Benedictine, tom. ii. p. 54. Strikingly in contrast is his ordinary style, running one subject into another, and intimately combining even distinct arguments, so that it is often an extreme difficulty to divide the composition into paragraphs.

It may be added that the Three Orations refer backwards and forwards to each other, and, in spite of whatever is supplemental in the Second and Third, are constructed on a definite plan¹, which comes to an end with, or shortly before, the conclusion of the Third. The main portion of the Three Orations, extending from chapter xi. to chapter xxix. inclusive, is engaged in the interpretation of passages of Scripture, chiefly such as were urged by the Arians against the Catholic doctrine. The remainder is employed upon the notorious Arian formulæ condemned at Nicæa, or the equally notorious interrogations which, as S. Athanasius so often says, they circulated every where, never tired with the repetition. The Fourth Oration has hardly any thing in common with them here.

There is some difference too in phraseology between the first Three and the Fourth of these Orations. The word *ἁποστόλιον* occurs in the Fourth three times, §§. 10 and 12, as it is found in Athanasius's other works; but it cannot be said to have occurred any where throughout the former Three; for the solitary passage in which it is found, i. 9. is rather a sort of doctrinal confession than a part of the discussion; and it is actually omitted in places where it might naturally have been expected; vid. p. 210, note d. p. 262, note f. p. 264, note g. Moreover in the Second Oration, supr. p. 391, r. 3. p. 393, r. 2. as in earlier works of the Author, the term *ἀποσοφία* is admitted, vid. Gent. 40, 46. Incarn. V. D. 20. Serap. iv. 20. whereas in the Fourth, (p. 514, note p.) if Petavius (Trin. vi. 11.) be right, it is abandoned as Sabellian. And so again there is a difference, which it is not too minute to mention, between the Fourth and the Orations which precede it, in one of his most familiar illustrations of the Holy Trinity; the Three using the image of *φῶς* and its *ἀπαύγασμα*, but the last that of *πῦρ* and its *ἀπαύγασμα*, and *πῦρ* and *φῶς*. p. 515, note t. The corrupt state of the text is a further characteristic of this Oration compared with the foregoing.

3. Nay, we might even fancy that at least some passages of the Book were fragments of one or more treatises, or first draughts of trains of thought, or instructions for controversy, which have accidentally been thrown together into one. The interpolation formerly of an entirely heterogeneous tract, perhaps not Athanasius's, in some of its MSS. has already been mentioned; and it is remarkable that this very Tract, in all the existing MSS. noticed by the Benedictines but one, is thrown together with the *In illud Omnia* and a passage from the *de Decretis*, thus affording an instance in point. A somewhat similar instance is afforded by the

¹ vid. pp. 233, 256, 261; p. 306, note b. pp. 398; 436, 7. and note a. p. 462, note f. p. 484, note a.

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Sermo Major de Fide published in Montfaucon's Nova Collectio, which seems to be hardly more than a set of small fragments from Athanasius's other works. Further, in the case of the work before us, some MSS. supply distinct titles to separate portions, as in §§. 9. and 11. which they respectively head *Τὸς σαβελλιζοντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας ἔρεσθαι οὕτως*, and *Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι ἦν ὁ λόγος ἐν τῷ θεῷ σιωπώμενος ὕστερον δὲ προβέβληται δι' ἡμᾶς ἵνα ἡμεῖς κτισθῶμεν*. Moreover, "they" and "he" are at times found without antecedents, (vid. references infr. p. 502.) The abruptness too, already noticed for another reason, is of course also a proof of dissimilarity in the contents. And the §. 25. breaks into the middle of a continuous discussion which runs from §. 15. to §. 36. And §. 11. begins with an allusion to a subject which might have been expected, but is not found, in the passage which now stands immediately before it. Also §§. 6. and 7. the only passage which directly relates to the Arian controversy, is interposed suddenly between lines of argument quite foreign to it; moreover its style is of the flowing oratorical character which obtains throughout the Three Discourses, and which is not found in the sections which precede and follow it. The same oratorical character attaches in a manner to §§. 14, 17, 27, 28, and 34.

Further, Montfaucon tells us in the *Monitum* prefixed to the *Epist. Enycl.* that the phrase *οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον* is never used by S. Athanasius after Eusebius's death; "Neque enim," he says, "sequaces Eusebii jam defuncti usquam apud Athanasium οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον vocantur, sed κοινωνοὶ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον vel κληρονόμοι τῆς ἀσεβείας τοῦ Εὐσεβίου." t. i. p. 110. Now the phrase occurs in §. 8. of this Oration, but Eusebius died A.D. 341, whereas the First Oration was written about A.D. 358. If Montfaucon then be correct in his remark, either the Oration called the Fourth was written many years prior to those which it is considered to follow, or it is made up of portions belonging to separate dates.

Also §§. 1—5, 9, 10, are engaged upon a line of thought altogether different from any other part of the Book. The main subject of these sections is the *μοναρχία*; and it is observable moreover that the word *ἀρχή*, there used for "origin," as in the former Orations, is in other places used simply and only in the sense of "beginning," vid. §§. 8, 25, 26, 27. And here we may add, as a peculiarity of the passage contained in §§. 30—36, its use of the word *θεῶς* as an epithet of our Lord, viz. 31, d. twice, f. a 34 init. 36 init. Also of the verb *νοεῖν*.

And what is one of the special peculiarities of the Book, so as quite to give a character to the style, and to prove it, or at least great part of it, to be a collection of notes or suggestions for controversy, is the repeated occurrence of such phrases as *πενστέον*, 2, e. *ἔρωτητέον*, 3, f. 4, a. *λεκτέον*, 4 init. 6, d. 10, a. *ἐλεγχτέον*, 3, a. 4, e. *ἔρεσθαι δίκαιον, καλὸν, &c.* 11, d. 14, a. 23, b. (vid. also the Benedictine note e. on §. 9. which has been already used in another connection.) Of the same character is the frequent clause "In that case the same extravagant consequences, *ἄτοπα*, follow," and the like; e. g. 2, e. 4, e. 4 fin. 15 init. 25, b. 26 init. with which

may be contrasted e. g. the more finished turn of sentence Orat. ii. 24, b. *καλὸν αὐτοὺς ἔρῃσθαι καὶ τοῦτο, ἵν' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ ἔλεγχος κ.τ.λ.* To these may be added, *τὸ δ' αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ περὶ δυνάμεως, §. 3.*; which, as well as the foregoing, remind the reader of Aristotle rather than S. Athanasius; and the abrupt setting down of texts for discussion in the beginnings of §§. 1, 5, 9, and 31. which are in the same style.

In the same Aristotelic style is his enunciation of theological principles; e. g. *εἰ ἄγονος καὶ ἀνεργήτος ὁ θεός. 4 fin. τὸ ἕκ τινος ὑπάρχον, νίος ἔστιν ἐκείνου. 15, c. οὐδὲν ἐν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ. 17, d. ὡν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς τὰς καρδίας ὁ υἱός, τούτων οὐδὲ πατὴρ ὁ θεός. 22, b. εἰ μὴ υἱός, οὐδὲ λόγος. εἰ μὴ λόγος, οὐδὲ νίος. 24 fin.*

4. Further, S. Athanasius frequently implies that he is opposing certain definite teachers of heresy, as well as heretical doctrine itself; yet very seldom does he use names, contrary to his practice when in controversy with the Arians, who are freely specified as *οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ, οἱ Ἀρειομαγῖται, οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον*, not to mention the severe and condemnatory epithets by which he has noted them. Here however, though we read of *οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαμοσάτῃος*, and vaguely of *κατὰ Σαβέλλιον*, we meet more frequently with anonymous opponents in the singular or plural, as signified by *φατῆ, §. 9* init. *πίπτουσι, §. 11* init. *ὑπέλαβε, §. 13* init. *αὐτὸν τοιαῦτα λέγοντα, §. 14, a. οἱ τοῦτο λέγοντες, §. 15* init. *κατ' αὐτοὺς, §. 21* init. *κατ' ἐκείνους, §. 22, c.* Vid also §§. 8, c. 13, c. 20 init. 23, c. 24, a. 25, b. 28 init. The omission of words of denunciation marks either the absence of an oratorical character in the Book, or suggests, what will presently come to be considered, the presence of other parties, perhaps known and tried friends, in the heretical company.

Next, it should be observed, that, though the heresy combated through the greater part of the Book is of a Sabellian character, yet it is not Sabellianism proper, for he compares it to Sabellianism; e. g. *Σαβελλίον τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, §. 9.* and *ὅσα ἄλλα ἐπὶ Σαβελλίον ἄτοπα ἀπαντᾷ, §. 25.* It is observable too, that in contrasting the opposite heresies in a sentence at the end of §. 3, while, as usual, he speaks of the *Ἀρειανοὶ*, he does not on the other hand speak of the *Σαβελλιανοὶ*, but of the *Σαβελλίζοντες*; these, and not actual Sabellians, being the persons in controversy with him.

Also, he is opposing a heresy of the day; his mode of speaking of it shews this, and the other heresies which he combats in his writings are such. Even when he speaks of the heresy of Paul of Samosata, (§. 30.) it is not as it existed a hundred years before, but in the shape it took in S. Athanasius's own time. Indeed it is not conceivable, that in the midst of so fierce a struggle with living errors, dominant or emergent, as was the portion of this great Saint, he should address himself to the controversies of a past age.

All this leads to the suspicion, that the heresy which forms the principle subject of the Book, is that imputed to his friend Marcellus, and persons connected with him; for it is well known that in the exactly parallel case of Apollinaris, while he writes Tract after Tract against the heresy in the severest terms, he observes

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throughout a deep silence about its promulgator. Eusebius too argues with a like reserve against his Arian associates, *Ecl. Theol.* i. 9, 10; as Vincent of Lerins is supposed to do in reference to S. Augustine. But it is needless to refer to parallel instances of a procedure so natural, that we find it in the schools of philosophy¹ as well as in those of the Church.

¹ Arist.
Eth. i. 6.
init.

An actual comparison of what is known of the teaching of the school of Marcellus and of the tenets opposed in this Oration, which I shall presently attempt, abundantly confirms this suspicion, and, as I think, makes it clear that the Oration is engaged with that teaching, and with the kindred doctrines of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata, and that as truly though not as systematically as the former Orations are engaged on Arianism. In saying this, I put aside the two sections 6 and 7, which certainly do treat of a definite Arian question, quite foreign to the general subject of the Book, whatever be the history of their introduction.

It is satisfactory to be able to add that, since these remarks were drawn up, I have found them incidentally confirmed by the writer of a small work in duodecimo, entitled, "In Eusebii contra Marcellum Libros Selectæ Observationes, Auctore R. S. C. Lipsiæ, 1787." Having mentioned Athanasius's "fifth book," as he calls it, "against the Arians," he continues, "*ibi enim, ut in libro de Æt. Subst. Fil. et Sp. S. sententiam Marcelli, suppresso tamen nomine, refellit. Quod an aliis jam sit observatum, ignoro.*" p. 28.

§. 2. On the main subject of the Book.

Before shewing the bearing of this Oration upon the heresy of Marcellus and his pupil Photinus, it will be useful briefly to state the historical connexion between S. Athanasius and the former.

In the early years of S. Athanasius's episcopate, Marcellus wrote his Answer to the Arian Asterius, which was the occasion, and forms the subject of Eusebius's "contra Marcellum" and "Ecclesiastica Theologia," and which shall presently be used, as Eusebius cites it, as the only existing document of his opinions. He was in consequence condemned in several Arian Councils, and retired to Rome, as did S. Athanasius, about the year 341, when both of them were formally acquitted of heterodoxy by the Pope in Council. Both were present, and both were again acquitted at the Council of Sardica in 347. From this very date¹, however, the charges against him, which had hitherto been confined to the Arians, begin to find a voice among the Catholics. S. Cyril in his Catechetical Lectures, A.D. 347, speaks of the heresy which had lately arisen in Galatia, which denied Christ's eternal reign, a description which both from country and tenet is evidently levelled at Marcellus. He is followed by S. Paulinus at the Council of Arles, and by S. Hilary, in the years which follow; but S. Athanasius seems to have acknowledged him down to about A.D. 360. At length the latter began to own that Marcellus "was not far from heresy," vid. Athan. Hist. O. Tr. p. 52, note l. and S. Hilary and S. Sulpicius say that he separated from his communion. S. Hilary adds (Fragm. ii. 21.) that Athanasius was

¹ Montf.
says from
Eus.'s
Work,
A. D.
336-8.
Nov.
Coll.
p. lii.

decided in this course, not by Marcellus's work against Asterius, but by publications posterior to the Council of Sardica. Photinus, the disciple of Marcellus, who had published the very heresy imputed to the latter before A.D. 345, had now been deposed, with the unanimous consent of all parties, for some years. Thus for ten years Marcellus was disowned by the Saint with whom he had shared so many trials; but in the very end of S. Athanasius's life a transaction took place between himself, S. Basil, and the Galatian school, which issued in his being induced again to think more favourably of Marcellus, or at least to think it right in charity to consider him in communion with the Church. S. Basil had taken a strong part against him, and wrote to S. Athanasius on the subject, Ep. 69, 2. thinking that Athanasius's apparent countenance of him did harm to the Catholic cause. Upon this the accused party sent a deputation to Alexandria, with a view of setting themselves right with Athanasius. Eugenius, deacon of their Church, was their representative, and he in behalf of his brethren subscribed a statement in vindication of his and their orthodoxy, which was countersigned by the clergy of Alexandria and apparently by S. Athanasius, though his name does not appear among the extant signatures. This important document, which was brought to light and published by Montfaucon, speaks in the name of "the Clergy and the others assembled in Ancyra of Galatia, with our father Marcellus." He, as well as Athanasius himself, died immediately after this transaction, Marcellus in extreme age, being at least twenty years older than Athanasius, who himself lived till past the age of seventy. One might trust that the life of the former was thus prolonged, till he really recanted the opinions which go under his name; yet viewing him historically, and not in biography, it still seems right, and is in accordance with the usage of the Church in other cases, to consider him rather in his works and in his school and its developments, than in his own person and in his penitence. Whether S. Athanasius wrote the controversial passages which follow against him or against his school, in either case it was prior to the date of the explanatory document signed by Eugenius; nor is its interpretation affected by that explanation. As to S. Hilary's statement above referred to, that S. Athanasius did not condemn the particular work of Marcellus against Asterius, of which alone portions remain to us, and which is now to be quoted, his evidence in other parts of the history is not sufficiently exact to overcome the plainly heretical import of the statement made in that work. Those statements were as follows:—

Marcellus held, according to Eusebius, that (1) there was but one person, *πρόσωπον*, in the Divine Nature; but he differed from Sabellius in maintaining, (2) not that the Father was the Son and the Son the Father, (which is called the doctrine of the *νιοπάτωρ*,) but that (3) Father and Son were mere names or titles, and (4) not expressive of essential characteristics,—names or titles given to Almighty God and (5) His Eternal Word, on occasion of the Word's appearing in the flesh, in the person, or subsistence

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 considered, was from all eternity in the One God, being analogous
 to man's reason within him, or the ἐνδιάθετος λόγος of the philoso-
 phical schools. (6) This One God or μονάς has condescended to
 extend or expand Himself, πλατύνεσθαι, to effect our salvation.
 (7 and 8) The expansion consists in the action, ἐέργεια, of the
 λόγος, which then becomes the λόγος προφορικός or voice of God,
 instead of the inward reason. (9) The incarnation is a special
 divine expansion, viz. an expansion in the flesh of Jesus, Son of
 Mary; (10) in order to which the Word went forth, as at the end
 of the dispensation He will return. Consequently the λόγος is not
 (11) the Son, nor (12) the Image of God, nor the Christ, nor the
 First-begotten, nor King, but Jesus is all these; and if these titles
 are applied to the Word in Scripture, they are applied prophetically,
 in anticipation of His manifestation in the flesh. (13) And when
 He has accomplished the object of His coming, they will cease to
 apply to Him; for He will leave the flesh, return to God, and be
 merely the Word as before; and His Kingdom, as being the King-
 dom of the flesh or manhood, will come to an end.

This account of the tenets of Marcellus comes, it is true, from an
 enemy, who was writing against him, and moreover from an Arian
 or Arianizer, who was least qualified to judge of the character of
 tenets which were so opposite to his own. Yet there is no reason
 to doubt its correctness on this account. Eusebius supports his
 charges by various extracts from Marcellus's works, and he is cor-
 roborated by the testimony of others. Moreover, if Athanasius's
 account of the tenets against which he himself here writes, answers
 to what Eusebius tells us of those of Marcellus, the coincidence
 confirms Eusebius as well as explains Athanasius. And further,
 the heresy of Photinus, the disciple of Marcellus, which consisted
 in the very doctrines which Eusebius deduces from the work of
 Marcellus, gives an additional weight to such deductions.

I shall now set down in order the distinct propositions contained
 in the foregoing statement, attempt to bring them home to Mar-
 cellus or his school, and set against them the extracts from the
 (so-called) Fourth Oration, which are parallel to them.

Marcellus then held:—

1. That there is but one Person in the Divine Nature. I set
 this down to introduce the subject, though I find nothing parallel
 to it in the Fourth Oration, and do not wish to lay much stress on
 the use of a word,—however startling a use, especially as inter-
 preted by what is to follow,—especially as in one passage, Mar-
 cellus qualifies it by the epithet which he connects with it. After
 quoting the phrase κύριος ὁ θεός in Exod. iii. 15. by way of evading
 the "one God, one Lord," in Eph. iv. 5, 6. he says, ὄρας ὅπως ἐν
 ἐπιδεικνὺς ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα πρόσωπον, τὸ αὐτὸ κύριον καὶ θεὸν προσαγορεύει;
 Euseb. p. 132, a. Again, τὸ γὰρ ἐγὼ, ἐνὸς προσώπου δεικτικὸν ἐστίν;
 p. 133, a. he goes on to make πρόσωπον synonymous with ἡ τῆς
 θεότητος μονάς. vid. also again, ἑνὸς πρόσωπον, ibid. b. Again, ἀνάγκη
 γὰρ εἶ δύο διαρούμενα, ὡς Ἀστέριος ἔφη, πρόσωπα εἶν, ἢ τὸ πνεῦμα
 κ.τ.λ. p. 168, c.

2. That, whereas Sabellius adopts the doctrine of the *υιοπάτωρ* that the Father is the Son, and the Son the Father,—

Σαβέλλιος εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελῶν τὸν πατέρα, ὃν υἱὸν λέγειν ἐτόλμα, Euseb. p. 76, a. And so Eugenius, in his Explanation addressed to Athanasius, anathematizes Sabellius and those who say with him, αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα εἶναι υἱὸν, καὶ ὅτε μὲν γίνεται υἱὸς, μὴ εἶναι τότε αὐτὸν πατέρα, ὅτε δὲ γίνεται πατήρ, μὴ εἶναι τότε υἱόν. Nov. Coll. t. 2. p. 2. And S. Basil: ὁ Σαβέλλιος εἰπὼν, τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν, ἓνα τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ὄντα, πρὸς τὰς ἐκάστοτε παραπιπτούσας χρείας μεταμορφούμενον, νῦν μὲν ὡς πατέρα, νῦν δὲ ὡς υἱόν, νῦν δὲ ὡς πνεῦμα ἅγιον διαλέγεσθαι. Ep. 210, 5 fin.

3. On the contrary, Father and Son are but titles applied in time to the relation existing between the Almighty and His Eternal λόγος, when, instead of abiding within Him (or being ἐνδιάθετος) it became *προφορικὸς* in the person or subsistence of Jesus Christ.

Μάρκελλος καινωτέραν ἐξέευρε τῇ πλάνῃ μηχανὴν, θεὸν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ λόγον ἓνα μὲν εἶναι ὀριζόμενος, δύο δ' αὐτῷ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ χαριζόμενος ἐπηγορίας. Euseb. p. 76, a. vid. also p. 63, c. Accordingly, to mark his sense of the mere figurative meaning of the term Father, he called God "*Father of the Word*," ἐν τῷ [τὸν Χριστὸν] φάσκειν [τὸν θεόν], μηδὲ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον κύριον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου τὸν πατέρα, ἀφαιρέσθαι τὸν πατέρα τὰ ἴδια τοῦ παιδὸς δείκνυσιν. *ibid.* p. 38.

This agrees with the heretic introduced into the contr. Sabell. Gregal. §. 5. whom R. S. C. p. 28. considers to be Marcellus; καγὼ, φησὶν, ὁμολογῶ γέννησεν γενῆται γὰρ ὁ λόγος, ὅτε καὶ λαλεῖται καὶ γινώσκεται.

Elsewhere Eusebius says that he held αὐτὸν [θεόν] εἶναι τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ λόγου πατέρα. *ibid.* p. 167, c. though this is mere catholic language in contrast to that Arianism of which Eusebius is guilty; and need not have been remarked upon, but for the following passage about Photinus in a sermon of Nestorius, which may be taken to illustrate it. "Sabellius *υιοπάτωρα* dicit ipsum Filium, quem Patrem, et ipsum Patrem, quem Filium; Photinus vero *λογοπάτωρα* [Verbum-patrem.]" Mercat. t. 2. p. 87.

4. That the Word is in truth the Word, ἀληθῶς λόγος, and only improperly a Son. λόγον γὰρ εἶναι δοὺς τὸν ἐν τῷ θεῷ, ἓν τε καὶ ταῦτὸν ὄντα αὐτῷ τούτου ὀρισάμενος. πατέρα τούτου χρηματίζειν αὐτὸν ἔφη τὸν τε λόγον υἱὸν εἶναι αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἀληθῶς ὄντα υἱὸν ἐν οὐσίας ὑποστάσει, κυρίως δὲ καὶ ἀληθῶς ὄντα λόγον. ἐπισημαίνεται γοῦν ὅτι μὴ καταχρηστικῶς λόγον, ἀλλὰ κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς ὄντα λόγον, καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ λόγον. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἕτερον, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ υἱὸς ἦν κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς, μέχρι δὲ φωνῆς καὶ ὀνόματος καταχρηστικῶς ὀνομασμένος. Euseb. p. 61, a, b.

5. That the Word is from eternity in God, or ἐνδιάθετος, as an attribute.

He says, πλὴν θεοῦ, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἦν· εἶχεν οὖν τὴν οἰκειάν δόξαν ὁ λόγος ὢν ἐν τῷ πατρί. Euseb. p. 39, c. Where, it should be observed, that the phrase ἐν τῷ θεῷ was, as Montfaucon tells us, (Coll. Nov. t. 2. p. lvii.) considered suspicious by many Fathers, as being a substitution for the Scriptural πρὸς τὸν θεόν, which S. John (i. 1.)

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uses, οὐκ εἰπὼν, says Eusebius, p. 121, b. ἐν τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα μὴ καταβάλλῃ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ὁμοιότητα, ὡς ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ συμβεβηκός.

And so S. Basil, οὐκ εἶπεν, ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, κ.τ.λ. Homil. xvi. 4. p. 137. ed. Ben.

6. That there has been an expansion or dilatation of the Eternal Unity into a Trinity, and again there will be a collapse into Unity.

Marcellus says, εἰ τοίνυν ὁ λόγος φαίνοιτο ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξεληθὼν, . . . τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, . . . οὐ σαφῶς καὶ φανερῶς ἐνταῦθα ἀπορρήτῳ λόγῳ ἢ μονὰς φαίνεται πλατυνομένη μὲν εἰς τριάδα, διαιρεῖσθαι δὲ μηδὰ μῶς ὑπομένουσα; Euseb. p. 168, a, b. Vid. also pp. 108, b, c. 114, b.

In like manner Theodoret states that Marcellus held, ἕκτασίν τινα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς θεότητος. . . . μετὰ δὲ τὴν σύμπασαν οικονομίαν πάλιν ἀνασπασθῆναι καὶ συσταλῆναι πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἐξ οὗπερ ἐξετάθη τὸ δὲ πανάγιον πνεῦμα παρέκτασιν τῆς ἐκτάσεως, καὶ ταύτην τοῖς ἀποστόλοις παρασχεθῆναι. Hær. ii. 10. And Nestorius quotes Photinus as saying, "Vides quia Deum Verbum aliquando Deum, aliquando Verbum appellat, tanquam extensum atque collectum." Mercat. t. 2. p. 87.

7. That this expansion or πλατυσμός consists in the action or ἐνέργεια of the μονάς.

Marcellus says that the Word ἐνεργεία μόνῃ, διὰ τὴν σάρκα, κερχωρῆσθαι τοῦ πατρὸς φαίνεται. Euseb. p. 51, a.

And accordingly Eusebius argues against him, τὴν μονάδα, [ὡς] φησὶ Μάρκελλος, ἐνεργεία πλατύνεσθαι, ἐπὶ μὲν σωματίων χώραν ἔχει, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀσωμάτου οὐσίας οὐκ ἔτι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἐνεργεῖν πλατύνεται, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ μὴ ἐνεργεῖν συστέλλεται. p. 108, b, c. Vid. also the 6th and 7th anathemas of the Council of Sirmium, supr. p. 119. which, compared with the 5th of the Macrostich, supr. p. 114. evidently aim at Marcellus and Photinus.

8. That the first instance of the ἐνέργεια of the λόγος was His creation of the world.

οὐδενὸς ὄντος πρότερον, says Marcellus, ἢ θεοῦ μόνου, πάντων δὲ διὰ τοῦ λόγου γίνεσθαι μελλόντων, προήλθεν ὁ λόγος δραστηκῆ ἐνεργεία. Euseb. p. 41, d. And directly after; πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι ἦν ὁ λόγος ἐν τῷ πατρί· ὅτι· δὲ ὁ θεὸς παντοκράτωρ πάντα τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς προύθετο ποιῆσαι, ἐνεργείας ἢ τοῦ κόσμου γένεσις ἐδεῖτο δραστηκῆς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο . . . ὁ λόγος προελθὼν ἐγένετο τοῦ κόσμου ποιητής. ibid.

9. That in the πλατυσμός of the μονάς, or ἐνέργεια of the λόγος in the flesh, i. e. in the man Jesus Christ, consists the Incarnation.

Marcellus says, εἰ μὲν ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐξέτασις γίγνοιτο μόνῃ, ἐν καὶ ταῦτὸν εἰκότως εἶναι τῷ θεῷ φαίνοιτο· εἰ δὲ ἢ κατὰ σάρκα προσθήκη ἐπὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐξετάζοιτο, ἐνεργεία ἢ θεότης μόνῃ πλατύνεσθαι δοκεῖ. Euseb. p. 36, a.

And so Theodoret, ἕκτασίν τινα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς θεότητος ἔφησεν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐληλυθέναι. Hær. ii. 10.

10. That, as the Word was in action, ἐν ἐνεργεία, or became προφορικὸς, or went forth, for certain objects, when those objects are accomplished He will return to what He was before.

Τὸν ἐν τῷ θεῷ λόγον, says Eusebius, ποτὲ μὲν εἶδον εἶναι ἐν τῷ θεῷ

ἔφασκε, ποτὲ δὲ προΐεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἄλλοτε πάλιν ἀναδραμεῖσθαι εἰς τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἕσσεσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἦν. p. 112, c. Or in Marcellus's own words, εἰς θεός, καὶ ὁ τοῦτου λόγος θεός προῆλθε μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς, ἵνα πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ γένηται· μετὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς κρίσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπάντων διόρθωσιν καὶ τὸν ἀφανισμόν τῆς ἀντικειμένης ἀπάσης ἐνεργείας, τότε αὐτὸς ὑποταγήσεται τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, ἵνα οὕτως ἦ ἐν θεῷ ὁ λόγος, ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἦν, πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι. Euseb. p. 41, c, d.

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S. Basil in his letter to S. Athanasius about Marcellus confirms what is the obvious import of these words: he says that Marcellus taught λόγον εἰρήσθαι τὸν μονογενῆ, κατὰ χρείαν καὶ ἐπὶ καιροῦ προσελθόντα, πάλιν δὲ εἰς τὸν ὄθεν ἐξῆλθεν ἐπαναστρέψαντα, οὔτε πρὸ τῆς ἐξόδου εἶναι, οὔτε μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ὑφίστανται. Ep. 52.

11. That not the Word, but Jesus is the Son. This has been implied in some of the above extracts, but the tenet forms the subject of so large a portion of the Fourth Oration, and is ascribed to Marcellus and Photinus by such various authors, that it must be dwelt upon.

Ἱερὸς ἀπόστολος τε καὶ μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου Ἰωάννης, says Marcellus in Eusebius, τῆς αἰδιότητος αὐτοῦ μνημονεύων, ἀληθῆς ἐγένετο τοῦ λόγου μάρτυς, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, λέγων, καὶ, . . . οὐδὲν γεννήσεως ἐνταῦθα μνημονεύων τοῦ λόγου. Euseb. p. 37, b. vid. also p. 27 fin. And again, οὐχ υἱὸν θεοῦ ἑαντὸν ὀνομάζει, ἀλλ' ἵνα διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ὁμολογίας [f. ὀνομασίας. R. S. C.] θέσει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινωνίαν, υἱὸν θεοῦ γενέσθαι παρασκευάσῃ, [i. e. θέσει υἱὸν θεοῦ.] p. 42, a. Again, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαπητός, ὁ τῷ λόγῳ ἐνωθείς ἄνθρωπος. p. 49, a.

And so Eriphanus of Photinus, ὁ λόγος ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, φησὶν, ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν υἱός. Hær. p. 830, b. vid. also p. 831.

And Eugenius, when clearing himself and other disciples of Marcellus to Athanasius; οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον τὸν υἱὸν καὶ ἄλλον τὸν λόγον φρονοῦμεν, ὡς τινες ἡμᾶς διέβαλον; and they anathematize the madness of Photinus and his followers, ὅτι μὴ φρονοῦσι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ διαιροῦσιν ἀλόγως καὶ ἀρχὴν τῷ υἱῷ διδοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκ Μαρίας κατὰ σάρκα γενέσεως. Coll. Nov. t. 2. p. 3, d.

And Nestorius says, Cogitur Photinus Verbum dicere, non autem Verbum hoc Filium confitetur. Mercat. t. 2. p. 87. vid. also Garner. in Mercat. t. 2. p. 314 init.

And Marcellus himself, in his explanatory statement addressed to Pope Julius, lays especially stress on his reception of the point of faith which is in these extracts denied, confessing the "only-begotten *Son Word*," "of whose kingdom there shall be no end," "the Word, of whom Luke the Evangelist witnesses, 'as they delivered who were eye-witnesses;'" "the Son, that is, the Word of Almighty God;" "the Father's Power, the Son." Epiph. Hær. p. 835, 6.

12. That not the Word but Jesus is the Christ, the First-begotten, the Image of God, the King.

Εἴ τις, says Eusebius, τὸν υἱὸν, ᾧ πάντα παρέδωκεν ὁ πατήρ, λόγον ὀρίζοιτο μόνον, ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, εἶτα σάρκα φησὶν ἀνειληφέναι, καὶ τότε υἱὸν θεοῦ γεγονέναι, καὶ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν χρηματίσαι, βασιλέα

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τε ἀναγορεύεσθαι, εἰκόνα τε τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, καὶ πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, μὴ ὄντα πρότερον, τότε ἀποδεδεῖχθαι, τίς ἂν λείποιτο τούτῳ δυσσεβείας ὑπερβολή; p. 6, b, d. The passage, which is here curtailed, goes through all the alleged tenets of Marcellus. vid. also pp. 49, 50. In his own words, concerning the "First-begotten," οὐ τοίνυν οὗτος ὁ ἀγιώτατος λόγος, πρὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως πρωτότοκος ἀπάσης κτίσεως ἠνόμαστο, πῶς γὰρ δύνατον τὸν αἰεὶ ὄντα πρωτότοκον εἶναι τινος; ἀλλὰ τὸν πρῶτον καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἰς ὃν τὰ πάντα ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι ἐβουλήθη ὁ θεός, τοῦτον αἱ θείαι γραφαὶ πρωτότοκον ὀνομάζουσι. Euseb. p. 44, b, c. Concerning the "Image," πῶς οὖν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον Ἀστέριος εἶναι γέγραφε; αἱ γὰρ εἰκόνες τούτων, ὧν εἰσὶν εἰκόνες, καὶ ἀπόντων, δεικτικαὶ εἰσὶν πῶς εἰκὼν τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ ὁ λόγος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀόρατος ὢν; . . . δῆλον, ὅπηγάκα τὴν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένην ἀνείληφε σάρκα, εἰκὼν ἀληθῶς τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ γέγονε. p. 47, a—d. vid. also p. 142, b.

And so S. Epiphanius of Photinus's doctrine about the title "Christ;" φάσκει οὗτος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ εἶναι, ἀπὸ δὲ Μαρίας. p. 829.

13. That at the end of all things the Word, returning to God, will leave the flesh or manhood, whose Kingdom will then end.

On this point, which may almost be called the peculiarity of this doctrine, and gave occasion to an article in the (commonly called) Nicene Creed, Marcellus is very full. He argues that "the flesh profiteth nothing;" how then can it be everlastingly united to the Word? pp. 42, 43. that our Saviour adds, "What and if ye shall see the Son of Man, &c." which he seems to refer to the separation of the Word from the flesh. p. 51, c. that the Psalmist expressly says, "Sit Thou on My right hand, *till* I make, &c." and S. Paul, "He shall reign *till* He hath put, &c." p. 51, d. and S. Peter, "Whom the hearers must receive *until*¹, &c." p. 52, a. And that the object of the dispensation was, not that the Word, but that man should conquer his enemy and regain heaven. p. 49, c, d. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ λόγος ἀρχὴν βασιλείας εἴληφεν, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀπατηθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ διαβόλου ἄνθρωπος, διὰ τῆς τοῦ λόγου δυνάμεως, βασιλεὺς γέγονεν, ἵνα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος τὸν πρότερον ἀπατήσαντα νικήσῃ διάβολον. Euseb. p. 52, a. that if His Kingdom had a beginning 400 years since, it is not wonderful that it should have an end. p. 50, d. ὡς περ ἀρχὴν οὕτω καὶ τέλος ἔξειν. p. 52, c. And if any one asks what will then become of that immortal flesh, which once belonged to the Word, Marcellus answers, δογματίζειν περὶ ὧν μὴ ἀκριβῶς [ἐκ] τῶν θείων μεμαθήκαμεν γραφῶν, οὐκ ἀσφαλές. Euseb. p. 53, a. μὴ μου πυνθάνου περὶ ὧν σαφῶς παρὰ τῆς θείας γραφῆς μὴ μεμάθηκα. διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς θείας ἐκείνης, τῆς τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ κοινωνησάσης σαρκὸς, σαφῶς εἰπεῖν δυνήσομαι. *ibid.* b, c.

¹ *supr.*
p. 381,
note i.

Such was the doctrine of Marcellus, Photinus, and their school, and there is scarcely any one of the heads of it as now drawn out, but is distinctly stated and combated in this so-called Fourth Oration of S. Athanasius. And what increases the force of the coincidence is the independence of his testimony relatively to Eusebius, and its connexion with the testimony of S. Basil and

Eugenius. When men of such opposite minds and parties as S. Athanasius and Eusebius describe and oppose the very same error, it is natural to think that that error did really exist, and in that quarter to which Eusebius assigns it, and in which Athanasius to say the least does not deny it. On the other hand, Basil, Athanasius, and Eugenius, are parties in one and the same transaction. Basil accuses Eugenius and other followers of Marcellus before Athanasius, of a certain definite heresy. Eugenius clears himself from the same. When Athanasius then is found to have been writing about the very same doctrine, it is obvious to consider that he is aiming at that school which S. Basil attacks and which Eugenius disowns.

Now the following are some of the statements, above imputed to Marcellus and Photinus, which Athanasius combats in the Fourth Oration.

(1.) At least the twenty-one out of thirty-six sections, of which it consists, is devoted to the disproof of the position that “the Word is not the Son;” and though seven of these are primarily directed against the disciples of Paul of Samosata, this does not determine the drift of the remaining and greater portion, which needs some object, and will find it in the school of Marcellus.

(2.) Again, Athanasius protests against the doctrine of the Word being like man’s word without subsistence, *οὐ διαλελυμένος, ἢ ἀπλῶς φωνὴ σημαντικὴ, ἀλλὰ οὐσιώδης λόγος· εἰ γὰρ μὴ, ἔσται ὁ θεὸς λαλῶν εἰς ἄερα. . . . ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἂν εἶη οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθένειαν.* §. 1. Vid. also contr. Sabell. Greg. §. 5. e. This is precisely Eusebius’s language against Marcellus, e. g. *ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ λόγου, σημαντικὸν αὐτὸν δίδωσι, καὶ ὅμοιον τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ.* p. 118. vid. also p. 128.

(3.) Again Athanasius argues against the doctrine of previous silence and then action in the Divine Nature, such being the language under which the heresy he opposes expressed itself; *τὸν θεὸν, σιωπῶντα μὲν ἀνεέργητον, λαλοῦντα δὲ ἰσχύει αὐτὸν βούλονται.* §. 11. vid. also §. 12. And Eusebius charges Marcellus with holding that *ὁ λόγος ἔνδον μένων ἐν ἡσυχάζοντι τῷ πατρὶ, ἐνεργῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ τὴν κτίσιν δημιουργεῖν, ὁμοίως τῷ ἡμετέρῳ, ἐν σιωπῶσι μὲν ἡσυχάζοντι, ἐν δὲ φθεγγομένοις ἐνεργοῦντι.* p. 4, d. Eusebius objects elsewhere, that even human artificers can work in silence by an inward operation of their minds, p. 167, b; Athanasius makes the same remark, §. 11, d.

(4.) Again, we have above read a great deal of the *πλατυσμός* of the *μονὰς* in the flesh, and that by an *ἐνέργεια*; now this forms one distinct subject of a portion of the Fourth Oration, being contained in §§. 13, 14, and 25. *φησὶ γὰρ, says Athanasius, ὁ πατὴρ πλατύνεται εἰς υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα.* §. 25. *τίς ἢ ἐνέργεια τοῦ τοιούτου πλατυσμοῦ; φανήσεται ὁ πατὴρ καὶ γεγωνὸς σαρξ, εἶγε αὐτὸς μονὰς ὦν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπλατύνθη.* §. 14.

(5.) Eusebius and S. Basil both mention Marcellus’s doctrine of the Word’s issuing from and returning to God; now Athanasius ascribes precisely the same language to the heretical creed he is discussing; viz. the doctrine of the Word as *προελθὼν* and *παλι-*

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δρομῶν, of His πρόοδος and ἀναδρομῇ, that He προεβάλλετο and ἀνακαλείται, of His γέννησις, and (as he infers) of παῦλα τῆς γεννήσεως. §. 12. §. 4, e.

(6.) Marcellus, as we have seen above, lays a special stress upon the phrase ἐν τῷ θεῷ, as applied to the Word; so did the heretics opposed by Athanasius, vid. §. 12 throughout, §. 2 init. &c. §. 4, e.

(7.) Athanasius imputes to this doctrine, as its necessary consequence, if it be not pure Sabellianism, that it considers an attribute to be something real and independent in the Divine Nature, which therefore becomes σύνθετος; and this is the very consequence which Eusebius imputes to the doctrine of Marcellus. Athanasius: κατὰ τοῦτο ἡ θεία μονὰς σύνθετος φανήσεται, τεμνομένη εἰς οὐσίαν καὶ συμβεβηκός, §. 2; Eusebius: σύνθετον ὡσπερ εἰσῆγεν τὸν θεόν, οὐσίαν αὐτὸν ἰποτιθέμενος δίχα λόγου, συμβεβηκός δὲ τῇ οὐσίᾳ τὸν λόγον. p. 121. vid. p. 149, d. And so Athanasius: εἰ τοῦτο, πατὴρ μὲν ὅτε σοφός, υἱὸς δὲ ὅτε σοφία· ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς ποιότης τις ταῦτα ἐν τῷ θεῷ. §. 2. Eusebius: εἰ δ' ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν ἦν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἡ ἐν ταῖς παροιμίαις σοφία, ἕξις οὐσα σοφῆ ἐν αὐτῷ νοουμένη, καθὼ σοφὸς ὁ θεός, τί ἐκόλυεν, κ.τ.λ. p. 150, b.

(8.) Eusebius says that Marcellus supported his doctrine by the pretence of defending the μοναρχία, p. 109, b; and Athanasius opens his Oration by shewing how the μοναρχία is preserved in-violate in the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity.

(9.) Marcellus, as we have seen, insisted on the temporary nature of Christ's kingdom, or its beginning and ending; and Athanasius alludes to a similar doctrine on the part of the heretics against whom he is writing, §. 8. implying that they assign a beginning of being and of rule to the Son.

(10.) Marcellus denies that the Word is called Son, &c. in the Old Testament; Euseb. p. 131, b. pp. 83—101. pp. 134—140; and so did the heretics opposed by Athanasius, §§. 23—29.

(11.) Marcellus evaded the force of such texts in the Old Testament as spoke of the Son, the Christ, &c. by saying that they were anticipations; he says, εἰ δέ τις, καὶ πρὸ τῆς νέας διαθήκης, τοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ ὄνομα τῷ λόγῳ μόνῳ δεικνύναι δύνασθαι ἐπαγγέλλοιτο, εὐρήσει τοῦτο προφητικῶς εἰρημένον. Euseb. p. 82, a. And therefore it was that in Rom. 1, 4. he read προορισθεῖς for ὀρισθεῖς. vid. supr. p. 114, note c. also p. 119, ref. 2. vid. R. S. C.'s Observ. p. 10. Epiphanius says of Photinus too that he considered the Old Testament text written προκαταγγελτικῶς, προχρηστικῶς. p. 830. And so on the other hand Athanasius of his anonymous heretics: ἀλλὰ ναί, φασί, κέται μὲν, προφητικῶς δὲ ἔστω. §. 24.

(12.) When Psalm 109, (110,) 3. was urged against Marcellus, he explained "Lucifer" of the Star which preceded the Magi. Euseb. p. 48, b. vid. Epiph. Hær. p. 833, a. Athanasius devotes two sections to an examination of that text, §§. 27, 28.

(13.) It may be well to add, that the view taken of Sabellianism by S. Athanasius, as contrasted with the doctrine of Marcellus, is identical with the foregoing statements of Eugenius, S. Basil, and Eusebius. Σαβελλίον τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, says Athanasius, τὸν αὐτὸν υἱὸν

καὶ πατέρα λέγοντος, καὶ ἑκάτερον ἀναιροῦντος, ὅτε μὲν υἱὸς, τὸν πατέρα, ὅτε δὲ πατὴρ, τὸν υἱόν. §. 9.

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These are not all the coincidences which might be drawn out between Athanasius's Fourth Oration on the one hand, and the writers against Marcellus and Photinus on the other; and they surely make it clear that against the Photinians, and not against the Arians, that work is directed. Nor is it an objection of much weight, that S. Athanasius is not recorded to have written against them, nor against the earlier heresies which originated them, a circumstance which Montfaucon urges against the genuineness of the contra Sabellii gregales. For if the *matter of fact* is so, that this Oration does treat of Sabellianism and its offshoots, and if it certainly is genuine, which no one denies, testimony on the point is superfluous, and the absence of it may need an explanation but can prove nothing. Such an explanation, however, is afforded in Sirmond's remark upon S. Jerome's silence concerning Eusebius's Traacts against Sabellius, De infinitis voluminibus, he says, quæ ab Eusebio edita testatur, pauca, certè non omnia [Hieronymum] commemorâsse. Opp. t. 1. init.

Additional evidence, just now alluded to, of a minute character, is contained in some of the notes which follow; in which too is pointed out such matters as may be considered, so far as they go, to detract from its force.

It may be right, before concluding, to subjoin a short analysis of the general contents of the Oration.

(1) Seven sections, §§. 1-5, 9, 10, are upon the Monarchia, and the cognate subjects of the Divine unity, simplicity and integrity, and the generation of the Son; of these one, §. 4, and part of another, §. 3, are addressed to the Arians; the rest are directed against the Sabellian schools of the day.

(2) Two sections, §§. 6 and 7, are expressly directed against the Arians, and are unconnected with the context of the book before and after them.

(3) Three other sections, §§. 8, 11, 12, contrast the opposite schools with each other, dwelling chiefly on the Sabellian.

(4) Three others, §§. 13, 14, 25, are on a prominent tenet of Sabellius and Marcellus.

(5) The rest of the book, being (with the interposition of one section) twenty-one continuous sections, is on one subject, viz. the identity of the Word with the Son, as denied by the school of Marcellus and Paul of Samosata, §§. 15-24, 26-29.

DISCOURSE IV.

Subject I.

The doctrine of the Monarchia implies or requires, not negatives, the substantial existence of the Word and Son.

§§. 1—5.

The substantiality of the Word proved from Scripture. If the One Origin be substantial, Its Word is substantial. Unless the Word and Son be a second Origin, or a work, or an attribute (and so God be compounded), or at the same time Father, or involve a second nature in God, He is from God's Substance and distinct from Him. Illustration of John 10, 30. drawn from Deut. 4, 4.

§. 1.
John 1,
1.
Rom. 9,
5.

1. THE Word is from God^a; for *the Word was God*, and again, *Of whom are the Fathers, and of whom Christ, who is God over all, blessed for ever. Amen.* And since Christ^b is God from God, and God's Word, Wisdom, Son, and Power, therefore but One God is declared in the divine Scriptures. For the Word, being Son of the One God, is referred^c to Him of whom also He is; so that Father and Son are two,

^a In this opening section, the abruptness of which shews that something was meant to precede it, the author is meeting the objection of Marcellus, (urged, e. g. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. pp. 68—70, 109, b. c. 119, d. 141, b.) that plurality of Persons involves plurality of Gods; which he here answers, by insisting on the *relation* of the Second Person to the First, i. e. as Eusebius, by the doctrine of the Monarchy.

^b The introduction of the word "Christ" (vid. also §§. 3 init. 4. c-e. 15, c. 19, b. 30 init.) seems to shew that he is combating a heresy which placed our Lord's personality in the manhood, which Arianism did not, but which Sabellius, Marcellus, Photinus, Nestorius, did. There is very little about "Christ" in the foregoing Discourses against the Arians. The text indeed which he here

quotes from Scripture is rather directed against Ariens (vid. Orat. i. p. 193. Serap. ii. 2.) than against Sabellians, but he seems to mean it to be an admission to them, lest he should be thought to deny it. It must be granted also, that in one place referred to he uses the word "Christ" when arguing against the Ariens, though this is not unnatural, when it has once occurred. Nor must it be forgotten that S. Hilary uses Christus commonly for our Lord's divine nature. vid. Bened. Præf. p. xlii

^c *εις αυτον αναφερεται.* vid. Nazianz. Orat. 20, 7. Damasc. F. O. i. 8. p. 140. Theod. Abulc. Opusc 42. p. 542. And so *αναγεται.* Naz. Orat. 42, 15. And *ινα ημῶς αναπέμψῃ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφίαν.* Euseb. Eccl. Theol. i. p. 84. though in an heretical sense. vid. supr. p. 459, note a.

yet the Unity¹ of the Godhead is indivisible^d and inseparable. And thus too we preserve One Origin² of Godhead and not two Origins, whence there is properly a divine Monarchy^e. And of this very Origin the Word is by nature Son, not as if another origin, subsisting by Himself, nor having come into being externally to that Origin, lest from that diversity a Dyarchy and Polyarchy should ensue; but of the one Origin He is proper Son, proper Wisdom, proper Word, existing from It. For, according to John, *in that Origin^f was the Word, and the Word was with God*, for the Origin was God; and since He is from It, therefore also *the Word was God*.

SUBJ.
I.
μονάδα,
unit.
ἀρχή

2. And as there is one Origin and therefore one God, so one is that Substance and Subsistence^g which indeed and truly and really is, and which said *I am that I am^h*, and not two, that there be not two Origins; and from the One, a Son in Nature and Truth, is Its proper Word, Its Wisdom, Its Power, and inseparable from It. And as there is not another substance, lest there be two Origins, so the Word which is from that One Substance has no dissolution³, nor is a sound significative, but is a substantial Word and substantial Wisdom, which is the true Son. For were He not substantial, God would be speaking into the air, and having a bodyⁱ, in nothing differently^k from men; but since He

διαλελυ-
μένος

^d *μονάδα δὲ θεότητος ἀδιάρητον*. This phrase, which occurs p. 515, r. 2. and is sufficiently distinctive to attract the attention of Petavius, vid. Dogm. t. i. pp. 248, 249. though found in other writers, appears to be from Marcellus, who urged it, and is often remarked on by Eusebius. vid. contr. Marc. p. 36, b. 107, b. 131, b. In p. 132, a. Marcellus justifies from Scripture the use of *μονὰς* to express Almighty God.

^e The word *Monarchia* was used as a tessera by all parties; by the Sabellians, (as by Marcellus) against the Church and Arians; vid. supr. p. 45, note h; by Arians, which is surprising, against Catholics; Euseb. Eccl. Theol. p. 69; and by Catholics, as supr. p. 45, and here. Athan. attributes a Dyarchy to Marcion and Valentinus, de Syn. 52, supr. p. 153. Eusebius returns a like answer to Marcellus p. 109. as Athan. here to his nameless antagonist. The principle of the Catholic Monarchia is found infr. 17. οὐδὲν ἐν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

^f *ἀρχή* here means "origin," as commonly; and stands for the Almighty Father, as supr. ii. 57 fin. Origen. in Joan. t. i. 17. Method. ap. Phot. cod. 235. p. 940. Nyssen. in Eunom. p. 106. Cyril. Thesaur. 32. p. 312. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. ii. pp. 118, d. 123, a. and Jerome in Calmet on Ps. 109. Infr. §§. 8, 25, 26, 27. it must be translated "beginning."

^g *οὐσία καὶ ὑπόστασις*; and so ἡ πατρικὴ οὐσ. καὶ ὑπ. supr. p. 494, and note t. The word occurs several times towards the end of this Oration.

^h This text is brought as an objection to any but the Sabellian view by Marcellus in Euseb. Eccl. Theol. p. 130, c. d.

ⁱ *σῶμα ἔχων*. vid. Euseb. εἰ πνεῦμα, κρείττον [τὸ] θεῶν παντὸς συνθέτον σώματος contr. Marc. p. 5, d.

^k *οὐδὲν πλέον*; and so Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 55, b. and infr. 17. *πλείον οὐδὲν ὁ λόγος τοῦ υἱοῦ ἔχει*. Also 20, e. and Serap. ii. 1, b. On the classical use of the phrase vid. Blomf. Gloss. in Agam. 995.

Disc. IV. is not man, neither is His Word¹ according to the infirmity of man¹. For as the Origin is one Substance, so Its Word is one, substantial, and subsisting, and Its Wisdom. For as He is God from God, and Wisdom from the Wise^m, and Word from the Rational, and Son from Father, so is He from Subsistence Subsistent, and from Substance Substantial and Substantive², and Being from Being.

§. 2. 3. Since were He not substantial Wisdom and substantive Word, and Son existing, but simply Wisdom and Word and Son in the Fatherⁿ, then the Father Himself would have a nature compounded of wisdom and reason³. But if so, the forementioned extravagances⁴ would follow; and He will be His own Father^o, and the Son begetting and begotten by Himself; or Word, Wisdom, Son, is a name only, and He does not subsist who owns, or rather who is, these titles. If then He does not subsist, the names are idle and empty⁵, unless we say that God is Very Wisdom⁶ and Very Word^p. But if so, He is His own Father and Son; Father, when Wise, Son, when Wisdom^q; but these things are not in God

Disc. IV.
1 sup.
p. 329.

² ἐνούσιος

§. 2.

³ λόγου,
word.
⁴ ἄτοπα

⁵ p. 307,
note d.
⁶ p. 518,
r. 2.

¹ In a somewhat similar passage, ad Ep. Æg. 16. he is arguing against, not Sabellians, but Arians.

^m vid. contr. Sabell. Greg. §. 5, d. Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 17. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. p. 150, a.

ⁿ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ. he is here opposing the usual formula of Sabellius and Marcellus, who substituted ἐν τῷ θεῷ for the Scriptural πρὸς τὸν θεόν. vid. supr. p. 509. (6.) infr. note q. ὁ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ λόγος οὐ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶναι λέγεται, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ. Basil. contr. Sabell. 1 fin.

^o αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ πατήρ. So Hipp. contr. Noet. 7. vid. also Euseb. in Marc. pp. 42, b. 61. a. 106, b. 119, d. *ὐδὲν ἑαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι*. supr. Orat. iii. 4 init. Ipsum sibi patrem, &c. Auct. Præd. (ap. Sirmond. Opp. t. i. p. 278. ed. Ven.) Mar. Marc. t. 2. p. 128. ed. 1673. Greg. Boet. (ap. Worm. Hist. Sabell. p. 17.) Consult Zach. et Apoll. ii. 11. (ap. Dach. Spicil.) Porphyry uses *αὐτοπάτωρ*, but by a strong figure. Cyril. contr. Julian. p. 32. vid. Epiphan. in answer to Aetius on this subject. Hær. p. 937. It must be observed that several Catholic fathers seem to countenance such expressions, Zeno. Ver. and Marius Viet. not to say S. Hilary and S. Augustine. vid. Thomassin. de Trin. 9. For *ὐσιπᾶτωρ* vid. supr. p. 97, note k. to which add Nestor. Sermon. 12. ap. Marc. Merc. t. 2. p. 87. and Ep. ad Martyr. ap.

Bevereg. Synod. t. 2. Not. p. 100.

^p Petavius considers that he here denies these titles to the Son, though elsewhere he attributes them. E.g. contr. Gent. 40, a. 46 fin. de Incarn. V. D. 20, b. Orat. ii. 78, d. 79, e. 80, e. Serap. iv. 20, c. If so, there is no inconsistency; he admits them, (vid. contr. Gent. 46.) *in contrast* to the σοφία, &c. of creatures; he denies them as implying defect in the Father, impersonality in the Son. Eusebius admits them Eccl. Theol. p. 121, c. and elsewhere.

^q Vid. supr. note m. p. 515, note u. Serap. i. 20, d. Eusebius introduces mention of *σοφὸς* and *σοφία* in a similar way in Eccl. Theol. pp. 100, 150. He distinctly imputes to Marcellus the doctrine, here spoken of by Athan. viz. that the Son was τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ λόγον, καθ' ὃν λογικὸς νοεῖται. Eccl. Theol. pp. 90, b. 106, b. 110, d. 113, b. 130, a. 150, a. vid. supr. p. 208, note b. thus distinguishing him from Sabellius, as making the Word a quality, and God *σύνθετος*. *ibid.* p. 63, c. Cudworth maintains that this same doctrine was held by Plato and Photinus; Intell. Syst. iv. 36. (p. 675. ed. 1733.) nay, by S. Athanasius. Mosheim in loc. seems to defend Athan. Petavius imputes it to Athenagoras, Dogm. t. 2. p. 22. whom Bull defends, D. F. N. iii. 5. §. 5.

as a certain quality; away with the dishonourable¹ thought; for it will issue in this, that God is compounded of substance and quality^r. For whereas all quality is in substance, it will clearly follow that the Divine One², indivisible as it is, must be compound, being severed into substance and accident¹.

4. We must ask then these reckless men; The Son was proclaimed as God's Wisdom and Word; how then is He such? if as a quality, the extravagance has been shown; but if God is that very Wisdom, then it is the extravagance of Sabellius. Therefore He is as an Offspring in a proper sense from the Father Himself, according to the illustration of light. For as there is light from fire^t, so from God is there a Word, and Wisdom from the Wise^u, and from the Father a Son. For in this way the Unity² remains undivided and entire^s, and Its Son and Word, is not unsubstantive, nor not subsisting, but substantial truly.

SUBJ.
I.
1 ἄπρεπες
p. 524.
r. 3.
2 μονάς

^r So σύνθετον τὸν θεὸν ἐκ ποιότητος καὶ οὐσίας λέγετε. ad Afros. 8. vid. the whole passage, which, however, is directed against, not Sabellians, but Arians. This is the point of heresy in which the two agreed, vid. supr. p. 41, note e. However, the argument is not exactly the same. For that ad Afros. vid. Basil. Ep. 8, 3. and Cyril. Thes. p. 134. Here he is referring to the great doctrine, or rather mystery, that Christ is ὁλος θεός, "all God," as fully and entirely the one infinitely simple, all-perfect Being, as if there were no Person in the Godhead but He; not an attribute, habit, or the like, which would be making attributes real distinctions in the Divine Nature, not aspects (as they are) under which we men necessarily view that Nature. This the Sabellians seemed to hold, and thus made it compound. Vid. in like manner supr. p. 334, note y. Epiph. Hær. 73. p. 852. Cyril. Thes. p. 145. Basil. contr. Sabell. I. Nyssen. contr. Eunom. i. p. 69. App. Max. Cap. de Carit. t. i. p. 445 Damasc. F. O. i. 13. p. 151.

^s So Eusebius of Marcellus, σύνθετον εἰσήγγεν τὸν θεόν, οὐσίαν δίχα λόγου συμβεβηκὸς δὲ τῇ οὐσίᾳ τὸν λόγον. Ecl. Theol. p. 121, b. c. Vid. however Athan. speaking of Arians, de decr. 22. supr. p. 33, note y. (where Eusebius's opinion has been misstated; vid. also Demonstr. v. pp. 213, c. 215, a.) Also supr. p. 493, and notes q, r, s. ad Ep. Æg. §. 16, a.

^t vid. infr. §. 10 fin. this is unusual with Athanasius, who commonly speaks of Light and its Radiance. vid. supr. p. 39, note b.

^u Pater verax, Filius veritas; quid est amplius, verax an veritas? Pius homo plus est, an pietas? sed plus est ipsa pietas; pius enim à pietate, non pietas à pio. Plus est pulchritudo quam pulcher. Castitas planè plus est quam castus. Numquid dicturi sumus plus Veritas quam Verax? si hoc dixerimus, Filium incipiemus dicere Patre majorem. Verax enim Pater non ab eâ veritate verax est cuius partem cepit, sed quam totam genuit. August. in Joann. 39, 7. vid. also Ambros. de Fid. v. n. 29.

^x It has been observed, p. 326, note g. that the Mystery of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity is not merely a verbal contradiction, but an incompatibility in the human ideas conveyed by them. We can scarcely make a nearer approach to an exact enunciation of it, than that of saying that one thing is two things. The Father is all that is God; He is the One, Eternal, Infinite Being, absolutely and wholly. And His Nature is most simple and free from parts and passions. Yet this One God is also the Son, and He is the One God as absolutely and wholly as the Father, yet without being the Father. In this world we have often great changes in the same being, so that He is one thing

Disc.
IV.
¹ κατ'
ἐπινοιαν
p. 333,
note u.
² ἄπλωσ
p. 254,
note l.

John 10,
30.

John 14,
10.

5. For unless it were so, all that is said would be said only in notion ¹ and without a meaning ². But if we must avoid that extravagance, then is a true Word substantial. For as there is a Father truly, so Wisdom truly. In this respect then they are two; not because, as Sabellius said, Father and Son are the same, but because the Father is Father and the Son Son^y; and they are one, because He is Son of the Substance of the Father by nature, existing as His proper Word. This the Lord said, viz., *I and the Father are One*; for neither is the Word separated from the Father, nor was or is the Father ever Wordless; on this account He says, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*.

§. 3.

³ ἔξωθεν

⁴ αἰτία

6. And again, Christ^z is the Word of God. Did then He subsist by Himself, and after subsisting was joined to the Father, or did God make Him and call Him His Word? If the former, I mean, if He subsisted by Himself and is God, then there are two Origins; and moreover, as is plain, He is not proper to the Father, as being not of the Father, but of Himself. But if on the contrary, He be made externally ³, then is He a creature. It remains then to say that He is from God Himself; but if so, that which is from another is one thing, and that from which it is, is a second; according to this then there are two. But if they be not two, but belong to the same, cause ⁴ and effect will be the same, and begotten and begetting, which has been shown absurd in the instance of Sabellius. But if He be from Him, yet not another, He will be both begetting and not begetting; begetting because He produces from Himself, and not begetting, because it is nothing other than Himself. But if so, the same is called Father and Son notionally. But if it be unseemly so to say, Father and Son must be two; and they are one, because the Son is not from without, but begotten of God.

7. But if any one shrinks from saying "Offspring^a," and

at one time, and another at another; but the Unchangeable God is Three all at once, and that Three Persons.

^y vid. pp. 211, 212, notes f and g, and p. 416, note e.

^z Here, as in beginning of §. 1. "Christ," not "the Word," is made the subject of the sentence. vid. p. 512, note b.

^a vid. supr. p. 37, note k; to which it may be added that S. Basil seems to have changed his mind, for he uses the Word in Hom. contr. Sabell. t. 2. p. 192, c. It is remarkable that this Homily in substance (i. e. the contr. Sabell. Greg. which is so like it that it cannot really be another, unless S. Basil copies it) is given to S. Athan.

only says that the Word exists with God, let such a one fear lest, shrinking from what is said in Scripture, he fall into an extravagance, making God a being of double nature¹. For not granting that the Word is from the Unity², but simply as if He were joined^b to the Father, He introduces a duality³ of substance^c, and neither of them Father of the other. And the same of power⁴. And we may see this more clearly, if we consider it with reference to the Father; for there is One Father, and not two, but from that One the Son. As then there are not two Fathers, but one^d, so not two Origins, but One, and from that One the Son substantial.

SUBJ.
I.
1 διφυῆ
τινά
2 μονάς,
one, or
unit.
3 δυάδα
4 vid.
p. 501.

8. But the Arians we must ask contrariwise: (for the Sabellianizers must be confuted from the notion of a Son and the Arians from that of a Father^e;) let us say then—Is God wise and not word-less: or on the contrary is He wisdom-less and word-less⁵? if the latter, there is an extravagance at once; if the former, we must ask how is He wise and not word-less? does He possess the Word and the Wisdom from without, or from Himself? If from without, there must be one who first gave to Him, and before He received He was wisdom-less and word-less. But if from Himself, it is plain that the Word is not from nothing, nor once was not; for He was ever; since He of whom He is the Image, exists ever. But if they say that He is indeed wise and not word-less, but that He has in Himself His proper Wisdom and proper Word, and that, not Christ, but that by which He made Christ⁶, we must answer that, if Christ in that Word was brought to be, plainly so were all things; and

§. 4.
5 p. 208,
note b.
6 p. 512,
note b.

^b κεκολληῆσθαι τῷ πατρὶ λόγον. So Eusebius of Marcellus, ἡνωμένον τῷ θεῷ λόγον. pp. 4 fin. 32, a. &c. vid. next note.

^c Athanasius here retorts upon the Sabellian schools the objection of the Monarchia, observing that the fact of the derivation of One Person from the Other is that which preserves in fact the numerical Unity unimpaired, as described just above, note x. vid. also p. 402, note g. Not that we can understand how it does this. Eusebius objects to Marcellus his holding the συναγένητον. Eccl. Theol. pp. 119, c. d. 163. d. λόγον ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἡνωμένον καὶ συνημένον αὐτῷ φησιν, ὡς διπλῆν τινα καὶ

σύνθετον οὐσίαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι. p. 63, c. And so Athan. in the text, διφυῆ τινα εἰσαγώντων θεῶν. . . δυάδα οὐσίας εἰσάγει.

^d οὐ δύο πατέρες, ἀλλ' εἷς. So Eusebius against Marcellus, οὐκ ἀναγκάζεται δύο πατέρας εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ δύο υἱούς. p. 109, c.

^e That is, since the Sabellians denied our Lord's substantive existence, and the Arians His divinity, to dwell upon a father's communication of nature to his children, was the mode of shewing our Lord's divinity, and to dwell on the idea of a son was the mode of shewing (vid. Euseb. in Marc. i. 4. p. 19.) that He was no abstraction or attribute, but a living subsistence.

Disc. it must be he of whom John says, *All things were made*
 IV. *by Him*, and the Psalmist, *In Wisdom hast Thou made them*
 John 1, *all*. And Christ will be found to speak untruly¹, *I in the*
 3. *Father*, there being another in the Father. And *the Word*
 Ps. 104, *became flesh* is not true according to them. For if, He in
 24. whom *all things came to be*, became Himself flesh, and
¹ ψευδός-
 μένος
 John 1, Christ is not the Word in the Father, *by whom all things*
 14. *came to be*, therefore Christ did not become flesh, but, if so
 be, was but called Word. And if so, first, He will be
 some one else beside the name, next, all things were not
 by Him brought to be, but in him in whom Christ was made
 also.

9. But if they say that Wisdom is in the Father as a
 quality or that He is Very Wisdom², the extravagances will
 2 p. 514, follow already mentioned. For He will be compound³, and
 r. 5. will become His own Son and Father⁴. Moreover, we must
 3 p. 14, confute and silence them on the ground, that the Word
 note q. which is in God⁵ cannot be a creature nor out of nothing.
 p. 524, But if the Word be but in God, then He must be Christ
 r. 2. who says, *I am in the Father and the Father in Me*, who
⁴ p. 524, also is therefore the Only-begotten, since no other is begotten
 r. 4. from Him. He is the One Son, who is Word, Wisdom,
⁵ arg. ad Power; for God is not compounded of these, but is gene-
 hom. vid. rative⁶ of them. For as He frames the creatures by the
 p. 510. Word, so according to the nature of His proper Substance
 (6.) has He the Word as an Offspring, through whom He frames
 and creates and dispenses all things. For by the Word and
 the Wisdom all things came to be, and all things together
 remain according to His ordinance. And the same concerning
 the word "Son;" if God be without Son⁷, then is He without
 Work; for the Son is His Offspring through whom He
 works⁸; but if not, the same questions and the same extra-
 vagances will follow their audacity.

10. From Deuteronomy; *But ye that did attach yourselves*
⁷ ἄγονος,
 p. 284, *unto the Lord your God are alive every one of you this day.*
 note e. From this we may see the difference, and know that the
⁸ p. 338. Son of God is not a creature. For the Son says, *I and the*
 p. 416, *Father are One*, and, *I in the Father, and the Father in*
 note f. *Me*; but things generate, when they make advance, are
 p. 422, attached unto the Lord. The Word then is in the Father as
 note 1. §. 5.
 Deut. 4, 4.

being proper to Him; but things generate, being external, are attached, as being by nature foreign, and attached by free choice¹. For a son which is by nature, is one² with him who begat him; but he who is from without, and is made a son, will be attached to the family. Therefore he immediately adds, *What nation is there so great who hath God drawing nigh unto them?* and elsewhere, *I a God drawing nigh*; for to things generate He draws nigh, as being strange to Him, but to the Son, as being proper to Him, He does not draw nigh, but He is in Him. And the Son is not attached to the Father, but co-exists with Him; whence also Moses says again in the same Deuteronomy, *Ye shall obey His voice, and apply yourselves unto Him*; but what is applied, is applied from without.

SUBJ.
I.

¹ προαι-
ρῆσει
² p. 219,
note b.

Deut. 4,
7. Sept.
Jer. 23,
23. Sept.

Deut.
13, 14.

Subject II.

Texts explained against the Arians, viz. Matt. xxviii. 18.

Phil. ii. 9. Eph. i. 20.

§§. 6, 7.

When the Word and Son hungered, wept, and was wearied, He acted as our Mediator, taking on Him what was ours, that He might impart to us what was His.

Disc. I. AND in answer to the weak and human notions of the
 IV. Arians, their supposing that the Lord is in want, when He
 §. 6. says, *Is given unto Me*, and *I received*, and if Paul says,
 Matt. *Wherefore hath He highly exalted Him*, and *He set Him at*
 28, 18. *the right hand*, and the like, we must say, that our Lord,
 Phil. 2, being Word and Son of God, bore a body, and became Son
 9. of Man, that, having become Mediator between God and
 Eph. 1, men, He might minister¹ the things of God to us, and ours
 20. to God. When then He is said to hunger and weep and weary,
 and to cry Eloi, Eloi, which are our human affections, He
 receives them from us and offers to the Father², interceding
 for us, that in Him they may be annulled³. And when it is
 said, *All power is given unto Me*, and *I received*, and *Where-*
 fore hath God highly exalted Him, these are gifts⁴ given
 from God to us through Him. For the Word was never in
 want⁵, nor came into being⁶; nor again were men sufficient to
 minister⁷ these things for themselves, but through the Word
 they are given to us; therefore, as if given to Him, they are
 imparted to us. For this was the reason of His becoming
 man, that, as being given to Him, they might be transferred
 to us⁸. For of such gifts mere⁹ man had not become worthy;
 and again the mere Word had not needed them¹⁰; the Word
 then was united to us, and then imparted to us power, and
 highly exalted us¹¹. For the Word being in man, highly
 exalted man himself¹²; and, when the Word was in man,
 man himself received. Since then, the Word being in flesh,
 man himself was exalted, and received power, therefore these
 things are referred to the Word. since they were given on

¹ διακονῆ

² pp. 23,

291, 294.

³ p. 447.

and note

u. p. 449.

⁴ χρίσ-

μα-α

⁵ p. 242

init.

⁶ pp. 24²,

374, 377.

⁷ διακονῆ-

σαι

⁸ pp. 240,

245.

⁹ ψιλός

¹⁰ pp.

250, 455.

¹¹ pp.

239, 240.

¹² τὸν ἄν-

θρωπον

His account; for on account of the Word in man were these gifts¹ given. And as *the Word became flesh*, so also man himself received the gifts which came through the Word. For all that man himself has received, the Word is said to have received²; that it might be shewn, that man himself, being unworthy to receive, as far as his own nature is concerned, yet has received because of the Word become flesh. Wherefore if any thing be said to be given to the Lord, or the like, we must consider that it is given, not to Him as needing it, but to man himself through the Word. For every one who intercedes for another, receives the gift in his own person³, not as needing, but on his account for whom he intercedes.

SUBJ.
II.
¹ χαρίσματα
John 1,
14.
² p. 455.

2. For as He takes our infirmities, not being infirm⁴, and hungers not hungering, but offers up what is ours that it may be abolished, so the gifts which come from God instead of our infirmities, doth He too Himself receive, that man, being united to Him, may be able to partake them. Hence it is that the Lord says, *All things whatsoever Thou hast given Me, I have given them*, and again, *I pray for them*. For He prayed for us, having taken on Him what is ours, and He gave while He received. Since then, the Word being united to man himself⁵, the Father, regarding Him, vouchsafed to man to be exalted, to have all power and the like, therefore are referred to the Word, and are as if given to Him, all things which through Him we receive. For as He for our sake became man, so we for His sake are exalted. It is no extravagance then, if, as for our sake He humbled Himself, so also for our sake He is said to be highly exalted. So He gave to Him, that is, "to us for His sake;" and He highly exalted Him, that is, "us in Him." And the Word Himself, when we are exalted, and receive, and are succoured, as if He Himself were exalted and received and were succoured, gives thanks to the Father, referring what is ours to Himself, and saying, *All things, whatsoever Thou hast given Me, I have given unto them*⁶.

§. 7.
⁴ pp. 359-444, &c.
John 17,
7-9.

⁵ τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ
Phil. 2,
9.

John 17,
7. 8.

^a Similar as these two sections are to passages in the foregoing Orations, as shewn in the marginal references, yet many distinctions might be drawn between them; e.g. there is no mention of man's *θεοποίησις* here, or of his per-

severing abidance in holiness, (*ὡς διαμελήσῃ*), which occurs so frequently above. *διαμονή* is used *infr.* p. 552. Again, the use of *διακονεῖν*, *χαρίσματα* is novel, &c.

Subject III.

Comparison of Photinians with Arians.

§. 8.

Arians date the Son's beginning earlier than the Photinians.

Disc.
IV.
§. 8.

1. THE Eusebians^a, that is, the Ario-maniacs, ascribing a beginning of being to the Son, yet pretend not to wish Him to have a beginning of kingly power. But this is ridiculous; for He who ascribes to the Son a beginning of being, very plainly ascribes to Him also a beginning of kingly power; so blind are they, confessing what they deny. Again, those who say that the Son is only a name, and that the Son of God, that is, the Word of the Father, is unsubstantial and non-subsistent, pretend to be angry with those who say, "Once He was not." This is ridiculous also; for they who give Him no being at all, are angry with those who at least grant Him to be in time^b. Thus these also confess what they deny, in the act of censuring the others. And again the Eusebians, confessing a Son, deny that He is the Word by nature, and would have the Son called Word notionally¹; and the others confessing Him to be Word, deny Him to be Son, and would have the Word called Son notionally, equally groping in the void.

¹ κατ'
ἐπίνοιαν

^a οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον. vid. supr. p. 501. Such as Eusebius of Cæsarea may be glanced at, who brings with great indignation the charge against Marcellus, of his considering our Lord as βασιλεὺς only from His incarnation, i. l. p. 6. ii. p. 32, c. or that His Kingdom had a beginning, pp. 49, 50, 54.

^b On this difference between Sabelians and Arians, vid. supr. p. 114,

note b. The pre-existence of the Son is the main point urged against Marcellus by Eusebius throughout his work, who makes much of what is in fact the distinguishing mark between their respective heresies. Athan. urges it as a *reductio ad absurdum* against the Arian interpretation of Phil. ii. 9, 10. that it really led to a denial of this doctrine, supr. p. 234.

Subject IV.

(Being Subject 1. continued.)

§§. 9, 10.

Unless Father and Son are two in name only, or as parts and so each imperfect, or two gods, they are consubstantial, one in Godhead, and the Son from the Father.

1. *I and the Father are One*^a. That two are one, you say, §. 9. is either that one has two names, or again one is divided ^{John 10, 3.} into two^b. Now if one is divided into two, that which is divided must need be a body, and neither of the two perfect, for each is a part and not a whole^c. But if again one have two names, this is the expedient^d of Sabellius, who said that Son and Father were the same, and denied Each of Them, the Father when he confessed a Son, and the Son when he confessed a Father. But if the two are one, then of necessity while there are two, there is one according to the Godhead, and according to the Son's consubstantiality¹ to the Father, ¹ *ἁμο- ούσιον* and the Word's being from the Father Himself^e; so that

^a This and the next section are in great part a repetition of Orat. iii. 4. but with differences which are remarkable; as written at different times against different opponents. Mention is made of *σοφία* and *σοφός* here, and not there; the objection of "two gods" is not found there as being written against the Arians. A more striking difference in regard to the word *ἁμο- ούσιον* is noticed *infr.* note h. An illustration is taken from fire here, from light there.

^b This doctrine is imputed to Hieraces *supr.* p. 97. to Valentinus, though in a different sense, by Nazianz. Orat. 33, 16. Vid. also Clement. *Recogn.* i. 69.

^c *contr.* Sabell. *Greg.* §. 6, c.

^d *Σαβελλίου τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα*, and so

infr. 15. *Ἀρειανῶν τὸ φρόνημα*, and 23. *Μανιχαίων καὶ Ἰουδαίων τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα*. Again, *τοῦ Σαμοσάτους τὸ φρόνημα*. Orat. i. 38. *Ἑλληνικὸν τὸ φρόνημα*. Orat. ii. 22 *init.* *ἔθνικῶν καὶ Ἀρειανῶν ἡ τοιαύτη πλάνη*. ad *Adelph.* 3 *init.* *Ἀρειανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα τελέμηματα*. *contr.* *Apoll.* ii. 11. *fin.* *Οὐαλεντίνου τοῦτο τὸ εὔρημα*. *Serap.* i. 10. b. *vid.* also Orat. iii. 39, c. 50, b. 51, e. *Serap.* i. 20, d. ii. 2 *init.* On the contrary, *οὐκ ἔστιν οὗτος ὁ νοῦς χριστιανῶν*. iii. 7 *fin.*

^e He is laying down the Catholic explanation of Oneness in contrast to those heretical or hypothetical statements with which he commenced the chapter; viz. that the Godhead is numerically one, that there is one substance, and that there is but one *ἀρχή* or *πηγή θεότητος*.

Disc.
IV.
¹ p. 515,
note x.
John 14,
10.

² p. 518,
r. 3.
³ p. 515,
r. 1.
⁴ p. 514,
note o.

there are two, because there is Father and Son^f, that is, the Word^g, and one because one God¹. For if this is not so, He would have said, *I am the Father*, or *I and the Father am*; but, in fact, in the *I* He signifies the Son, and in the *And the Father*, Him who begat Him; and in the *One* the one Godhead and His consubstantiality^h. For the Same is not, as the Gentiles hold, Wise and Wisdom²; or the Same Father and Word; for it were unsuitable³ for Him to be His own Father⁴; but the divine teaching knows Father and Son, and Wise and Wisdom, and God and Word; while it altogether guards His indivisible and inseparable and indissoluble nature in all things.

§. 10.

2. But if any one, on hearing that the Father and the Son are two, misrepresent us as preaching two Godsⁱ, (for this is what some feign to themselves, and forthwith cry out scoffingly, "You hold two Gods,") we must answer to such, If to acknowledge Father and Son, is to hold two Gods, it instantly⁵ follows that to confess but one, we must deny the Son and Sabellianise. For if to speak of two, is to fall into Gentilism, therefore if we speak of one, we must fall into Sabellianism. But this is not so; perish the thought! but, as when we say that Father and Son are two, we still confess one God, so when we say that there is one God, let us consider Father and Son two, while they are one in the Godhead, and in the Father's Word, being indissoluble and indivisible and inseparable from Him. And let the fire and the radiance from it be a similitude of man, which are two in being and in appearance, but one in that its radiance is from it indivisibly.

⁵ ἄρα,
p. 415,
note c.

^f vid. latter part of note f at p. 211 supr. on S. Gregory Nyssen's statement that "the First Person in the Holy Trinity is not God, considered as Father."

^g Which Marcellus, as other heretics, denied. vid. supr. p. 41, note e.

^h Here again is the word *δμοούσιον*. Contrast the language of Orat. iii. when

commenting on the same text, in the same way; e.g. ἐν τῇ ἰδιότητι καὶ οἰκειότητι τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος, §. 4.

ⁱ Marcellus urged this against, to say the least, the Arian doctrine, Euseb. p. 69. and Eusebius retorts it upon him, p. 119, d. also p. 109.

Subject V.

(Being Subject 3. continued.)

§§. 11, 12.

Photinians, like Arians, say that the Word was, not indeed created, but developed, to create us, as if the Divine silence were a state of inaction, and when God spake by the Word, He acted; or that there was a going forth and return of the Word; a doctrine which implies change and imperfection in Father and Son.

1. THEY^a fall into the same folly with the Arians; for § 11. Arians also say that He was created for us, that He might create^b us, as if God waited till our creation for His development^c, as the one party say, or His creation, as the other. Arians then are more bountiful to us than to the Son; for, they say, not we for His sake, but He for ours, came to be; that is, if He was therefore created and subsisted, that God through Him might create us^d. And these, as irreligious or more so, give to God less than to us. For we oftentimes, even when silent, yet are active in thinking, so that the offspring of our thoughts form themselves into images; but God^e they would have, when silent to be inactive, and when He speaks then to exert strength; if so it be that, when silent, He could do nothing, and when speaking He began to create.

^a That is, the school of Marcellus and Photinus.

^b Even Eusebius takes this view. vid. sup. p. 62, note f. vid. also a clear and eloquent passage in the Eccl. Theol. 1, 8. also 13. to shew that our Lord was brought into being before all creation, ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῶν ὄλων. vid. also iii. pp. 153, 4. Vid. sup. p. 316, note c.

^c ἵνα προβάληται; on the Valentinian προβολή, development or issue, vid. sup. p. 97, note h. If the word here allude to Sabellius and Marcellus, it is used as an *arg. ad invidiam*; Valentinus and Sabellius are put together (as Valentinus and Marcellus, Euseb. Eccl. Theol. ii. 9.) by S. Alexander, ταῖς τομαῖς ἢ ταῖς ἀπορροαῖς ὡσπερ Σαβελλίω καὶ Βαλεν-

τίνω δοκεῖ. Theodor. Hist. i. 3. p. 743. vid. also Euseb. p. 114, c. For other reasons Valentinus is compared by S. Athan. to the Arians, sup. pp. 262, 486, 492.

^d vid. Cyril. de Trin. iv. p. 536. vi. p. 616. in Joann. p. 45. Naz. Orat. 23, 7. 42, 17.

^e Eusebius makes the same remark against Marcellus; ἐπεὶ, καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώποις, οἱ πλείστοι τῶν δημιουργῶν, καὶ σιωπῶντες, τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκτελοῦσιν ἔργα, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς πάρεστι δημιουργοῦσι, τί οὖν ἐκάλυε καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὕτω πως τὰ πάντα συστήσασθαι ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον; Eccl. Theol. p. 167, b.

Disc.
IV.¹ p. 108,
note l.
p. 201,
note c.

2. Moreover it is right to ask them, whether the Word, when He was in God, was perfect, so as to be able to make. If on the one hand He was imperfect, when in God, but by being begotten became perfect¹, we are the cause of his perfection, that is, if He has been begotten for us; for on our behalf He has received the power of making. But if He was perfect in God, so as to be able to make, His generation is superfluous; for He, even when in the Father, could frame the world; so that either He has not been begotten, or He was begotten, not for us, but because He ever is from the Father. For His generation evidences, not that we were created, but that He is from God; for He was even before our creation. And the same presumption will be proved against them concerning the Father; for if when silent, He could not make, of necessity He has by begetting gained power^f, that is, by speaking. And whence has He gained it? and wherefore^g? If, when He had the Word within Him, He could make, He begets needlessly, being able to make even in silence.

§. 12.

John 14,
10.

3. Next, if the Word was in God before He was begotten, then being begotten He is without and external to Him. But if so, how says He now, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*? but if He is now in the Father, then always was He in the Father, as He is now, and needless is it to say, “For us was He begotten, and He reverts after we are formed, that He may be as He was. For He was not any thing which He is not now, nor is He what He was not; but He is as He ever was, and in the same state and in the same respects; otherwise He will seem to be imperfect and alterable^h. For if, what He was, that He shall be afterwards, as if now He were it not, it is plain, He is not now what He

^f The same general doctrine is opposed, though by different arguments, in Euseb. Eccl. Eccles. pp. 113, 114. Neander assumes, Church Hist. 3 cent. (vol. 2. p. 277, &c. Rose’s transl.) that these sections are directed against Sabellius.

^g The same class of objections is urged by Eusebius against Marcellus; ἐν ὁποῖα δὲ ἦν καταστάσει ὁ θεός, μὴ ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν οἰκείον λόγον. . . ὁ θεὸς ἔσται ἑαυτῷ ἀνόμιος. pp. 113, 114. Athan. urges the same argument against the Arians, supra Orat. ii. p. 335, c. and

S. Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. p. 664. as Origen at an earlier date, as quoted by Marcellus, Euseb. contr. M. p. 22. εἰ γὰρ ἀεὶ τέλειος ὁ θεός, . . τί ἀναβάλλεται. (vid. R. S. C. Observ. p. 20. Lips. 1787.)

^h τρεπτός. We have seen, supr. p. 230. that the Arians applied this word to our Lord; this argument however takes it for granted that it cannot be so applied, or is *reductio ad absurdum*, i. e. *ad Arianismum*, and shews, if additional proofs are wanting, that the Arian is not the heresy here contemplated.

was and shall be. I mean, if He was before in God, and afterwards shall be again, it follows that now the Word is not in Godⁱ. But our Lord refutes such persons when He says, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*; for so is He now as He ever was. But if so He now is, as He was ever, it follows, not that at one time He was begotten and not at another, nor that once there was silence with God, and then He spake, but there is ever a Father¹, and a Son who is His Word, not in name² alone a Word, nor the Word in notion³ only a Son, but existing consubstantial⁴ with the Father, not begotten for us, for we are brought into being for Him.

4. For, if He were begotten for us, and in His begetting we were created, and in His generation the creature consists, and then He returns that He may be what He was before, first, He that was begotten will be again not begotten. For if His progression be generation, His return will be the close⁵ of that generation^k, for when He has become in God, God will be silent again. But if He shall be silent, there will be what there was when He was silent, stillness and not creation, for the creation will come to a close. For, as on the Word's outgoing, the creation came to be, and existed, so on the Word's retiring, the creation will not exist^l. What use then that it should be made, if it will close? or why did God speak, that then He should be silent? and why did He develope whom He recalls? and why did He beget whose generation He willed to close? Again it is uncertain what He shall be. Either He will ever be silent, or He will again beget, and will devise a second creation, (for He will not make the same, else that which was made would have remained,) but another; and in due course He will bring that also to a close, and will devise another, and so on without end⁶.

And so *ἄρα μὴ ἔν ἐν τῷ θεῷ ὅτε τῆ σαρκὶ συνῆν*; Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 54, c. vid. also p. 167, a.

^k *παῦλα τῆς γενέσεως*. The Catholic doctrine of the *ἀειγεννῆς* is stated supr. p. 201, note b. vid. also p. 495, r. 2. Didymus however says, *οὐκ ἀεὶ γεννᾶται*, de Trin. iii. 3. p. 338. but with the intention of maintaining our Lord's perfection (supr. p. 201, note c.) and eternity, as Hil. Trin. ii. 20. Naz. Orat. 20. 9 fin. Basil. de Sp. S. n. 20 fin. It is remarkable that Pope Gregory objects to *Semper nascitur* as implying imper-

fection, and prefers *Semper natus est*. Moral. 29. but this is a question of words.

^l Marcellus's doctrine suggests a parallel line of thought to Eusebius. He says that, all immortality depending on the Son, if the Son cease to be, the Saints will lose Him in whom they live; *οὐ δίχα τοῦ χριστοῦ, κληρονόμο ἡμεῖς, πάντα τὰ ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ κοινωνίας*, p. 34, b. d. *οὐκ ἔτι λαλήσει τοῖς ἀγίοις ὁ θεὸς τότε, οὐδὲ χρήσεται ἐνεργῶ τῷ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ*; p. 115, c.

¹ p. 211, note f.
² *ὀνόματι*
p. 307, note d.
³ *κατ'*
ἐπίνοιαν
p. 333, note u.
⁴ *ὁμοούσιος*
p. 534, note h.
⁵ *παῦλα*,
p. 329, r. 2.

⁶ *εἰς ἀπειρον*,
p. 379,
r. 1.

Subject VI.

The Sabellian doctrine of dilatation and contraction.

§§. 13, 14.

Such a doctrine precludes all real distinctions of personality in the Divine Nature. Illustration of the Scripture doctrine from 2 Cor. 6, 11, &c.

Disc.
IV.

§. 13.

¹ ἀπειρώσ
παύεσθαι
ἦ. π., ἀ.
² πάθος.
³ μονάς
⁴ τριάς

1. THIS perhaps he borrowed^a from the Stoics, who maintain that their God collapses and again expands^b with the creation, and then rests without end¹. For what is dilated, is first straitened; and what is expanded, is first in collapse; and it is what it was, and does but undergo an affection². If then the One³ being dilated became a Three⁴, and the One was the Father, and the Three is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, first the One being dilated, underwent an affection and became what it was not; for it was dilated, whereas it was not dilated. Next, if the One itself was dilated into a Three^c, and that, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, then Father

^a ὑπέλαβε. Here an anonymous opponent is abruptly introduced; also 14. ἔρεσθαι αὐτὸν καλόν. vid. *Introduct.* to this Oration, *supr.* p. 501. However abrupt, this section seems to be a continuation of the foregoing, as the words παύσει . . . εἰς ἀπειρὸν there, and ἀπειρώσ παύεσθαι here, shew.

^b And so κατὰ ἔκτασιν καὶ συστολήν ἡ μονὰς δυὰς εἶναι νομίζεται. *Clementin.* xvi. 12. vid. Neander, *Church Hist.* (t. 2. p. 276. tr.), who imputes the doctrine to the Judæo-Christian theosophists. The Benedictine Ed. refers to a passage of Diogenes Laertius in *Lips. Phys. Stoic.* ii. 6. in corroboration of what Athan. says of the Stoics. Brucker dissents t. 1. p. 923. ed. 1767. Petavius ascribes similar (but orthodox) modes of expression to the Platonists, referring to Synesius's adoption of them, *De Deo* ii. 8. §. 17. Naz. refers to them with blame, as of a material cha-

racter, apparently referring to Plato. *Orat.* 29, 2, b.

^c ἡ μονὰς ἐπλατύνθη εἰς τριάδα. the very words of Marcellus as quoted by Euseb. ἀπορήρητος λόγῳ ἡ μονὰς φαίνεται πλατυνομένη μὲν εἰς τριάδα. *Eccl. Theol.* p. 168, a, b. Yet πλατυνομένη seems to have been a word of Sabellius, by Dionysius's allusion to it, οὕτω εἰς τε τὴν τριάδα τὴν μονάδα πλατύνομεν ἀδιαίρετον, καὶ κ. τ. λ. de *Sent.* Dion. 17 fin. This idea of πλατυνομένη is admitted by other Fathers, as by Nazianzen, but of course to express the order of Divine Origination and Procession, not any actual and temporary process; "the Godhead being neither poured out beyond These," the Holy Trinity, "lest we introduce a multitude (δῆμον) of gods, nor limited short of Them, &c." *Orat.* 38, 8, a. vid. also 23, 8. and *Basil. de Sp. S.* 47. But such statements are open to no misconception. vid. *supr.* p. 399, note b.

and Son and Spirit become the same, as Sabellius held^d; unless the One which he speaks of is something besides the Father, and then he ought not to speak of dilatation, since the One was maker of Three, so that there was a One, and then Father, Son, and Spirit. For if the One were dilated and expanded itself, it must itself be that which was dilated. And a Three when dilated is no longer a One, and when a One it is not yet a Three^e. And therefore when Father, He is not yet Son and Spirit; and when become These, no longer only Father. And a man who thus should lie, might ascribe a body to God, and represent Him as passible¹; ^{1 παθητόν} for what is dilatation, but an affection² of that which is dilated? or what the dilated, but what before was not so, but was strait instead; for it is the same, in time only differing from itself. ^{2 πάθος}

2. And this the divine Apostle knows, when he writes to the Corinthians, *Be ye not straitened in us, but be ye yourselves dilated, O Corinthians*; for he advises them, continuing the same, to change from straitness to dilatation. And as, supposing the Corinthians, being straitened, were in turn dilated, they had not been others, but still Corinthians, so if the Father was dilated into a Three, the Three again is the Father alone. And he says again the same thing, *Our heart is dilated*; and Noe says, *God shall dilate Japheth*, for the same heart, and the same Japheth is in the dilatation. If then the One dilated, others it dilated; but if it dilated itself, then it would be that which was dilated; and what is that but the Son and Holy Spirit? §. 14. ^{2 Cor. 6, 12.}

^d It is difficult to decide what Sabellius's doctrine really was; nor is this wonderful, considering the perplexity and vacillation which is the ordinary consequence of abandoning Catholic truth. Also we must distinguish between him and his disciples. He is considered by Eusebius, *Eccles. Theol. i. p. 91. Patripassian*, i. e. as holding that the Father was the Son; also by Athan. *Orat. iii. 36 init. supr. p. 451, r. 2. de Sent. Dion. 5 and 9.* By the Eusebians of the Macrostich Creed ap. Athan. *de Syn. 26. supr. p. 115.* By Basil. *Ep. 210, 5.* Ruffin. in *Symb. 5.* By Augustine *de Her. 41.* By Theodor. *Her. ii. 9.* And apparently by Origen. *ad Tit. t. 4. p. 695.* And S. Cyprian. *Ep. 73.* On the other hand, Epiphanius seems

to deny it, ap. August. *l. c.* and Alexander, by comparing it to the emanating doctrine of Valentinus, ap. Theod. *Hist. i. 3. p. 743. Vid. p. 115, note f. and p. 505.*

^e vid. a passage similar to this, *Orat. i. §. 17. supr. pp. 205, 6.* where such a doctrine is urged as the strongest *reductio ad absurdum* against the Arians, being a *red. ad Sabellismum*; (a similar *red. ad abs.* is mentioned *infr. p. 532, n. 3.* in *Orat. i. §. 38. supr. p. 234.* vid. also *supr. p. 526, note k.*) It is there urged that the Holy Trinity becomes *ἀνόμοιος ἐαντῆς*, the charge which Eusebius brings against Marcellus, *ὁ θεὸς ἑστὶ ἐαντῶ ἀνόμοιος.* p. 114, a. Athan. declares that the *τριας* is *ὁμοία ἐαντῆ.* *Serap. i. 17 init. 20, c. 28, c.* and S. Cyril. in *Catech. vi. 7.*

^{2 Cor. 6, 11.}
^{Gen. 9, 27.}

Disc.
IV.
¹ ἐν ἐργείᾳ
pp. 506,
7.

² p. 208,
note b.

³ τῶ ἄν-
θρώπῳ

3. And it is well to ask him, when thus speaking, what was the action¹ of this dilatation? or, in very truth, wherefore at all it took place? for what does not remain the same, but is in course of time dilated, must necessarily have a cause of dilatation. If then it was in order that Word and Spirit should be with Him, it is beside the purpose to say, first "One;" and then "was dilated;" for Word and Spirit were not afterwards, but ever, or God would be word-less², as the Arians hold. So that if Word and Spirit were ever, ever was It dilated, and not at first but a One; but if it were dilated afterwards, then afterwards is the Word. But if for the Incarnation It was dilated, and then became a Three, then before the Incarnation there was not yet a Three. And it will seem even that the Father became flesh, if, that is, He be the One, and was dilated into man's nature³; and thus perhaps there will only be a One, and flesh, and thirdly Spirit^f; if so be He was Himself dilated, and there will be in name only a Three. It is extravagant too to say that it was dilated for the sake of creating; for it were possible for the Divine Being, remaining a One, to make all; for the One did not need dilatation, nor was wanting in power before the dilatation; it is extravagant surely and impious, to think or speak thus in the case of God. Another extravagance too will follow. For if it was dilated for the sake of the creation, and while it was a One, the creation was not, but upon the end of all things, it will be again a One after dilatation, then the creation too will come to nought. For as for the sake of creating it was dilated, so, the dilatation ceasing, the creation will cease also.

^f This passage is like one in Eusebius contr. Marc. τί τοίνυν ἦν τὸ κατελεθὲν τοῦτο πρὸ τοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσαι; πάντως ποῦ, φησιν, πνεῦμα· εἰ δὲ πνεῦμα, πνεῦμα ὁ

θεός. σαφῶς ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ σωτήρος περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς λέγοντος, ἐλέγχεται Μάρκελλος αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα ἐννηθρωπημένα εἰπών. pp. 35, 36.

Subject VII.

On the Identity of the Word with the Son against Photinians and Samosatenes.

§§. 15—24.

Since the Word is from God, He must be Son. Since the Son is from everlasting, He must be the Word; else either He is superior to the Word, or the Word is the Father. Texts of the New Testament which state the unity of the Son with the Father; therefore the Son is the Word. Three heretical hypotheses—1. That the Man is the Son; refuted. 2. That the Word and Man together are the Son; refuted. 3. That the Word became Son on His incarnation; refuted. Texts of the Old Testament which speak of the Son. If they are merely prophetic, then those concerning the Word may be such also.

1. SUCH extravagances will be the consequence of saying §. 15. that the One is dilated into a Three. But since those who say so, dare to separate Word and Son, and to say that the Word is one and the Son another, and that first was the Word and then the Son, come let us consider this doctrine also^a. Now their presumption takes various forms; for some say that the man whom the Saviour assumed, is the Son¹; and others both that the man and the Word, then became Son when they were united². And others say that the Word Himself then became Son when He became man³; for from being Word, they say, He became Son, not being Son before, but only Word. §. 20. §. 21. §. 22. §. 22 fin.

2. Now both are Stoic doctrines, whether to say that God was dilated or to deny the Son^b; but especially is it absurd

^a The Valentinians, in their system of Eons, had already divided the Son from the Word; but they considered the *μονογενής* first, the *λόγος* next.

^b Perhaps by saying that the Stoics denied the Son, he means to allude to their doctrine, that their *λόγος* or God was one of the two Ingenerate Principles, matter being the other. Laer-

tius first distinguishes between *ἀρχαί* and *στοιχεῖα*, saying that the former are *ἀγένητοι καὶ ἄφθαρτοι*; and then lays down that the *ἀρχαί τῶν ὕλων* are two, *τὸ ποιῶν καὶ τὸ πάσχον*, then *τὸ μὲν πάσχον τὴν ὕλην εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ποιῶν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ λόγον τὸν θεόν*. vid. Lips. Physiol. Stoic. i. 4.

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to name the Word, yet deny Him to be Son. For if the Word be not from God, reasonably might they deny Him to be Son; but if He is from God, how see they not that what exists from anything is son of him from whom it is^c? Next, if God is Father of the Word, why is not the Word Son of His own Father? for he is and is called father, whose is the son; and he is and is called son of another, whose is the father. If then God is not Father of Christ, neither is the Word Son; but if God be Father, then reasonably also the Word is Son.

3. But if afterwards there is Father, and first God, this is an Arian¹ thought². Next, it is extravagant that God should change; for that belongs to bodies; but if He became Father, as in the instance of creation He became afterwards a Maker, let them know that the change is in the things³ which afterwards came to be, and not in God. If then the Son too were a work, well might God begin to be a Father towards Him as others; but if the Son is not a work, then ever was the Father and ever the Son⁴. But if the Son was ever, He must be the Word^d; for if the Word be not Son, and this be what a man is bold enough to say, either He holds that Word to be Father^e or the Son superior to the Word. For the Son being *in the bosom of the Father*, of necessity either the Word is not before the Son, (for nothing is before Him who is in the Father,) or if the Word be other than the Son, the Word must be the Father in whom is the Son. But if the Word is not Father but Word, the Word must be external to the Father, since it is the Son, who is *in the bosom of the Father*. For not both the Word and the Son are in the bosom, but one must be, and He the Son, who is only-begotten. And it follows for another reason, if the Word is one, and the

¹ p. 529,
note e.
² p. 523,
note d.
³ vid.
supr.
p. 223.
§. 16.

⁴ p. 201,
note b.

John 1,
18.

^c In consequence it is a very difficult question in theology, why the Holy Spirit is not called a "Son," and His procession "generation." This was an objection of the Arians, vid. ad Serap. i. 15-17. and Athan. only answers it by denying that we may speculate. Other writers apply, as in other cases, the theological language of the Church to a solution of this question. It is carefully discussed in Petav. Dogm. t. 2. vii. 13, 14. vid. p. 121, note s.

^d i.e. He must be the Word, who confessedly is from everlasting. The object of this section and the next is to shew that "Son" is not a lower title than Word, (which certain heretics said,) and therefore that they are both titles of One and the Same.

^e This is what Nestorius says of Photinus; dicit Verbum istum aliquando quidem Patris nomine vocitari, aliquando autem Verbi nomine, &c. ap. Mar. Merc. t. 2. p. 87.

Son another, that the Son is superior to the Word; for *no one knoweth the Father save the Son*^f, not the Word. Either then the Word does not know, or if He knows, it is not true¹ that *no one knows*.

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Matt. 11,
27.
¹ ψευδός

4. And the same of *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*, and *I and the Father are One*, for this the Son says, and not the Word, as they would have it, as is plain from the Gospel; for according to John when the Lord said, *I and the Father are One*, the Jews took up stones to stone Him. *Jesus*^g answered them, *Many good works have I shewed you from My Father, for which of those works do ye stone Me?* *The Jews answered Him, saying, For a good work we stone Thee not, but for blasphemy, and because that Thou, being a man, makest Thyself God. Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods? If he called them gods unto whom the Word of God came, and the Scriptures cannot be broken, say ye of Him, whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God? If I do not the works of My Father, believe Me not. But if I do, though ye believe not Me, believe the works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in Me, and I in the Father.* And yet, as far as the surface of the words intimated, He said neither “I am God,” nor “I am Son of God,” but *I and the Father are One*. The Jews, then, when they heard *One*, thought like Sabellius, that He said that He was the Father, but our Saviour shews their sin by this argument; “Though I said *God*, you should have remembered what is written, *I said, Ye are gods*^h.” Then to clear up *I and the Father are One*, He has explained the Son’s oneness with the Father in the words, *Because I said, I am the Son of God*. For if He did not say it in the letter², still He has explained as to the sense² *τῆ λέξει* *are One* of the Son. For nothing is one with the Father, but what is from Him. What is That which is from Him but the Son? And therefore He adds, *that ye may know*

John 10,
32—38.

§. 17.

^f Eusebius says that Marcellus, as it were, corrected this text, while he quoted it; “as if correcting the Saviour’s words, instead of ‘Son,’ he names again ‘Word,’ thus saying, ‘No one knoweth the Father save the Son,

that is, the Word.’” pp. 77, 78.

^g This passage is urged against Marcellus in the same way by Eusebius, p. 87.

^h vid. Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 17.

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that *I am in the Father and the Father in Me*. For, when expounding the *One*, He said that the union and the inseparability lay, not in This being That, with which It was One, but in His being in the Father and the Father in the Son. For thus He overthrows both Sabellius, in saying, not, *I am "the Father,"* but, *the Son of God*; and Arius, in saying, *are One*.

5. If then the Son and the Word are not the same, it is not that the Word is one with the Father, but the Son; nor whoso hath seen the Word *hath seen the Father*, but *he that hath seen the Son*. And from this it follows, either that the Son is greater than the Word, or the Word has nothing beyond the Son. For what can be greater or more perfect than *One*, and *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, and *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father?* for all this is said by the Son. And hence the same John says, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen Him that sent Me*, and *He that receiveth Me, receiveth Him that sent Me*; and, *I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth in Me, should not abide in darkness*. And if any one hear *My words and observe them not, I judge him not; for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world*. The

John 12,
45. al.
text. rec.
Matt. 10,
40.
John 12,
46—48.
al. t. r.

¹ ὁ λόγος,
i. e. τὸ
κήρυγμα

*word*¹ which he shall hear, the same shall judge him in the last day, because I go unto the Father. The preaching¹, He says, shall judge him who has not observed the commandment; "for if," He says, "I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin; but now they shall have no cloke, He says, having heard My words, through which those who observe them shall reap salvation."

§. 18.

6. Perhaps they will have so little shame as to say, that this is spoken not by the Son but by the Word; but from what preceded it appeared plainly that the Speaker was the Son. For He who here says, *I came not to judge the world, but to save*, is shewn to be no other than the Only-begotten Son of God, by the same John's saying, before¹, *For God so loved the world that He gave His Only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life*. For God sent not His Son into the world

John 12,
47.

Ib. 3,
16—19.

¹ These same texts are quoted to prove the same doctrine, the pre-existence, &c. of the Son, by Eusebius against Marcellus. p. 86.

to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved. He that believeth on Him is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the Name of the Only-begotten Son of God. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. If He who says, *For I came not to judge the world, but that I might save it*, is the Same as says, *He that seeth Me, seeth Him* John 12, that sent Me, and if He who came to save the world and not 45. judge it is the Only-begotten Son of God, it is plain that it is the same Son who says, *He that seeth Me, seeth Him that sent Me*. For He who said, *He that believeth on Me*, and, vv. 44, *If any one hear My words, I judge him not*, is the Son 47. Himself, of whom Scripture says, *He that believeth on Him* 3, 18, 19. *is not condemned, but He that believeth not is condemned already, because He hath not believed in the Name of the Only-begotten Son of God*.

7. And again ^k: *And this is the condemnation of him who believeth not on the Son, that light hath come into the world, and they believed not in Him, that is, in the Son; for He must be the Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world*. And as long as He was upon earth according to the incarnation, He was Light in the world, as He said Himself, *While ye have light believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light*; for I, says He, *am come a light into the world*. This then being shewn, it follows §. 19. that the Word is the Son. But if the Son is the light, which has come into the world, beyond all dispute the world was made by the Son. For in the beginning of the Gospel, the Evangelist, speaking of John the Baptist, says, *He was not that Light, but that he might bear witness concerning that Light*. For Christ Himself was, as we have said before, the true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world^l.

8. For if *He was in the world, and the world was made by Him*, of necessity He is the Word of God, concerning whom also the Evangelist witnesses that all things were made

^k vid. in like manner Eusebius contr. Marcell. pp. 83, 87, 117.

^l vid. also Euseb. Eccl. Theol. p. 142, c.

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by Him. For either they will be compelled to speak of two worlds, that the one may have come into being by the Son and the other by the Word, or, if the world is one and the creation one, it follows that Son and Word are one and the same before all creation, for by Him it came into being. Therefore if as by the Word, so by the Son also all things came to be, it will not be contradictory, but even identical to say, for instance, *In the beginning was the Word*, or, *In the beginning was the Son*^m. But if because John did not say, "In the beginning was the Son," they shall maintain that the attributes of the Word do not suit with the Son, it at once¹ follows that the attributes of the Son do not suit with the Word. But to the Son belongs, as was shewn, *I and the Father are One*, and, *Which is in the bosom of the Father*, and, *He that seeth Me, seeth Him that sent Me*; and that "the world was brought into being by Him," is common to the Word and the Son; so that from this the Son is shewn to be before the world; for of necessity the Framer is before the things He brings into being.

¹ ἔργα, p.
524, r. 5.

John 10,
30.
1, 18.
12, 45.

John 14,
9—13.

9. And what is said to Philip must belong, not to the Word, as they would have itⁿ, but to the Son. For, *Jesus said*, says Scripture, *Have I been so long time with you, and yet thou hast not known Me, Philip? He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father. And how sayest thou then, Shew us the Father? Believest thou not, that I am in the Father and the Father in Me? the words that I speak unto you, I speak not of Myself, but the Father that dwelleth in Me, He doeth the works. Believe Me that I am in the Father and the Father in Me, or else, believe Me for the very works' sake. Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on Me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto the Father. And whatsoever ye shall ask in My Name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son.* Therefore if the Father be glorified in the Son, the Son must

^m A similar passage is found in Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 122, d.

ⁿ This is what Marcellus argues, as quoted by Eusebius, p. 39, a, b. After saying that "I and My Father are One" are spoken, not of Him who was

seen, but of the Word, he continues, *κακεῖνο, τοσούτω χρόνω μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι, Φίλιππε, καὶ λέγεις δεῖξόν μοι τὸν πατέρα, οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νοητοῖς ἀράτος γὰρ ὅτε πατήρ καὶ ἐγώ τοῦτου λόγος.*

be He who said, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*; and He who said, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*; for He, the same who thus spoke, shews Himself to be the Son, by adding, *that the Father may be glorified in the Son*.

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10. If then they say that the Man whom the Word bore, and not the Word, is the Son of God the Only-begotten^r, the Man must be by consequence He who is in the Father, in whom also the Father is; and the Man must be He who is One with the Father, and who is in the bosom of the Father, and the True Light. And they will be compelled to say that through the Man Himself the world came into being, and that the Man was He who came not to judge the world but to save it; and that He it was who was in being before Abraham came to be. For, says Scripture, Jesus said to them, *Verily, verily, I say unto you before Abraham was, I* John 8, 58. *am*. And is it not extravagant to say, as they do, that one who came of the seed of Abraham after two and forty generations¹, should exist before Abraham came to be? is it 1 vid. Matt. 1. not extravagant, if the flesh, which the Word bore, itself is the Son, to say that the flesh from Mary is that by which the world was made? and how will they retain *He was in the world?* for the Evangelist, by way of signifying the Son's antecedence to the birth according to the flesh, goes on to say, *He was in the world*. And how, if not the Word but the Man is the Son, can He save the world, being Himself one of the world? And if this does not shame them, where shall be the Word, the Man being in the Father? And what will the Word be to the Father, the Man and the Father being One? But if the Man be Only-begotten, what will be the place of the Word? Either one must say that He comes second, or, if He be above the Only-begotten, He must be the Father Himself. For as the Father is One, so also the Only-begotten from Him is One; and what has the Word above the Man, if the Word is not the Son? For, while Scripture says that through the Son and the Word the world was

^r This is the first of the three hypotheses noted above, p. 531. This form of Sabellianism closely approximates to what was afterwards Nestorianism. As to Marcellus, it is a question whether he admitted any "Son of God," except

as a *title* of the Word manifested in the flesh. vid. Euseb. pp. 81, 82. the human being, whom He assumed, being in his creed "the Son of man," not of God. vid. *ibid.* pp. 42, a. 77, c. 87, b.

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brought to be, and it is common to the Word and to the Son to frame the world, yet as to the sight^s of the Father Scripture proceeds to place it, not in the Word but the Son, and the saving of the world, to attribute it not to the Word, but to the Only-begotten Son. For, saith it, Jesus said, *Have I been so long while with you, and yet hast thou not known Me, Philip? He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father.* Nor does Scripture say that the Word knows the Father, but the Son; and that not the Word sees the Father, but the Only-begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father.

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11. And what more does the Word for our salvation than the Son, if, as they hold, the Son is One, and the Word another? for the command is that we should believe, not in the Word, but in the Son. For John says, *He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life; but he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life.* And Holy Baptism, in which the substance of the whole faith is lodged, is administered not in the Word, but in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. If then, as they hold, the Word is one and the Son another, and the Word is not the Son, Baptism has no connection with the Word. How then are they able to hold that the Word is with the Father, when He is not with Him in the grant of Baptism? But perhaps they will say, that in the Father's Name the Word is included? Wherefore then not the Spirit also? or is the Spirit external to the Father? and the Man indeed, (if the Word is not Son,) is named after the Father, but the Spirit after the Man? and, instead of being content with the One dilating into a Three, they dilate into a Four, Father, Word, Son, and Holy Ghost.

John 3,
36.

12. Being brought to shame on this ground, they have recourse to another, and say that not the Man by Himself whom the Lord bore, but both together, the Word and the Man, are the Son; for both joined together are named Son, as they say. Which then is cause of which? and which has made which a Son? or, to speak more clearly, is the Word a Son because of the flesh? or is the flesh called Son because of the Word? or is neither the cause, but the concurrence of

^s τὸ δὲ ὁρᾶν τὸν πατέρα. The Latin version, which is often faulty, renders, Patrem non a Verbo sed à Filio videri; but Athan. seems to mean *our* seeing

the Father in the Word. Yet there is a repetition just afterwards of ὁρᾶν τὸν πατέρα in the former sense.

the two? If then the Word be a Son because of the flesh, of necessity the flesh is Son, and all those extravagances follow which have been already drawn from saying that the Man is Son. But if the flesh is called Son because of the Word, then even before the flesh the Word certainly, being such, was Son. For how could a being make other sons, not being himself a son, especially^t when there was a father¹? If then He makes sons for Himself, then is He Himself Father; but if for the Father, then must He be Son, or rather that Son, for whose sake the rest are made sons. For if, while He is not Son, we are sons, God is our Father and not His. How then does He appropriate the name instead, saying, *My Father*, and, *I from the Father*? for if He be common Father of all, He is not His Father only, nor did He only come out from the Father. Now He says, that God is sometimes called our Father, because He has Himself become partaker in our flesh. For on this account the Word became flesh, that, since the Word is Son, therefore, because of the Son dwelling in us², God may be called our Father also; for *He hath sent forth*, says Scripture, *the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father*. Therefore the Son in us, calling upon His own Father, causes Him to be named our Father also. Surely in whose hearts the Son is not, of them neither can God be called Father. But if because of the Word the Man is called Son, it follows necessarily, since the ancients³ are called sons even before the Incarnation, that the Word is Son even before His sojourn among us; for *I have begotten sons*, saith Scripture; and in the time of Noe, *When the sons of God saw*, and in the Song, *Is not He Thy Father*? Therefore there was also that True Son, for whose sake they too were sons. But if, as they say again, neither of the two is Son, but it depends on the concurrence of the two, it follows that neither is Son; I say, neither the Word nor the Man, but some cause, on account of which they were united; and accordingly that cause which makes the Son will precede

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¹ p. 416,
note e.

§. 22.

John 5,
17; 16
28.

² p. 366,
note c.
Gal. 4, 6

³ p. 548,
r. 3.

Is. 1, 2.
Sept.
Gen. 6.

2.
Deut.
32, 6.

^t ὄντος μάλιστα πατρός. This is hardly the sense of μάλιστα which in this position is common; vid. supr. p. 52, note c. Also εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα. de Syn. 29, a. ὅταν μάλ. Apol. ad Const. 25. init.

ἐὰν μάλ. Orat. ii. 7, a. ἐνθα μάλ. Orat. ii. 10, c. οἶα μάλ. Orat. iii. 32, b. μεγάλως μάλ. Orat. iii. 42 init. ἀκούοντες μάλ. ad Ep. Æg. 20 fin.

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the uniting. Therefore in this way also the Son was before the flesh.

13. When this then is urged, they will take refuge in another pretext, saying, neither that the Man is Son, nor both together, but that the Word was Word indeed simply in the beginning, but when He became Man, then He was named¹ Son; for before His appearing He was not Son but Word only; and as the *Word became flesh*, not being flesh before, so the Word became Son, not being Son before^x. Such are their idle words; but they admit of an obvious

¹ p. 307,
note d.

§. 23.

refutation. For if simply, when made Man, He became Son, the becoming Man is the cause. And if the Man is cause of His being Son, or both together, then the same extravagances result. Next, if He is first Word and then Son, it will appear that He knew the Father afterwards, not before; for not as being Word² does He know Him, but as Son. For *no one knoweth the Father but the Son*. And this too will result, that He became afterwards *in the bosom of the Father*, and afterwards He and the Father became One; and afterwards is, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*. For all these things are said of the Son. Hence they will be forced to say, the Word was nothing but a name^y. For neither is it He who is in us with the Father, nor whoso has seen the Word, hath seen the Father, nor was the Father known to any one at all, for through the Son is the Father known, (for so it is written, *And he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him*,) and, the Word not being yet Son, not yet did any know the Father. How then was He seen by Moses, how by the fathers? for He says Himself in the book of Kings, *Was I not plainly revealed to the house of thy father?* But if God was revealed, there must have been a Son to reveal, as He says Himself, *And he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him*.

² ἢ λόγος
Matt.
11, 27.
John 1,
18.

14, 9.

1 Sam. 2,
27. Sept.

14. It is irreligious then and foolish to say that the Word is one and the Son another, and whence they gained such an

^x Marcellus seems to express this view in various passages in Eusebius, who reports him as holding *μήτε εἶναι μήτε προϋφειστάναι μήτε ὄλως πάποτε υἶδν ὑπάρχει τῷ θεῷ πρὸ τοῦ τεχθῆναι διὰ τῆς παρθένου, αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον εἶναι*

λόγον, συμφυᾶ τῷ θεῷ, αἰδίως αὐτῷ συνόντα καὶ ἡνωμένον. p. 32.

^y This is a retort upon Marcellus, who held that "the Son" was a name or appellation of the Word.

idea it were well to ask them. They answer, Because no mention is made in the Old Testament of the Son, but of the Word^z; and for this reason they are positive in their opinion that the Son came later than the Word, because not in the Old, but in the New Testament only, is He spoken of. This is what they irreligiously say; for first to separate between the Testaments, so that the one does not hold with the other, is the device of Manichees and Jews, the one of whom oppose the Old, and the other the New¹. Next, on their shewing, if what is contained in the Old Testament is of older date, and what in the New of later, and times depend upon the writing, it follows that *I and the Father are One*, and *Only-begotten*, and *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father*, are later, for these testimonies are adduced not from the Old but from the New. But it is not so; for in truth much is said in the Old Testament also about the Son, as in the second Psalm, *Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee*; and in the ninth the title, *Unto the end concerning the hidden things of the Son, a Psalm of David*; and in the forty-fourth, *Unto the end, concerning the things that shall be changed to the Sons of Core for understanding, a song about the Well-beloved^a*; and in Esaias, *I will sing to My Well-beloved a song of My Well-beloved touching My vineyard. My Well-beloved hath a vineyard; Who is this Well-beloved² but the Only-begotten Son?* as also in the hundred and ninth, *From the womb I have begotten Thee before the morning star*, concerning which I shall speak afterwards; and in the Proverbs, *Before the hills He begat Me*; and in Daniel, *And the form of the Fourth is like the Son of God*; and many others. If then from the Old be ancientness, ancient must be the Son, who is clearly described in the Old Testament in many places.

¹ p. 258,
note a.
p. 450,
r. 6.
John 10,
30; 1, 18;
14, 9.
§. 24.
Ps. 2, 7;
Ps. 9,
title
Sept.
45, title.
not Sept.
Is. 5, 1.
² ἀγαπη-
τός
Ps. 110,
3. Sept.
Prov. 8,
25. Sept.
Dan. 3,
25.

15. "Yes," they say, "so it is, but it must be taken prophetically^b." Therefore also the Word must be said to be

^z This seems to have been an objection of Marcellus, which Eusebius answers, p. 93, a. p. 96, d. and accounts for the fact, if granted, p. 135.

^a vid. also Euseb. Eccl. Theol. p. 99, a.

^b And so Eusebius of Marcellus, and Epiphanius of Photinus, as quoted supr. p. 510, (11.) An earlier heretic (Beryllus,

who afterwards recanted), is referred to by Origen (according to De la Rue, ad Origenian. i. 3. §. 8.) as holding hominem Dominum Jesum præcognitum et prædestinatum, qui ante adventum carnalem substantialiter et proprie non existerit. t. 4. p. 695. Paul of Samosata said the same. vid. supr. p. 114, note c. Athan. contr. Apoll. ii. 3.

- Disc. IV. uttered prophetically; for this is not to be taken one way, that another. For if *Thou art My Son* refer to the future, so
- Ps. 33, 6. does *By the Word of the Lord were the heavens established*; for it is not said "brought to be," nor "He made." And because *established* refers to the future, it is said elsewhere,
- 93, 1. *The Lord is King, then, He hath so established the earth that it can never be moved.* And if the words in the forty-fourth Psalm for *My Well-beloved* refer to the future, so does what
- Ps. 45, 1. follows upon them, *My heart burst with a good Word.* And if *From the womb* relates to a man, therefore also *From the heart.* For if the womb is human, so is the heart corporeal. But if what is from the heart is eternal, then what is *From the womb* is eternal. And if the *Only-begotten* is in the bosom, therefore the *Well-beloved* is in the bosom. For *Only-begotten* and *Well-beloved* are the same, as in the words *This is My Well-beloved Son.* For not as wishing to signify His love towards Him did He say, *Well-beloved*, as if it might appear that He hated others, but He made plain thereby His being *Only-begotten*, that He might shew that He alone was from Him^c. And hence the Word, with a view of conveying to Abraham the idea of *Only-begotten*, says,
- Gen. 22, 2. *Offer thy son thy well-beloved*; and it is plain to any one that Isaac was the only son from Sara^d.

16. The Word then is Son, not lately brought to be, or named Son¹, but always Son. For if not Son, neither is He Word; and if not Word, neither is He Son. For that which is from the father is a son; and what is from the Father, but that Word that went forth from the heart, and was born from the womb? for the Father is not Word, nor the Word Father^e; but the one is Father, and the other Son; and one begets, and the other is begotten.

¹ ὀνομασθεῖς, vid. p. 505, 3.

^c ἀγαπητός is explained by μονογενής by Hesychius, Suidas, and Pollux; it is the version of the Sept. equally with μονογενής of the Hebrew בן יחיד. Homer calls Astyanax Ἐκτορίδην ἀγαπητόν; vid. also the instance of Telemachus, infr. p. 549; Plutarch notices this; Ὅμηρος ἀγαπητὸν ὀνομάζει μοῦνον τηλύγετον, ταυτέστι μὴ ἔχουσι ἕτερον γονεῦσι, μήτε ἔξουσι γεγεννημένον, as

quoted by Wetstein in Matth. iii. 17. Vid. also Suicer in voc.

^d The subject of Old Testament evidence in favour of the title "Son," is continued in §§. 27, 28.

^e This doctrine Nestorius considered as the characteristic of Photinus, supr. p. 506 init. Sabellius *νιοπάτορα* dicit, Photinus *λογοπάτορα*.

Subject VIII.

(Being Subject 4. continued.)

§. 25.

Heretical illustration from 1 Cor. 12, 4. refuted.

I. IF then Arius raves in saying that the Son is from nothing, and that once He was not, Sabellius raves¹ also in saying that the Father is Son, and again, the Son Father², in subsistence³ One, in name Two; and he raves also³ in using as an example the grace of the Spirit. For he says, "As there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit, so also the Father is the same, but is dilated into Son and Spirit." Now this is utterly extravagant; for if as with the Spirit, so it is with God, the Father will be Word and Holy Spirit, to one becoming Father, to another Son, to another Spirit, accommodating himself to the need of each, and in name indeed Son and Spirit, but in reality Father only; having a beginning⁴ in that He becomes a Son, and then ceasing to be called Father, and made man in name, but in truth not even coming among us; and untrue⁵ in saying *I and the Father*, but in reality being Himself the Father, and the other extravagances which result in the instance of Sabellius. And the name of the Son and the Spirit will necessarily cease, when the need has been supplied; and what happens will altogether be but make-belief, because they have been displayed, not in truth, but in name. And the Name of Son ceasing, as they

§. 25.
¹ ἡ Σαβελλίου
μανία,
Sent.
Dion.
26. c.
1 Cor.
12, 4.
² p. 529,
note d.
³ ἰποστά-
σει,
p. 494,
note t.
⁴ ἀρχήν,
p. 501.
⁵ ψευδός-
μενος

^a Neander, Church Hist. vol. 2. p. 277. understands this *μαίνεται δὲ καὶ χρώμενος* of Sabellius. But the repetition of *μαίνεται* is somewhat against the supposition, and the *ὅσα ἄλλα ἐπὶ Σαβελλίου* which presently follows. So too is the *κατ' αὐτοὺς* which occurs lower down the section. And the *προῆλθεν ὁ λόγος* and the annihilation of creation at its close, which have above been ascribed to Marcellus. p. 507. (8.) And

the *πλατύνεται εἰς υἶδν καὶ πνεῦμα* which follows at once, and is the very phrase of Marcellus. *supr.* p. 506. Athanasius then does but say that the illustration from the gifts of the Spirit is a *running into Sabellianism*. As to the want of a nominative to shew whom he is speaking of, it may be urged rather in proof of the abrupt and defective character of the composition of the Oration.

Disc. hold, then the grace of Baptism will cease too; for it was
 IV. given in the Son¹. Nay, what will follow but the annihilation
 1 p. 538. of the creation? for if the Word came forth that we might
 2 p. 316, be created², and when He was come forth, we were, it is plain
 note c. that when He retires into the Father, as they say, we shall be
 p. 525, no longer. For He will be as He was; so also we shall not
 note b. be, as then we were not; for when He is no more gone
 §. 26. forth, there will no more be a creation. Extravagant then is
 this.

Subject IX.

(Being Subject 7. continued.)

That the Son is the Co-existing Word, argued from the New Testament.

Texts from the Old Testament continued; especially Ps. 110, 3. Besides, the Word in Old Testament may be Son in New, as Spirit in Old Testament is Paraclete in it. Objection from Acts 10, 36. urged by the Samosatenes; answered by parallels, such as 1 Cor 1, 5. Lev. 9, 7. &c. Necessity of the Word's taking flesh, viz. to sanctify, yet without destroying the flesh.

1. BUT that the Son has no beginning^a of being, but before He was made man, was ever with the Father, John makes clear in his first Epistle, writing thus: *That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of Life; and the Life was manifested, and we have seen it; and we bear witness and declare unto you that Eternal Life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us.* While he says here that *the Life*, not "became," but *was with the Father*, in the end of his Epistle he says the Son is this Life, writing, *And we are in Him that is True, even in His Son, Jesus Christ; this is the True God and Eternal Life.* But if the Son is the Life, and the Life was with the Father, and if the Son was with the Father, and the same Evangelist says, *And the Word was with God,* the Son must be the Word, which is ever with the Father. And as the Son is Word, so God must be the Father. Moreover, the Son, according to John, is not merely "God" but *Very God*; for according to the same Evangelist, *And the Word was God*; and the Son said, *I am the Life.* Therefore the Son is the Word and Life which is with the Father.

2. And again, what is said in the same John, *The Only-begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father*, shews that

^a Here ἀρχὴ is used in the same sense as in the foregoing section, and seems to connect it with the present, as the foregoing was connected with the passage before it by the mention of Baptism. This is one out of several instances which shew that the book, incomplete and ill-digested as it is, is no chance collection of fragments. Thus

too the mention of the Stoic doctrine in §. 15. connects it with §. 14. And the unusual word ἰσότης, which occurs twice towards the end of this concluding portion of the book, is found in the foregoing section, init. though on a different subject. The connection of §. 12. and §. 13. by the words εἰς ἄπειρον, ἀπείρωσ has been noticed in loc.

Disc. the Son was ever. For whom John calls Son, Him David
 IV. mentions in the Psalm as God's Hand ¹, saying, *Why stretchest*
¹p. 323, not forth Thy Right Hand out of Thy bosom? Therefore if
 note a. the Hand is in the bosom, and the Son in the bosom, the
 Ps. 74, the Son will be the Hand, and the Hand will be the Son, through
 12. Sept. whom the Father made all things; for it is written, *Thy*
 vid. Is. *Hand hath made all these things*, and *He led out His*
 66, 2. *people with His Hand*; therefore through the Son. And if
 Deut. 7, *this is the changing of the Right Hand of the Most Highest*,
 8. and again, *Unto the end, concerning the things that shall be*
 Ps. 77, *changed, a song for My Well-beloved*; the Well-beloved
 11. Sept. then is the Hand that has been changed; concerning whom
 Ps. 45. the Divine Voice also says, *This is My Beloved Son*. "This
 title. *My Hand*" then is equivalent to *This My Son*.

§. 27. 3. But since there are ill-instructed men who, while
 Ps. 110, resisting the doctrine of a Son, think little of the words, *From*
 3. Sept. *the womb before the morning star I begat Thee*; as if this re-
 ferred to His relation to Mary, alleging that He was born of
 Mary *before the morning star* ^b, for that to say *womb* could not
 refer to His relation towards God, we must say a few words
 here. If then, because the *womb* is human, therefore it is
²p. 542. foreign to God, plainly *heart* too has a human meaning ²;
 for that which has heart has womb also. Since then both
 are human, we must deny both, or seek to explain both.
 Now as a word is from the heart, so is an offspring from
 the womb; and as when the heart of God is spoken of,
 we do not conceive of it as human, so if Scripture says *from*
the womb, we must not take it in a corporeal sense. For it
 is usual with divine Scripture ³, to speak and signify in
 the way of man what is above man. Thus speaking of the
 creation it says, *Thy hands have made me and fashioned me*,
 and, *Thy hand hath made all these things*, and, *He com-*
manded and they were created. Suitable then is its language
 about every thing; attributing to the Son "propriety" and
 "genuineness," and to the creation "the beginning of
 being." For some things God makes and creates; but Him

³ἐθὼς τῆ
 ᾧp. vid.
 p. 551,
 r. 6.
 Ps. 119,
 73.
 148, 5.

^b The parties opposed by Athan. understand the morning star literally, our Lord being born at midnight, *νυκτός*. infr. §. 28. and so Tertullian contr. Marc. v. 9. However, Marcellus con-

siders "the morning star" to be the Star seen by the Magi, *ὁ φέρων τε καὶ δηλῶν ἡμέραν τοῖς Μάγοις*. Euseb. p. 48, b.

He begets from Himself, as Word and Wisdom. Now *womb* and *heart* plainly declare the proper and the genuine; for we too draw this from the womb; but works we make by the hand.

4. What means then, say they, *Before the morning star*? §. 28.

I would answer, that if *Before the morning star* shews that His birth from Mary was wonderful, many others besides have been born before the rising of the star. What then is said so wonderful in His instance, that He should record it as some choice prerogative¹, when it is common to many? Next to beget differs from bringing forth; for beginning involves the primary foundation², but to bring forth is nothing else than the production of what exists. If then the term belongs to the body, let it be observed that He did not then receive a beginning of generation³ when He was evangelized to the shepherds by night, but when the Angel spoke to the Virgin. And that was not night, for this is not said; on the contrary, it was night when He issued from the womb. This difference Scripture makes, and says on the one hand that He was begotten before the morning star, and on the other speaks of His proceeding from the womb, as in the twenty-first Psalm, *Thou hast drawn Me from the womb*. Besides, He has not said "before the rising of the morning star," but simply *before the morning star*. If then the phrase must be taken of the body, then either the body must be before Adam, for the stars were before Adam, or we have to investigate the sense of the letter. And this John enables us to do, who says in the Apocalypse, *I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end*. *Blessed are they who make broad^c their robes, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city. For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever maketh and loveth a lie. I Jesus have sent My Angel, to testify these things in the Churches. I am the Root and the Offspring of David, the Bright and Morning Star. And the Spirit and the Bride say, Come; and let him that heareth say, Come;*

¹ ἐξαιρέτου, p. 308, note f.

² ἀρχὴν καταβολῆς

³ ἀρχὴν γενέσεως

Ps. 22, 9.

Rev. 22, 13-17.

^c πλατύνοντες, which seems intended for πλύνοντες as ἐπλυναν, vii. 14. and as in the Vulgate here. Most of the Greek Mss., some Versions, and some Fathers,

read ποιούντες τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ, with the present rec. text. vid. Wolf. Cur. Phil. in loc.

Disc. and let him that is athirst, Come; and whosoever will, let
 IV. him take of the water of life freely. If then the Offspring of

¹ τὸ κατὰ
 σάρκα
 flesh¹ of the Saviour is called the *Morning Star*, which the
 Offspring from God preceded; so that the sense of the
 Psalm is this, "I have begotten Thee from Myself before
² ἐπιφανα-
 νείας,
 epiphany.
 Thy appearance² in the flesh;" for *before the Morning Star*
 is equivalent to "before the Incarnation of the Word."

§. 29. 5. Thus in the Old Testament also, statements are plainly
 made concerning the Son; at the same time it is superfluous
 to argue the point; for if what is not stated in the Old, is
 of later date, let them who are thus disputatious, say where
 in the Old Testament is mention made of the Spirit the
 Paraclete? for of the Holy Spirit there is mention, but no
 where of the Paraclete. Is then the Holy Spirit one, and
 the Paraclete another, and the Paraclete the later, as not
 mentioned in the Old^d? but perish the word that the Spirit
 is later, and the distinction of the Holy Ghost as one and the
 Paraclete as another; for the Spirit is one and the same,
 then and now hallowing and comforting them who are His
 recipients; as one and the same Word and Son led even
³ p. 236,
 note c. then to adoption of sons those who were worthy³. For
 sons under the Old Covenant were made such through no
 other than the Son. For unless even before Mary there
 were a Son who was of God, how is He before all, when
 they are sons before Him? and how also *First-born*, if He
 comes second after many? But neither is the Paraclete
 second, for He was before all, nor the Son later; for *in the*
 John 1, beginning was the Word. And as the Spirit and Paraclete
 1. are the same, so the Son and Word are the same; and as the
 14, 26. Saviour says concerning the Spirit, *But the Paraclete which*
 speaking of One and Same, and not distinguishing, so John
 1, 14. describes similarly when he says, *And the Word became*
flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, the

^d A heresy of this kind is actually noticed by Origen, viz. of those qui Spiritum Sanctum alium quidem dicant esse qui fuit in Prophetis, alium autem qui fuit in Apostolis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. In Tit. t. 4. p. 695. Hence in the Creed "who spake by the pro-

phets;" and hence the frequent epithet given by S. Justin to the Holy Spirit of προφητικόν; e. g. when speaking of baptism. Apol. i. 61 fin. Also Ap. i. 6. 13. Tryph. 49. On the other hand, he calls the Spirit of the Prophet "the Holy Spirit," e. g. Tryph. 54, 61.

glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father. For here too he does not distinguish but witnesses the identity. And as¹ the Paraclete is not one and the Holy Ghost another,¹ οὐχ ὡς but one and the same, so Word is not one, and Son another, but the Word is Only-Begotten; for He says not the glory of the flesh itself, but of the Word. He then who dares distinguish between Word and Son, let him distinguish between Spirit and Paraclete; but if the Spirit cannot be distinguished, so neither can the Word, being also Son and Wisdom and Power.

6. Moreover, the word “Well-beloved” even the Greeks who are skilful in grammar know to be equivalent with “Only-begotten.” For Homer speaks thus of Telemachus, who was the only-begotten of Ulysses, in the second book of the Odyssey :

O'er the wide earth, dear youth, why seek to run,
An only child, a well-beloved son² ?
He whom you mourn, divine Ulysses, fell,
Far from his country, where the strangers dwell.

² μούνος
ἔδον ἀγα-
πητός.

Therefore he who is the only son of his father is called well-beloved.

7. Some of the Samosatene school^e, distinguishing the Word §. 30. from the Son, pretend that the Son is Christ, and the Word another; and they ground this upon Peter's words in the Acts, which he spoke with a suitable sense, but they explain badly³. It is this: *The Word He sent to the children of³ p. 283, Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ; this is Lord of^{note c.} Acts 10, all⁴*. For they say that since the Word spoke through Christ,^{36.}

^e For Paul's opinions vid. supr. pp. 174, 175. To the passages there brought, distinguishing between him and Nestorius, may be added the express words of the latter, Serm. 12. t. 2. p. 87. Mar. Mer. Assemani takes the same view, Bibl. Orient. t. 4. p. 68, 9.

^f Τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἀπέστειλε . . οὗτός ἐστι . . ὑμεῖς οἴδατε τὸ γενόμενον ῥῆμα. The Samosatenes interpreted this difficult construction as Hippolytus before them, as if τὸν λόγον were either governed by κατὰ or attracted by ὃν, οὗτος agreeing with ὁ λόγος understood. Dr. Routh in loc. Hipp. who at one time so construed it, refers to 1 Pet. 2, 7. John 3, 34. as parallel, also Matt. 21, 42. And so Urbem quam statuo, &c. vid. Raphael. in Luc. 21, 6. vid. also τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν

John 8, 25. with J. C. Wolf's remarks, who would understand by ἀρχὴν omnino, which Lennep however in Phalar. Ep. says it can only mean with a negative. Our translation understands λόγος and ῥῆμα as synonymous, (which is harsh,) and the latter as used merely to connect the sentence; and οὗτος as if for ὅς. Moreover, if λόγος be taken for ῥῆμα, τὸν λόγον ἀπέστειλε is a harsh phrase; however, it occurs Acts 13, 26. If λόγος on the other hand have a theological sense, a *primâ facie* countenance is given to the distinction between “the Word” and “Jesus Christ,” which the Samosatenes wished to deduce from the passage. However, Athan. answers this inference in the passage which follows.

Disc. IV. as in the instance of the Prophets, *Thus saith the Lord*, the prophet was one and the Lord another^g. But to this it is parallel to oppose the words in the first to the Corinthians, *waiting for the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall also confirm you unto the end unblameable in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ*. For as one Christ does not confirm the day of another Christ, but He Himself confirms in His own day those who wait for Him, so the Father sent the Word made flesh, that being made man He might preach by means of Himself. And therefore he straightway adds, *This is Lord of all*, but the Word is such. *And Moses said unto Aaron, Go unto the altar and offer thy sin-offering, and thy burnt-offering, and make an atonement for thyself and for the people; and offer the offering of the people, and make an atonement for them, as the Lord commanded Moses*. See now here, though Moses be one, Moses himself speaks as if about another Moses, *as the Lord commanded Moses*. In like manner then, if the blessed Peter speak of the Divine Word also, as sent to the children of Israel by Jesus Christ, it is not necessary to understand that the Word is one and Christ another, but that they were one and the same by reason of the uniting¹ which took place in His divine and loving condescension and incarnation.

1 Cor. 1, 7, 8. §. 31. Lev. 9, 7. *8. And if even He be considered in two ways², still it is without any division of the Word, as when the inspired John says, And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us. What then is said in a suitable and orthodox way³ by the blessed Peter, the Samosatenes, understanding badly and wrongly, stand not in the truth. For Christ is understood in both ways in Divine Scripture, as when it says Christ *God's power and God's wisdom*. If then Peter says that the Word was sent through Jesus Christ unto the children of Israel, let him be understood to mean, that the Word incarnate has appeared to the children of Israel, so that it may correspond to *And the Word became flesh*. But if they understand it otherwise, and, while confessing the Word to be divine, as He is, separate from Him the Man that He has taken, with which*

¹ ἔνωσιν τῆν πρὸς τῆν συγκ.

² p. 440, §. 29. init.

John 1, 14.

³ p. 341, note i.

1 Cor. 1, 24.

^g Paul of Samosata had argued in the same way against the divinity of Christ. Routh Reliqu. t. 2. p. 475. and Eusebius imputes it to Marcellus pp. 55, a. 78, c. The passage that follows is a remarkable one, as shewing the historical connection between Samosatenes and Nestorians at Antioch. Diodorus and Theodore fill up the interval between Athanasius and Nestorius.

also we believe that He is made one, saying that He has been sent through Jesus Christ, they are, without knowing¹ it, contradicting themselves. For those who in this place separate the divine Word² from the divine incarnation, have, it seems, a degraded notion of the doctrine of His having become flesh, and entertain Gentile thoughts, as they do, conceiving that the divine incarnation is an alteration³ of the Word. But it is not so; perish the thought. For in the same way that John here preaches that incomprehensible oneness, *the mortal being swallowed up of life*, nay, of Him who is Very Life, (as the Lord said to Martha, *I am the Life*,) so when the blessed Peter says that through Jesus Christ the Word was sent, he implies the divine oneness also. For as when a man heard *The Word became flesh*, he would not think that the Word ceased to be, which is extravagant, as has been said before, so also hearing of the Word which has been united to the flesh, let him understand the divine mystery one and simple.

SUBJ.
IX.
1 νοου̅σιν
vid. r. 2.
2 θε̅ιον
νοου̅σιν
1 θε̅ιον
λόγον
vid. p.
552, r. 6.
§. 32.
3 τροπήν.
2 Cor. 5,
4.

9. More clearly however and indisputably than all reasoning, does what was said by the Archangel to the Mother of God⁴ herself, shew the oneness of the Divine Word and Man. For he says, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that Holy Thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God*. Irrationally then do the Samosatenes separate the Word who is clearly declared to be made one with the Man from Mary. He is not therefore sent through that Man; but He rather in Him sent, saying, *Go ye, teach all nations*.

4 θεοτόκος
Luke 1,
35.
Matt.
28, 19.

10. And this is usual with Scripture⁵, to express itself in inartificial and simple phrases. For so also in Numbers we shall find, Moses said to Raguel the Midianite, the father-in-law of Moses; for there was not one Moses who spoke, and another whose father-in-law was Raguel, but Moses was one. And if in like manner the Word of God is called Wisdom and Power and Right-Hand and Arm and the like, and if in His love to man He has become one with us, putting on our first-fruits and blended^h with it, therefore the

§. 33.
5 p. 355,
note c.

^h ἀνακραθείς. vid. note on Tertull. p. 857. immixtus Cassian. Incarn. i. O. Tr. vol. i. p. 48. and so ἡ καινή 5. commixtio Vigil. contr. Eutyech. i. μίξις, θεός και άνθρωπος. Greg. Naz. p. 494. (B. P. 1624.) permixtus August. as quoted by Eulogius ap. Phot. Bibl. Ep. 137, 11. ut nature alteri altera

- Disc. other titles also have, as was natural, become the Word's
IV. portions. For that John has said, that in the beginning was the Word, and He with God and Himself God, and all things through Him, and without Him nothing made, shews clearly that even man is the formation of God the Word.
- ¹ p. 375, If then after taking him, when corrupted ¹, into Himself ¹, He
note u. renews here again through that sure renewal for our endless
- ² διαμο- abidance ², and therefore is made one with him in order to
νήν, raise him to a diviner lot, how can we possibly say that the
p. 521, Word was sent through the Man who was from Mary, and
note a. reckon Him, the Lord of Apostles, with other Apostles, I
- ³ ἀποστα- mean such as prophets who were sent ³ by Him! And how
λεῖσι can Christ be called a mere ⁴ man? on the contrary, being
⁴ ψιλός made one with the Word, He is with reason called Christ
and Son of God, the prophet having long since loudly and
clearly ascribed the Father's subsistence ⁵ to Him, and said,
⁵ ὑπό- *And I will send My Son Christ*; and in the Jordan, *This is*
στασιν *My Well-beloved Son*. For when He had fulfilled His promise,
vid. Acts *He shewed, as was suitable, that He was He whom He said*
3, 20. *He had sent*.
- §. 34. 11. Let us then consider ⁶ Christ in both ways ^k, the divine
⁶ νοῶμεν Word made one in Mary with That which is from Mary. For
λόγ. τὸν in her womb the Word fashioned for Himself His House, as at
θεῖον, vid. the beginning He formed Adam from the earth; or rather more
p. 551, divinely, concerning whom Solomon too says openly, knowing
r. 2. that the Word was also called Wisdom, *Wisdom hath builded*
Prov. 9, *Herself an house*; which the Apostle interprets when he says,
1. *Which house are we*, and elsewhere calls us a temple, as far as
Heb. 3, it is fitting to God to inhabit a temple, of which the image,
6. made of stones, He by Solomon commanded the ancient
⁷ κτίζειν people to build ⁷; whence, on the appearance of the Truth,

miseretur. Leon. Serm. 23, 1. There is this strong passage in Naz. Ep 101. p. 87, c. (ed. 1840.) κινραμένων ὡσπερ τῶν φύσεων οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν κλήσεων, καὶ περιχωρουσῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας τῶ λόγῳ τῆς συμφύτας; Bull says that in using περιχωρουσῶν, Greg. Naz. and others "minus propriè loqui." Defens. F. N. iv. 4. §. 14. Petavius had allowed this, but proves the doctrine amply from the Fathers. de Incarn. iv. 14. Such oneness is not "confusion," for οὐ σύγχυσιν ἀπεργασάμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰ δύο κεράσας εἰς

έν, says Epiph. Ancor. 81 fin. and so Phot. Bibl. p. 831 fin. οὐ τῆς κράσεως σύγχυσιν αὐτῷ δηλούσης. Vid. also on the word μίξις, &c. Zacagn. Monum. p. xxi.—xxvi. Thomassin. de Incarn. iii. 5. iv. 15.

ⁱ εἰς ἐαυτὸν λαβόμενος. And so the Creed ascribed to Athan. speaks of "the taking of the manhood into God."

^k τὸ συναμφοτέρον νοῶμεν Χριστόν. This seems a reference to the εἰ δὲ καὶ νοοῖτο διχῶς §. 31. at the commencement of n. 8. vid. end of sect.

the Image ceased. For when the ruthless men wished to prove the Image to be the Truth, and to destroy that true habitation which we surely believe His union with us to be, He threatened them not; but knowing that their crime was against themselves, He says to them, *Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up*; He, our Saviour, surely shewing thereby that the things about which men busy themselves, carry their dissolution with them. For unless the Lord build the house and keep the city, in vain the builders toil, and the keepers watch. And so the works of the Jews are undone, for they were a shadow; but the Church is firmly established; it is *founded on the rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it*. Theirs¹ it was to say, *Why dost Thou, being a man, make Thyself God*²? and their³ disciple is the Samosatene; whence to his followers with reason does he teach his heresy. But *we have not so learned Christ, if so be that we have heard Him, and have learned from Him, putting off the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and taking up the new, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness*. Let Christ then in both ways be religiously considered⁴.

12. But if Scripture often calls even the body by the name of Christ, as in the blessed Peter's words to Cornelius, when he teaches him of *Jesus of Nazareth, whom God anointed with the Holy Ghost*, and again to the Jews, *Jesus of Nazareth, a Man approved of God for you*, and again the blessed Paul to the Athenians, *By that Man whom He hath ordained, giving assurance to all men, in that He hath raised Him from the dead*, (for we find the appointment and the mission⁵ often synonymous with the anointing; from which any one who will may learn, that there is no discordance in the words of the sacred writers⁶, but that they but give various names to the union of God the Word with the Man from Mary, sometimes as anointing, sometimes as mission, sometimes as appointment,) it follows that what the blessed Peter says is orthodox⁷, and he proclaims in purity⁸ the Godhead of the Only-begotten, without separating the subsistence⁹ of God the Word from the Man from Mary, (perish the thought! for how should he, who had heard in so many ways, *I and the Father are one, and He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*? In which Man¹⁰, after

SUBJ.
IX.

John 2,
19.

vid. Ps.
127, 1.

vid.
Matt. 7,
25.

16, 18.

¹ ἐκεῖνω

John 10,

33.

² pp. 2,

150, 183,

438.

³ τοῦτων.

Eph. 4,

20—24.

⁴ νοείσθω,

p. 552,

r. 6.

§. 35.

Ac ts 10,

38.

2, 22.

17, 31.

⁵ ἀποστο-

λήν

⁶ passim

vid. p.

338, r. 6.

Hist.

Tr. p.

198, r. 2.

⁷ p. 341,

note i.

⁸ εἰλικρι-

τῆ τῆν

θεότητα

⁹ ὑπό-

στασις

J. hu 10,

30.

14, 9.

¹⁰ εἶ οὐ

Disc.
IV.

¹ τὸ αὐτό
² verb.
omit.
³ f. τῶν
abund.
Luke 24,
39.

⁴ πληροφο-
ροῦν f.
ὄντος

Luke 24,
42. 43.
vid.
Wetstein
in loc.

John 20,
27.

⁵ p. 447,
note t.

⁶ παρέ-
χοντος f.
παρέχων
⁷ ἁγίοις,
sacred
writers,
vid. 1
John 1,
1.

§. 36.
⁸ καί

⁹ i. e. τὸν
Χριστόν

¹⁰ p. 248,
note b.

¹¹ i. e. ὁ
ἀνθρώπος

¹² vid.
paren-
thesis
p. 553.

John 8,
10. 42.

¹³ σὺν ᾧ

the resurrection also¹, when the doors were shut, we know² of His coming to each pair³ of Apostles, and dispersing all that was hard to believe in it by His words, *Handle Me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see Me have.* And He did not say, "This," or "this Man which I have taken to Me," but *Me*. Wherefore Samosatene will gain no allowance, being refuted by so many arguments for the union of God the Word, nay by God the Word Himself, who now brings the news to all, and assures⁴ them by eating, and permitting to them that handling of Him which then took place. For certainly he who gives food to others, and they who give him, touch hands. For *they gave Him*, Scripture says, *a piece of a broiled fish and of an honey-comb, and when He had eaten before them, He took the remains and gave to them.* See now, though not as Thomas was allowed, yet by another way, He afforded to them full assurance, in being touched by them; but if you would now see the scars, learn from Thomas. *Reach hither thy hand and thrust into My side, and reach hither thy finger and behold My hands;* so says God the Word, speaking of His own⁵ side and hands, and of Himself as whole man and God together, first affording⁶ to the Saints⁷ even perception of the Word through the body, as we may consider, by entering when the doors were shut; and next standing near them in the body and affording full assurance.

13. So much may be conveniently said for confirmation of the faithful, and correction of the unbelieving. And so let Paul of Samosata also⁸ stand corrected on hearing the divine voice of Him who said *My body*, not "Christ besides Me who am the Word," but "It⁹ with Me, and Me with It." For I the Word am the chrism, and that which has the chrism from Me is the Man¹⁰; not then without Me could It¹¹ be called Christ, but being with Me and I in It. Therefore the mention of the mission of the Word shews the uniting which took place with Jesus of Mary, which is interpreted Saviour, not by reason of any thing else, but the Man's being made one with God the Word. This passage has the same meaning as *the Father that sent Me, and I came not of Myself, but the Father sent Me.* For he has given the name of mission¹² to the uniting with the Man, with which¹³ the Invisible nature might be

known to men, through the visible. For God changes not place, like us who are hidden in places, when in the fashion of our littleness He displayed Himself in His existence in the flesh; for how should He, who fills the heaven and the earth? but on account of the presence in the flesh the just have spoken of His mission.

14. Therefore God the Word Himself is Christ¹ from Mary, God and Man; not some other Christ but one and the Same; He before ages from the Father, He too in the last times from the Virgin; invisible² before even to the holy powers of heaven, visible now because of His being one with the Man who is visible; seen, I say, not in His invisible Godhead but in the operation³ of the Godhead through the human body and whole man, which He has renewed by appropriation to Himself. To Him be the adoration and the worship, who was before, and now is, and ever shall be, even to all ages. Amen.

SUBJ.
IX.

¹ οὐδὲν
abund.

² p. 120,
note q.

³ ἐνεργεία,
vid.
p. 544.

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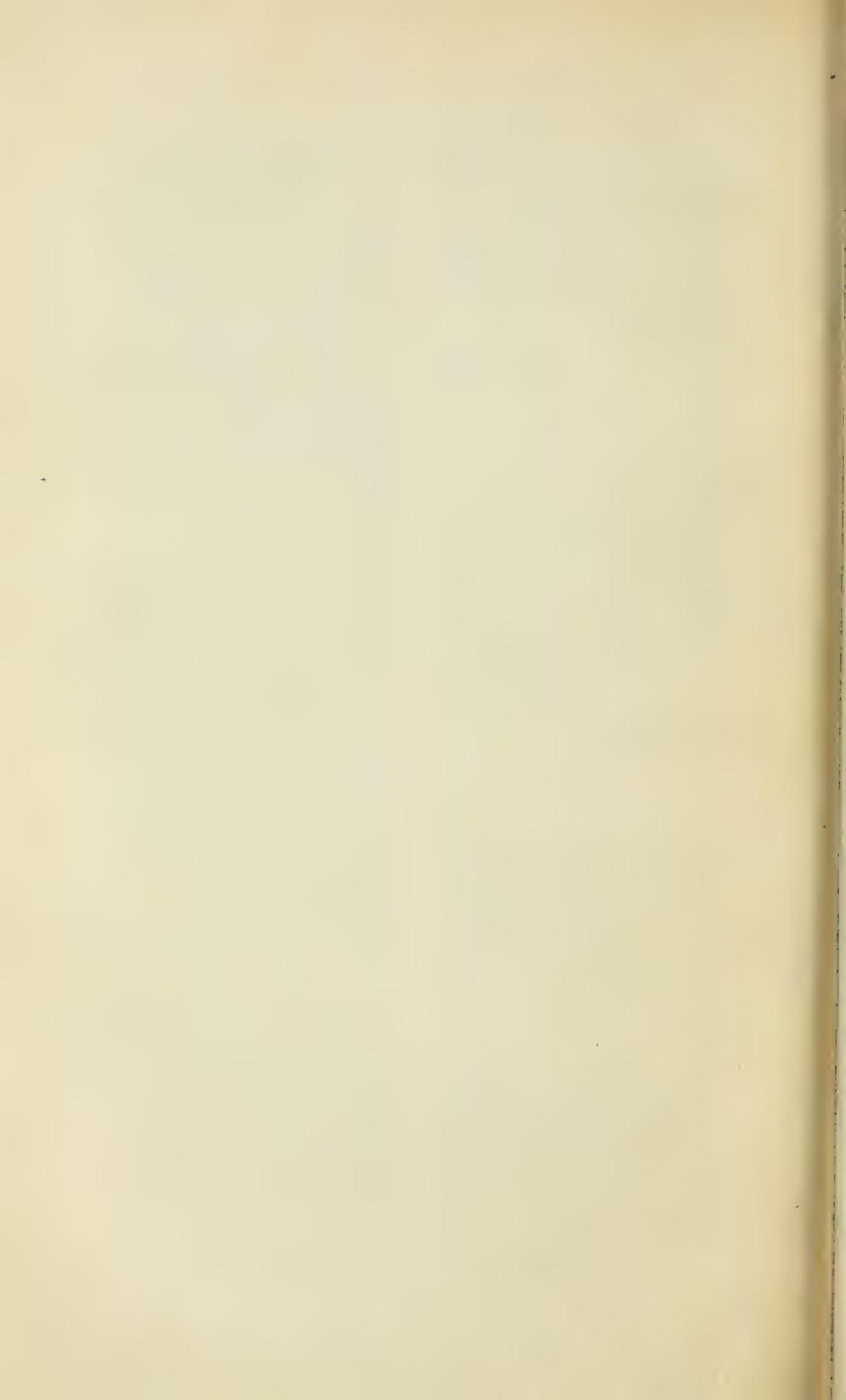
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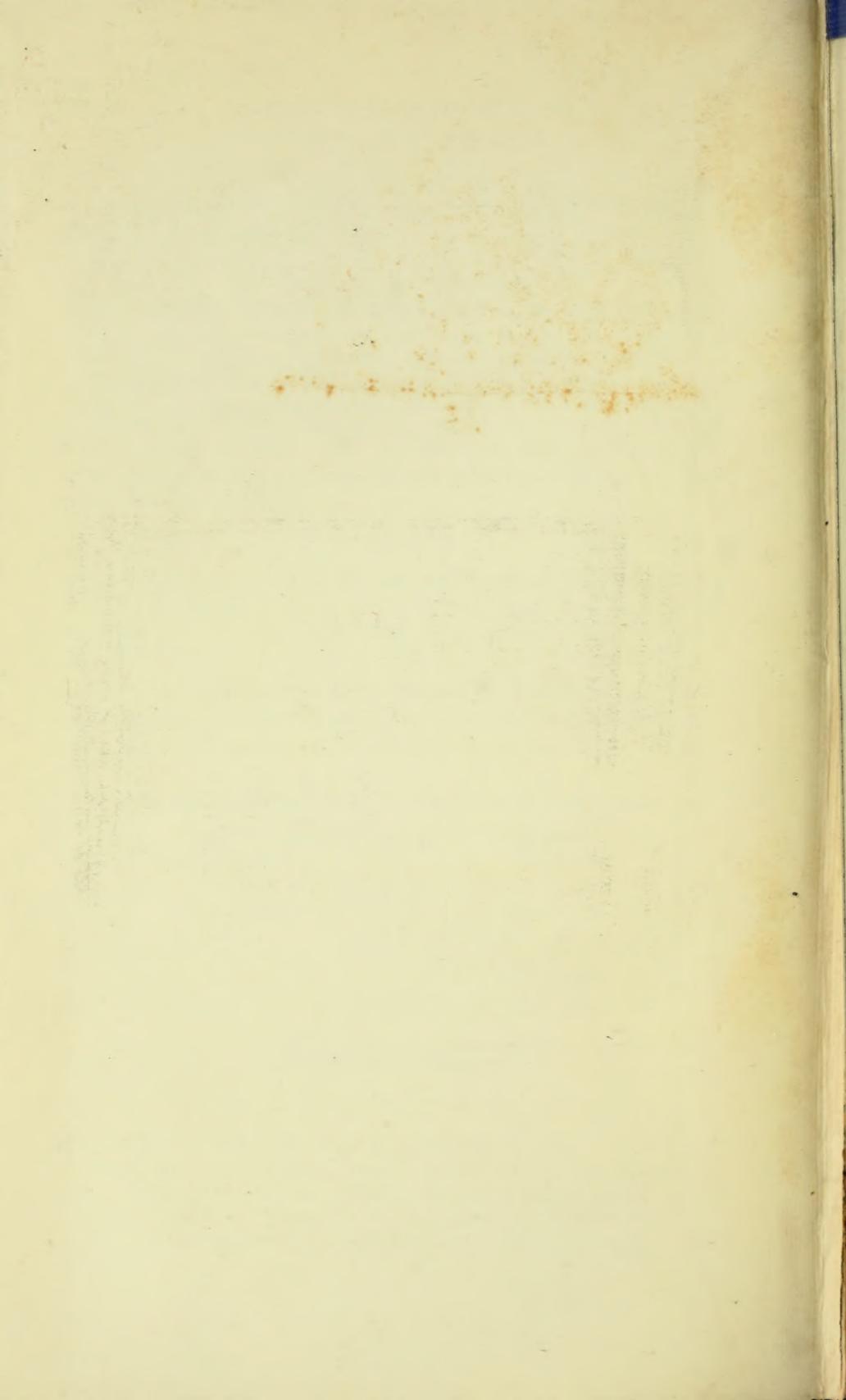
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